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(15th March to 28th March, 1927)

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Legislative Assembly.

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- by Mr. President that an Honourable Member is not entitled to say that a supplementary question does not arise, but that he should submit his objection to the Chair for orders. 1126.
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- by Mr. President that, as the amendment of Mr. B. Das sought to cancel the notification issued under section 52A of the Government of India Act declaring Angul to be a backward tract and thus to enable the Assembly to ask questions and move Resolutions regarding the Administration of Angul, it was perfectly in order. 643.
- by Mr. President that, as the Indian Forest Bill was a consolidating Bill, it would be the duty of the Chairman of the Select Committee to which the Bill had been referred to see that the Committee restricted itself to the scope of the Bill and that no amendments of substance were made. 2899.
- by Mr. President that closure cannot be moved in the midst of a speech. 2701.
- by Mr. President that Government have not the last word in debates on amendments and, therefore, the debate does not conclude with the speech of the Member for Government. 2556.
- by Mr. President that Honourable Members should use restrained and guarded language in the Chamber. 2736.
- by Mr. President that if any Honourable Member wants a particular question to be thoroughly examined by the House, the best course for him would be to put down a Resolution on the subject, but not to go into details of the matter in the course of the discussion on the Indian Finance Bill on which the general criticism of the policy of the Government of India is perfectly admissible. 2706.
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- by Mr. President that Mr. Joshi's amendment to clause 2 of the Steel Industry (Protection) Bill was out of order as it was clearly a proposal for the appropriation of the revenue or monies for a certain purpose. 1095.
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- by Mr. President that Rule 47, Appendix 2, of the Legislative Assembly Rules gives power to the Governor General to allot two days for the discussion of one Grant, and as no such allotment had been made, the Assembly was entitled to discuss one particular Demand for all the days allotted for the discussion of Demands for Grants. 1316
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- by Mr. President that there is nothing to prevent an Honourable Member from cutting down the last rupee in a total grant. 1975.
- by Mr. President that there should be a distinction between a motion on the acceptance of which commits the House to the principle of the Bill and a motion which, when carried, does not commit the House to the principle of the Bill; not that on a motion of the latter kind Honourable Members are not entitled to raise objections to the principles of the Bill, but in doing so they should be as brief as possible and should not go into the details and turn that discussion into the discussion of a motion the acceptance of which would commit the House to the principle of the Bill. 849.
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Motion to reduce the Budget Demand for "Army Department". (Location of troops in Muzaffarpur). 2288-89.

Motion to reduce the Budget Demand for "Army Department". (Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee: University Training Corps.) 2212, 2213.

Oath of Office. 5.

Statement by — *re* expenditure on the despatch of troops to China 2792.**YOUNG, Mr. P. A.—**Question *re* retention of the services of — as an Assistant Running shed foreman at Moradabad. 1484.**YUSUF IMAM, Mr.—**

Oath of Office. 18.

Question *re* amalgamation of the Public Works Branch with the Department of Industries and Labour. 2435-36.**Z****ZAMINDARS' BANK—**Question *re* opening of a — on the Co-operative Society system in the Hazara District of the North West Frontier Province. 1309-10.**ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY—**

Budget Demand for " — ". 2319.

ZULFIQAR ALI KHAN, NAWAB SIR—

Oath of Office. 1035.

Question *re* claims of Muslims to appointments as medical officers of the State Railways. 1745-46.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 15th March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

WANT OF A THIRD CLASS WAITING ROOM AT GYA ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

942. ***Mr. Siddheswar Sinha:** With reference to unstarred question No. 77 (b) of the 7th February, 1927, do Government propose to make an inquiry regarding the want of a third class waiting room at Gaya?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No, Sir. It is a matter for the Agent to decide and might be brought to his attention through the Local Advisory Committee. A copy of the question and answer will, however, be sent to the Agent.

JUDGMENTS OF THE HIGH COURTS OF CALCUTTA, ALLAHABAD AND MADRAS, REGARDING BRAHMANI BULLS.

943. ***Mr. Siddheswar Sinha:** (a) Are Government aware of the evil effects of the judgments of the High Courts of Calcutta (I. L. R. Cal. 17, page 852), Allahabad (8 All. 51, 9 All. 343), and Madras (11 Mad. 145) declaring Brahmani bulls as *res nullius*?

(b) If the reply to the aforesaid question be in the affirmative will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken or intend to take to remedy the evil effects of the aforesaid judgments?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Government have seen the judgments mentioned, but the matter relates to a subject which under the Devolution Rules is primarily the concern of Local Governments.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Are Government aware that these Brahmini bulls do a lot of mischief and are responsible for a great deal of damage to the public and shopkeepers in the market places all over India?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I am aware that stray cattle occasionally do damage.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Will the Honourable Member kindly inform me if they are not *res nullius*, to whom do they belong?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: That is a proposition of law about which the Honourable Member probably knows more than I do.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Do Government propose to allow Mr. Siddheswar Sinha or his friends to take charge of them?

**GRANT OF A PERMANENT UNRESTRICTED AUDITOR'S CERTIFICATE TO
MR. C. M. SIVA PRAKASAM.**

944. *Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: 1. Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) whether they have recently received a memorial, dated 25th October, 1926, from one Mr. C. M. Siva Prakasam, the holder of a restricted Auditor's certificate under the Indian Companies Act, 1913, in the Presidency of Madras appealing against the orders of the Madras Government refusing to give a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate to him under the rules framed by the Local Government under section 144 (2) of the Indian Companies Act, 1913?
- (b) whether the Government of India refused to comply with the request of the memorialist for the grant of an unrestricted certificate?
- (c) whether the Government of India have authorised the Madras Government to grant a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate to one Mr. G. Narasimham who is not a holder of a Government diploma in Accountancy granted by the Diploma Board in Bombay?
- (d) whether the Government of India have power to interfere in the matter of the grant of such certificates with the Local Government, and if so, under what provision of law?
- (e) the circumstances under which the Government of India were pleased to authorise the Madras Government to grant a certificate in one case and refuse it in another?
- (f) the reasons which precluded the Government of India from considering favourably the memorial of the said Mr. Prakasam?

2. Are the Government of India prepared to reconsider the case of the said Mr. Prakasam and issue orders to the Madras Government for granting him a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate similar to the one granted to Mr. G. Narasimham?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: 1. (a), (b) and (c). The answer is in the affirmative.

(d) The functions assigned to the Local Government by the Indian Companies Act, 1913, appertain to the central subject "Trading Companies and other Associations" with the result that in the exercise of those functions the Local Government acts as the agent of the Government of India in accordance with Part IV of the Devolution Rules and is therefore subject to control by the Government of India.

(e) and (f). I refer the Honourable Member to the rules published with the Madras Government's Order No. 1891-Home (Judicial), dated the 4th August, 1920. Under these rules neither of the gentlemen mentioned was eligible for a permanent unrestricted Auditor's certificate. Mr. G. Narasimham was exempted as a special case.

2 No, Sir.

CHANGING OF THE TIMINGS OF CERTAIN TRAINS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

945. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Has the attention of Government been drawn to the great discomfort of passengers from Monghyr who have to start from that station at 4-20 A.M. and wait at Jamalpur more than 3½ hours to catch the "41 Up Express to Agra Cantonment *via* Sahebganj Loop"? Do Government propose to change the timings (by a corrigendum slip or public notice) so as to make train No. 10 M (*vide* page 55 of the new Time Table from March, 1927) leave Monghyr at 7-48 A.M., instead of at 8-30 A.M. as at present, and thus enable the passengers concerned to reach Jamalpur at 8-8 A.M. and avail themselves of the 41 Up Express aforesaid at 8-18 A.M.?

CHANGING OF THE TIMINGS OF CERTAIN TRAINS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

946. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Do Government know that mail delivery takes place at a late hour in Monghyr due to the fact that though the "41 Up Express to Agra Cantonment *via* Sahebganj" carrying mails from down country reaches Jamalpur at 7-58 A.M., the connecting train No. 9 M (*vide* page 55 of the new Time Table from March 1927) leaves for Monghyr as late as 9-20 A.M.? Do Government propose to remove the said grievance of the Monghyr public as well as of the passengers concerned by ordering changes in the timings in order that train No. 9 M may start from Jamalpur at 8-30 A.M. instead of at 9-20 A.M. as at present?

CHANGING OF THE TIMINGS OF CERTAIN TRAINS OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

947. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Do Government propose to so change the timings of 47 Up Bhagalpur-Gaya Passenger as to make it start from Bhagalpur at 15, instead of at 15-25 as at present, and so enable the passengers concerned to avail themselves of 15 Up Express to Delhi *via* the main line? Is it a fact that under the present arrangement, the Express is missed by the passengers concerned by reason of 47 Up Bhagalpur-Gaya Passenger arriving at Kiul Junction only 12 minutes too late (*vide* pages 23 and 48 of the new Time Table from March, 1927)?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I propose, with your permission, Sir, to answer questions Nos. 945-947 together.

It is quite impossible for the Government to take any part in the arrangement of time tables. Copies of the questions and this answer will be sent to the Agent.

WANT OF A PROPER WAITING SHED AND URINAL FOR PURDAH LADIES AT KIUL JUNCTION.

948. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Has the attention of Government been drawn to the great discomfort felt by purdah ladies travelling intermediate class due to the want of a proper waiting shed and urinal for them at Kiul Junction, in view especially of the fact that passengers have generally to wait there from one to seven hours to catch corresponding trains? Do the Government propose to supply the aforesaid deficiencies at an early date?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative but a copy of the Honourable Member's question will be sent to the Agent, East Indian Railway.

**GRANT OF PERMISSION TO DR. SUDHINDRA BOSE TO RETURN TO INDIA
FROM AMERICA.**

949. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** 1. Will Government please state:

- (a) if they received any communication from the Home Government regarding the grant of permission to return to India of one Dr. Sudhindra Bose, who is at present residing in America and is a lecturer in the State University of Iowa?
- (b) if it is a fact that in February, 1926, in the House of Commons, a question was asked about his permission to return to India by Mr. J. Batey, Labour Member for Durham, to which Mr. H. S. Amery replied that he could at any time obtain a certificate to enable him to travel to India?
- (c) if it is a fact that in spite of his persistent efforts he could not succeed in getting permission to return to India to see his aged mother?

2. Do Government propose to make an inquiry into the matter and facilitate the return to India of the said Doctor?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I would refer the Honourable Member to the long reply I gave in this House on the 31st January last to the questions of Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh and Mr. D. V. Belvi on the same subject.

TRAINING COLLEGE FOR RAILWAY OFFICERS AT DEHRA DUN.

950. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government please state if it is a fact that a Central College for the training of the railway officers is going to be started at Dehra Dun in preference to the Chandausi School already existing?

(b) Is it a fact that the running expenses of the school at Chandausi would have been cheaper? Is it a fact that Chandausi has been condemned as difficult of access and lacking in facilities?

(c) In what way is Chandausi more difficult of access than Dehra Dun and what more facilities are there for a Railway College at Dehra Dun?

(d) What would be the cost of the establishment and the maintenance of the College at Dehra Dun?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) It is proposed to start a training college for railway officers at Dehra. The School at Chandausi was intended mainly for the training of subordinates and in the existing school there is not sufficient accommodation to provide for officers in addition to the subordinates.

(b) and (c). Presumably the Honourable Member refers to the running expenses of the training college if located at Chandausi, as the existing school at Chandausi will continue for the training of subordinates for which it was intended. The expenses of running a training college at Chandausi would not have been much lower than the estimated expenses of the

Dehra College. The Chandausi School was not originally designed to meet the requirements of a training college, the place having been chosen for the location of the existing school primarily so that an immediate start in the training of railway officials could be made as there were buildings available which could be converted. Chandausi is difficult of access being situated away from the main line, lacking in ordinary facilities and amenities and is subject to great heat whereas Dehra Dun has a very good train service from all parts of India, enjoys a good climate and affords suitable sites for a college on land in Government possession. Further the presence of the Prince of Wales' Military College and the Forest Research Institute and College makes it a suitable location for a new institution such as it is intended to establish.

(d) The preliminary approximate estimate for the College is Rs. 20,63,500 and the annual working expenses (excluding interest, depreciation and maintenance of buildings and equipment) is approximately Rs. 1,79,000 per annum.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Is it intended that the Chandausi school will be only for Indians, and the Dehra school for Europeans and Anglo-Indians?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Not at all, Chandausi is intended for subordinates and Dehra for officers.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member kindly tell us, in the interests of economy and nothing else, whether it is possible to have both these schools at Dehra instead of one for subordinates and junior officers at Chandausi and the other at Dehra?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I think it would be entirely against the interests of economy.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Will the Dehra College be open to Indians also?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certainly, Sir.

PARTICIPATION OF 36 CLERKS OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT, RAWALPINDI, IN ELECTION CAMPAIGN OF A PARTICULAR CANDIDATE FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

951. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government please state if the statement made in the *Forward's* issue of December 18, 1926, page 9, under the heading "Indian News" in brief that "notices have been served on 36 clerks of the Postal Department, Rawalpindi, for having taken part in the election campaign of a particular candidate for the Legislative Assembly," is a fact? If so, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Yes. Because such action is a breach of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I enquire if any action was taken against these clerks?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The action taken against the clerks is that stated in the question asked by my Honourable friend, Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Do I understand that the action taken is that notices were served but no particular action was taken against these clerks?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: As I understand the position, the matter is under the consideration of the Postmaster-General.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Is he aware that in 1923 similar action was taken against the Officer Commanding the Sialkot Division and that Government contented themselves by warning the gentleman concerned? Will the Postmaster-General take similar action?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I cannot give the Honourable Member any assurance on that point. These particular employees definitely contravened the Government Servants' Conduct Rules apparently in the interests of the Honourable Member.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member whether he is aware of the case of the Officer Commanding the Sialkot Division who also definitely contravened the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, and whether Government merely contented themselves with warning him, and will Government now indulge in a differentiation?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: There is no question of differentiation. These people have contravened the Government Servants' Conduct Rules and the action to be taken against them is, so far as I understand, now under the consideration of the Postmaster-General. I have nothing further to add to that at the present moment.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I would like to ask the Honourable Member whether these Government Servants' Conduct Rules were made before or after the Reforms of 1919.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I should like to have notice of that question. I cannot say specifically when the change was made.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Is the Honourable Member aware that the Government Servants' Conduct Rules do not mention the Legislative Assembly at all but only the Council.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Government Servants' Conduct Rules specifically mention the Legislative Council but obviously the rule would apply to the Legislative Assembly also.

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Is the Honourable Member aware that higher officers than these are taking part in these election campaigns against Swarajist candidates?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I am not aware of that. Probably my Honourable friend, the Home Member, may know something about it.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Will the Honourable Member kindly let me know to what extent the Government Servants' Conduct Rules apply to officers in the Executive Council, officers who are Secretaries and who are distinguished servants?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: It applies to all Government servants. I would like an early opportunity of amending the rules so as to cover the case of the Legislative Assembly.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: As the Honourable Member has the rules in his hands, would he inform the House as to the date when these rules were amended?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: If the Honourable Member will put down the question, I will give him the date of amendment.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I simply asked the Honourable Member who is in possession of a copy of the rules.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh: Is the Honourable Member aware that officials in Bihar took a very active part in the last election?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I am not aware of it. Has the Honourable Member made any complaint?

Mr. Ohaman Lall: In view of the reference made to me by Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, I ask your permission, Sir, to make a personal statement. I wish to declare on the floor of this House that I had no part or lot in the issue of the manifesto in question. I should like to add that I was not even aware of it until the trouble started between the Postmaster-General and these clerks.

CONTROL OVER THE PUBLIC EXHIBITION OF CINEMATOGRAPH FILMS.

952. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government please state in what way Government controls the public exhibition of cinematograph films in India?

(b) Is it a fact that they are in correspondence with the Secretary of State on this question? Have they come to any decision on the question of controlling undesirable films?

(c) What countries do the majority of such undesirable films generally come from?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) Control over the exhibition of cinematograph films is exercised by the constitution of authorities under section 7 of the Cinematograph Act, for the purpose of examining and certifying films before public exhibition. Boards of Censorship have been set up at Bombay, Madras, Calcutta and Rangoon.

(b) The Government of India have been in correspondence with the Secretary of State on this question and certain additional safeguards are now under consideration.

(c) The majority of films exhibited in India are of American origin.

NEW TAXES IN AGRA CANTONMENTS.

953. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article headed "New Taxes proposed for Agra Cantonments" which appeared in the *People's Herald* of Agra, dated 12th February, 1927? If so, will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that any extra taxation is to be put into operation in the Agra Cantonment area?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative, do Government propose to delay the passage of such an order till an inquiry has been made into the matter?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) and (b). Government have not seen the article, nor are they aware that any extra taxation in the Agra Cantonment area is contemplated. I am making inquiries, however, and will inform my Honourable friend of the result.

LAND MORTGAGE BANKS.

954. ***U. Tok Kyi:** (a) How many Land Mortgage Banks have been started in India?

(b) Have the Government of India received any proposal from the Government of Burma for the starting of Land Mortgage Banks?

(c) If so, will the Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to sanction the proposal?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) The information asked for is not available but if the Honourable Member so desires it will be obtained from Provincial Governments and supplied to him.

(b) No.

(c) Does not arise

U. Tok Kyi: May I ask, Sir, is it the intention of Government to make Land Mortgage Banking a transferred subject?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: In view of the recent Resolution passed in another place the question of Land Mortgage Banks is now under consideration

OPENING OF NEW BRANCHES OF THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA IN BURMA, ETC.

955. ***U. Tok Kyi:** (a) Has not the Imperial Bank of India opened 100 new branches all over India during the past 5 years? If so, how many of these are in Burma?

(b) Has the Imperial Bank of India ever recommended Government to establish a New Public Debt Office in Rangoon? If so, will Government be pleased to state if it is their intention to establish one there in the near future?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) Yes; three are in Burma.

(b) Yes. I would invite the Honourable Member's attention to the letter from the Managing Governors of the Imperial Bank No. 1432, dated the 27th April 1926, which is included in the correspondence regarding the recommendations of the External Capital Committee which was laid on the table on the 31st January 1927. The matter is under the consideration of Government.

U. Tok Kyi: Will the Honourable Member give the names of the three places where such branches have been opened?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Unfortunately I have not the list here, and I am afraid I could not pronounce all the names if I had!

**AVAILABILITY OF THE FUNDS OF THE POST OFFICE SAVINGS BANKS
FOR THE LOCAL MONEY MARKET, ETC.**

956. *U. Tok Kyi: (a) Is there any proposal before Government that the funds of the Post Office Saving Banks may be made available for the local money market and particularly for co-operative banks?

(b) If there is, will Government be pleased to state whether or not they are prepared to accept it?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member is presumably referring to a suggestion referred to in the correspondence on the subject of the recommendations of the External Capital Committee which was recently laid on the table in this House. The funds of the Post Office Savings Banks are merged in the general balances of the Government of India. These balances are, except for the small amounts held at treasuries where there are no branches of the Imperial Bank, held by the Imperial Bank and are available to the local money market.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Sir, may I know whether the Government have at present any proposals under consideration to fund these deposits separately?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That subject is one of those which are under consideration on the general question of funding advances and reserve funds.

**REDUCTION OF THE ENTIRE STAFF OF FOOD INSPECTORS ON THE GREAT
INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.**

957. *Haji Chaudhury Mohammad Ismail Khan: (a) Is it a fact that the Government have brought under reduction the entire staff of the Food Inspectors including the Chief Inspector on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway?

(b) Was the Traffic Manager consulted in the matter?

(c) Was Mr. Abdul Hafiz, B.A., the only Mussalman Food Inspector in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Commercial Department in receipt of a salary of Rs. 500 per month?

(d) Is it a fact that since the removal of this office, there is no other Mussalman in this grade in the Commercial Department of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway?

(e) Is it a fact that the name of Mr. Abdul Hafiz was placed by the Railway Board on the waiting list of traffic probationers?

(f) Is it also a fact that he was recommended for this appointment both by the Chief and Deputy Managers in recognition of his services as Chief Food Inspector?

(g) Do Government propose to reinstate Mr. Abdul Hafiz as a traffic probationer on any of the State Railways?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a), (b), (c), (d) and (f). Government have no information.

(e) No. His name was circulated to Companies Railways in October 1923 for employment in the Superior Traffic Department.

(g) Recruitment in India for the Transportation (Traffic) and Commercial Departments of the Superior Revenue Establishment of State Railways is now made in accordance with the regulations published in the Gazette of India, dated 17th July, 1926.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INDIAN AUXILIARY AND TERRITORIAL FORCES COMMITTEE.

958. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if their process of consideration of the recommendations of what is known as the Shea Committee is completed and if so, how they propose generally to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what scheme they have evolved to commence military education in schools as recommended by the Shea Committee, so that it may be continued in universities and colleges and be concluded in the Indian Territorial Force, for the purpose as propounded by the Committee of spreading military training and the inspiration to military service among the manhood of India?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Government have completed their consideration of the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, and forwarded their own recommendations to the Secretary of State on the 24th of June last. Until they receive the orders of the Secretary of State, they cannot indicate the nature of their proposals to give effect to the recommendations of the Committee.

(b) I presume that my Honourable friend is referring to the passage in paragraph 26 (a) of the Report of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee, which runs as follows:

"We think it desirable that physical training accompanied by some form of military discipline should be adopted as part of the routine of all schools. We commend to the educational authorities in all provinces the desirability of employing for this purpose military pensioners as instructors."

This was not one of the specific recommendations of the Committee to the Government of India but in the nature of a suggestion to Provincial Governments, with whom the decision lies whether to adopt it or not.

TOTAL STRENGTH OF THE AUXILIARY AND TERRITORIAL FORCES.

959. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Will Government be pleased to supply information on the following points:

- (a) the total number of rank and file and of commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Auxiliary Forces in India;
- (b) the total population of the community which is eligible for enrolment in the Auxiliary Force and the proportion it bears to the number recruited in the Force;
- (c) the total number of rank and file and of commissioned and non-commissioned officers in the Indian Territorial Force; and
- (d) the total population of the community which is eligible for enrolment in the Indian Territorial Force and the proportion it bears to the number recruited in the Force?

Mr. G. M. Young:

(a) Officers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1,242
Other ranks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	30,680
(c) Officers	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	444
Other ranks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	15,977

*Of these 96 officers and 3,905 other ranks belong to the University Training Corps.

(b) and (d). Recruitment to both the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces is subject to age limits, and the figures asked for by my Honourable friend could not be obtained, except by holding a census especially for the purpose.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I have a supplementary question to ask. Is it a fact that the Secretary of State has fixed a maximum of 20,000 as the limit for the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces or for either of them?

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir, 20,000 is the limit for the Territorial Force.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: When was that limit reached, Sir?

Mr. G. M. Young: I cannot give the exact date, but it is the limit at present.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is it a fact that a very large number of applications had to be refused on the ground that the maximum fixed had already been exceeded or reached?

Mr. G. M. Young: If my Honourable friend will give me notice of that question, I shall be glad to answer it.

RESORT TO COMPULSION IN THE RECRUITMENT OF THE AUXILIARY FORCE.

960. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** (a) In the recruitment of the Auxiliary Force is there resort to compulsion of some kind or other and if so, in what form?

(b) Do Government propose to introduce similar compulsion in the recruitment of some of the branches of the non-regular military forces in India?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The answer is in the negative.

(b) Does not arise.

PROVINCIAL AND URBAN UNITS OF THE INDIAN TERRITORIAL FORCE.

961. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** (a) How many provincial units of the Indian Territorial Force have been so far formed and in which provinces?

(b) How many urban units have been so far formed and in which provinces and how many in each province, and what is the strength of each urban unit in rank and file and in officers, commissioned and non-commissioned?

(c) How many provinces, if any, and which are they, where no provincial units of the Territorial Force have been constituted?

(d) If there are cases where provincial units of the Territorial Force have not been constituted why have they not yet been constituted?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) 20 provincial units have been formed as follows:

Madras 3, Bombay 3, Bengal 3 Companies, United Provinces 4, Punjab and Delhi 5, Bihar and Orissa 2 Companies, Burma 1, North West Frontier Province 1, Ajmere-Merwara 1, Coorg 1.

(b) No urban units have yet been formed.

(c) Central Provinces, Assam and Baluchistan.

(d) I am afraid I have not been able to obtain a full answer to this question, which involves the examination of records in the time at my disposal; but I will inform the Honourable Member as soon as possible.

UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS.

962. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: (a) Will Government be pleased to state in connection with how many universities the University Training Corps have been constituted and which are those universities?

(b) Are there any universities, in connection with which no such corps have been formed and if so, which are they and why have they not been formed?

(c) Did any of these universities apply for permission or help to the Government for constituting University Training Corps, and if so, was the required permission or assistance given and if not, why not?

(d) What is the total strength of each University Training Corps in rank and file and in officers?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Eleven, namely, Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore, Madras, Rangoon, Patna, Delhi, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow and Aligarh.

(b) and (c). Yes, the Universities of Dacca and Nagpur and the Andhra University. The applications were received later than those of other universities, and are under consideration.

(d) I lay on the table a statement showing the exact number of officers and other ranks in each Corps.

Statement showing the strength of the University Training Corps.

Bombay Battalion	{	Officers	20
		Other Ranks	622
Calcutta Battalion	{	Officers	9
		Other Ranks	656
United Provinces Battalion	{	Officers	23
		Other Ranks	592
Lahore Battalion	{	Officers	21
		Other Ranks	599
Madras Battalion	{	Officers	15
		Other Ranks	612
Burma Battalion	{	Officers	5
		Other Ranks	500
Patna Company	{	Officers	2
		Other Ranks	159
• Delhi Company	{	Officers	1
		Other Ranks	165

UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS.

963. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) if there are any University Training Corps which are supposed to have reached their natural limits of expansion and if so, which are they;
- (b) if any arbitrary limitation has been placed upon the natural capacity of expansion of University Training Corps in general or of any particular Corps and if so, why; and
- (c) if there is a University Training Corps in the Central Provinces and if not, why not?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The establishment for a University Training Corps Battalion is 664 all ranks, and for a Company 165 all ranks. The Honourable Member will see from the statement which I have laid on the table that the Calcutta Battalion and the Delhi Company have both reached full strengths. The Bombay, United Provinces, Lahore and Madras Battalions, and the Patna Company are almost at full strength; and the Burma Battalion is over 75 per cent. of strength.

(b) The only arbitrary limit consists in the fact that the total strength of the Indian Territorial Force, which includes University Training Corps, is at present limited to 20,000.

(c) There is no University Training Corps in the Central Provinces. The application for the formation of such a Corps in the Central Provinces was received too late for provision to be made for such a corps within the allotted number of 20,000.

Dr. B. S. Moonje: Supposing the application were renewed, is there any possibility of permission being given?

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir. I think I have stated in my answer to a previous question that it is now under consideration.

UNIVERSITY TRAINING CORPS.

964. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to supply information of each University Training Corps according to the religion and the caste of the rank and file and of the officers, stating the numbers of each religion and each caste?

Mr. G. M. Young: Members of Universities, for whom University Training Corps are constituted, are eligible for enrolment irrespective of religion or caste; and I am therefore not in a position to furnish the Honourable Member with the information he desires.

FORMATION OF TERRITORIAL CAVALRY SQUADRONS, ETC.

965. *Dr. B. S. Moonje: Will Government be pleased to state if they propose to establish in suitable places Territorial cavalry squadrons and other units of the more technical arms such as artillery and Engineer Field Companies, signals, pioneers, etc.?

Mr. G. M. Young: Until the decision of the Secretary of State on the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee's and the Government of India's proposals is received, Government can make no announcement about future developments in the University Training Corps.

Mr. M. S. Aney: May I ask, Sir, what is the time within which the Government of India expect the Secretary of State to come to any decision on this question?

Mr. G. M. Young: I am afraid the Government of India have fixed no time limit for the Secretary of State.

EXPENDITURE ON THE TRAINING AND MAINTENANCE OF THE TERRITORIAL
AND AUXILIARY FORCES DURING THE LAST THREE YEARS.

966. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Will Government be pleased to state the total amounts of money spent in the training and maintenance of the Indian Territorial Force and of the Auxiliary Force respectively year by year during the last three years?

Mr. G. M. Young: The information is as follows:

Auxiliary Force—1923-24—Rs. 73,53,692; 1924-25—Rs. 69,87,059;
1925-26—Rs. 74,81,490.

Territorial Force—1923-24—Rs. 18,00,070; 1924-25—Rs. 21,87,391;
1925-26—Rs. 23,54,274.

UNSTARRED QUESTION AND ANSWER.

USE OF AERO-PHOTOGRAPHY FOR PURPOSES OF SURVEYS.

190. **Sir Victor Sassoon:** Have the Government of India considered the use of aero-photography for purposes of surveys and do they propose to consider the question of consulting Provincial Governments as to the advisability of using aircraft for purposes of topographical settlement and large scale city surveys?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The matter is engaging the attention of the Government of India.

THE GENERAL BUDGET—LIST OF DEMANDS—*contd.*

SECOND STAGE—*contd.*

Expenditure from Revenue—contd.

DEMAND No. 38—ARMY DEPARTMENT—*contd.*

Mr. President: The House will now resume further consideration of Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru's motion on Demand No. 38.

Mr. K. C. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, I desire to support the motion of my Honourable friend Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru. At the same time I also associate myself generally with the remarks which fell from my friend, Mr. Jinnah, who I am sorry to notice is absent from the House this morning. My friend, Mr. Kunzru, has been at considerable pains to convince this House that the military expenditure in India is excessive. Like my friend, Mr. Jayakar, I have no mind for statistical matter. From my boyhood I have been taught to despise statistics because with statistics you can prove anything. But, Sir, the

principal test of the size of our Military Budget is our frontier policy and the foreign policy of the Government of India. The Government of India has, strictly speaking, no foreign policy of its own; it is only a sort of sub-agency of the Foreign Office in Downing Street. I have no doubt, however, that our little Foreign Office at Simla does a lot of useful work for His Majesty's Government for which we receive very little or nothing.

But, Sir, the main work of the Foreign Department is found in the Frontier Province of India, the province of my friend, Nawab Sahibzada Sir Abdul Qaiyum. There for many years we have been pursuing a most ruinous policy, the policy known as the forward policy. I do not belong to the school of backward policy. I do not believe in the move back to the Indus; and I do not believe either in the forward policy which we have been pursuing for many years to the ruin of our Indian finances and to the bad name of the Indian people. Only recently, Sir, a distinguished English journalist was visiting this frontier at the invitation of the General Staff. What is his verdict? He says, "Go further on; the Finance Member has been niggardly." He calls it a policy of peaceful penetration; he says, "Go to Wana and be near what is called the scientific border of India—the Durand Line." I am not enamoured of this proposition. Why should we interfere with the tribal independence of people who inhabit the land between us and Afghanistan? It has been a wanton interference with their rights; and what are we going to give them in return? We are going to give them in return the gift of primary schools. At whose cost? At the cost of the Government of India, of the Indian people. Suppose, Sir, we go to Wana; we will be within a very short distance of the Afghan frontier. What will happen? The Government of India will be called upon to be ever watchful, ever vigilant, and to waste more of our money on our Frontier and to ruin our Indian finances. My policy is—and I think it is a policy with which this House should agree—let us stabilise, not at 1s. 6d. or 1s. 4d., but let us stabilise at Razmak and sit tight there before we make a further advance.

What is the key-note of our Frontier policy? To be prepared for a possible invasion from Russia? Does anybody in this House expect it? I will give it in the words of the Director of Military Operations who is now the head of Military Intelligence at our Army Headquarters. This is what he told the Calcutta people last year. At his lecture last year at the Saturday Club, Colonel Saunders gave it as his considered opinion—and it is the opinion of the majority of the military authorities—that the Russians are developing plans for an offensive and that Great Britain would have to defend India by force of arms within a period which he put as within ten years hence. This is the key-note of our military and foreign policy. Does anybody in this House expect a Russian invasion? The only invasion of which the History of India tells us is the invasion of India by Great Britain: and Britain did not come by the North West Frontier but by the sea and has established an Empire of which we are all proud. But, Sir, the present policy we are pursuing on the Frontier is a ruinous policy and is a policy which should be condemned by the unanimous verdict of this House. A large number of Members of the first Assembly went to Razmak and the Frontier; they came back overjoyed; I was sorry for them and for the Government of India.

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One more word on this subject. The Inchcape Committee had to deal with our military expenditure. They had no right—Sir Purshotamdas will correct me if I am wrong—they had no right to discuss the question of military policy; but the Frontier policy was so important that Lord Inchcape thought it fit to visit the Frontier before he came to any conclusions about the military expenditure of India.

Now, Sir, I come to the pet theory of Mr. Jinnah, the Indianisation of the Indian Army. I am willing here to acknowledge the great advance which the civil administration of this country has made in the domain of Indianisation. If you walk over to the two blocks of buildings over there, you will find that there is not a single department which has not been Indianised. There is at least one department over which my friend, Mr. Bhore, ably presides, which is fully Indianised to-day. If you go to the Legislative Department you will find it fifty per cent. Indianised. There is not a single department including the most confidential departments of the Government of India—the Home and Foreign Departments—which has not been Indianised to no small extent. But what do you find if you go to the Army Department and the Army Headquarters? Not a single Indian holding any responsible position of any importance. They are clerks. After centuries of British rule the military authorities have not been able to produce an Indian Staff Captain for the Indian Army. Go to the Commands and you will find the same thing; go to the Districts and you will find the same thing; go to the Brigades and you will find the same thing. If this is not a scandal, I want to know from this House what a scandal is.

Then, Sir, my friend Mr. Jinnah spoke in a tone of great optimism about the Sandhurst Committee. I am not an optimist. I think the question of granting King's commissions to Indians is a subject matter over 100 years old; and in my own experience I know that Lord Curzon wanted absolutely to block the way by creating what he called the Imperial Cadet Corps. The Imperial Cadet Corps has very rightly come to an untimely end and it was really at the Delhi Durbar when His Majesty announced personally that the King-Emperor's commission was open to his Indian subjects that some rights were given. What has happened since then? We have got partially what we know as responsible government in this country. My friends on the other side may say whatever they like: I am proud of what we have got (*An Honourable Member*: "Are you?") and I believe in it: I believe in the sincerity of the British people. So far as it goes, it is a small concession. But what did Mr. Montagu do in respect of the Indianisation of the Indian Army? Some of my friends—I believe Mr. Ranga Iyer was one—quoted from his speech: and he gave the directions given to the Esher Committee. I am sorry to say that it was a negative direction and the result has so far been rightly negative. This is what Lord Esher wrote:

"We also desire to mention that we have been requested, in considering our recommendations, to avoid, if possible, framing them in such a manner as may hereafter prove inconsistent with the gradual approach of India towards a Dominion Status; and we observe that the Indian Constitutional Reforms recently approved have in view the relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State, as well as of Parliament, over the Government of India."

Our late lamented friend, Sir Krishna Gupta, was very sorry that no positive mandate was given, but, Sir, the Government of India did not

sit idle. As soon as the new constitution came into being, first came the Shea Report, then the 8 units scheme and lastly the second line of defence scheme. The Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee will, I am sure, take some more time to see the light of the day, and probably by that time we shall have another Commander-in-Chief, another change in the British Government, possibly, we may have a change in the Viceroyalty, and it is very likely that the Sandhurst Committee's Report will be delayed till after a further examination by the Royal Commission which will come out to examine our Indian constitution in 1929. This is my firm conviction.

As regards the Territorial Force, what has happened? We are only trying to provide a second line of defence for our Indian army, and not for the British army. Sir John Shea, who is known for his sympathy, presided over a Committee some time ago, and reported on the question. And the Report is now lying for the last 4 or 6 months with the Secretary of State. Even in a small matter like this, the organization of a second line of defence for the benefit of India only, the Governor General has no voice. Although, according to our law, the Governor General is the supreme authority in all these matters, who is really our master? Our master is not the Governor General; our master is not the Commander-in-Chief; but our master is the Army Council at Home, the Imperial General Staff, and lastly the Imperial Defence Committee. Unless a strong effort is made to secure a complete orientation of the relations which exist between us and His Majesty's Government over the military arrangements, there will be no progress either in the reduction of military expenditure or in the Indianization of the army.

Sir, the last point that appears to me as the most important is the one raised by my friend Mr. Ranga Iyer, who is not present here. What happened? The Esher Committee put us almost in the wrong. What did they actually do? They recommended that the Commander-in-Chief in India should be appointed, on the recommendation of the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, by His Majesty the King, and not on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India or the Governor General of India. Then, Sir, the same is to be said about the Chief of the General Staff whose name was mentioned by Mr. Jinnah yesterday, General Skeen. I have a high regard for General Skeen. He is one of those military men who is held in great esteem, whose record of service may be compared with that of an Edwards or a Lawrence. He is an exceptional man; all the same, what is his position? He is appointed by the Chief of the General Staff. Where does the Government of India come in? They do not come in anywhere at all. We are under the complete authority of His Majesty's Government, and I know the feeling—they do not want to budge an inch. If the India Council presses them very hard, then they go to the Army Council; if they show any sign of reluctance, then they go to the Imperial Defence Committee. This has been my experience, and I think this has been the experience of some of the most distinguished Indians and Europeans, who have interested themselves in military matters.

Then, Sir, I shall read to the House an extract showing the attitude of mind of the average English officer, high or low, towards the question of Indianization. Here is the opinion of a very distinguished military

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authority who commanded the Indian Army Corps in France. General Sir James Willcocks, whose recent death we all deeply deplore, says:

"It is this. Whatever you do as regards the inhabitants of India, whatever form of Government they may eventually possess, so long as the Union Jack floats over Hindustan, do not reduce the present status of the British officer. You will find Indians as brave, loyal gentlemen and splendid comrades, and hence you may find it difficult to refuse equality of command; but you must make this a cardinal principle, for no argument decked in rhetoric will alter the fact, that you can never replace the British officer in the Indian Army."

This is the universal opinion among the British officers in this country. I have very rarely met a British officer who is sympathetic to Indian claims because it affects his own right, his own position and his hereditary right to command. What is to be done in this matter, Sir? I have very carefully thought over this matter, and I place my considered opinion before the House. We must do what other civilized countries have done. I mean no reflection on His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; he has been associated with India for generations (Applause); he is a man who is universally liked by the entire Indian army, and I yield to none in my respect and admiration for him. But, Sir, one thing is absolutely clear. To-day, we must bring our military system in line with other civilized countries of the world. We must establish the supremacy of the civil authority over our military authorities. We must establish an Army Member, who must be a civilian, who must come from the Indian Civil Service. Unless you establish the supremacy of the civil authority over military affairs, I do not think we shall ever be able to make any progress. At the same time, Sir, we must keep the Commander-in-Chief, because the Commander-in-Chief is the idol of the Indian army. We must find out a system by which the entire army policy will be dictated not by the Commander-in-Chief, who is the executive head of the Indian army, but by the administrative head who must be a Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council.

We want an Army Council for India to be created by a Royal Warrant. We have one called the Military Council. But in all civilised countries they have what is commonly known as the Army Council. Our Military Council consists of departmental heads and a civilian Financial Adviser, Mr. McLeod. But what is the composition of the Army Council in England? It is really composed of 6 persons, and speaking from memory, it is composed of 3 civilians and 3 military men. Why cannot you have a similar Army Council here? Let us have a strong civilian element in the superior control of the Army, then and then alone the Indian view point in military affairs will be established.

Then, Sir, we have a Defence Committee here, of which the Viceroy is the President; there is also the Commander-in-Chief, there is the Chief of the General Staff, the Foreign Secretary, the Home Member and the Law Member. They are either in the Executive Council or in the Army Council. Then what is the composition of the Imperial Defence Committee in England? The Prime Minister is the solitary permanent member, and he can choose anybody he likes. Why do not you have the same system here? We must have a leaven of Indians, trusted Members of the Central Legislature, as members of the Defence Committee; then and then alone the Indian view point in respect of our foreign and military policy will prevail. We have already got three Indian Members in the Executive Council;

they, of course, do their best in shaping our policy but they have got to be strengthened and buttressed, and we can do that by establishment of an Army Council, by reorganising the Defence Committee of India, and by creating a civilian Member for the Army Department.

Lastly, Sir, we have heard a good deal about the Indian Territorial Force. What is the Territorial Force in England, may I know? Sir, it has been recognised in all civilised countries that the Territorial Force should be placed in charge of a civilian. When the Territorial Force was first created by Lord Haldane, to the best of my recollection, it was put in charge of the Financial Secretary to the War Office, an elected Member of the House of Commons, but now I think it has gone to the portfolio of the Under Secretary of State. There is the Director General, General Jeudwine. What are we doing in India? The administration of the Territorial Force in India is vested in the Adjutant General's Department. Is this right? I am sure that the Territorial Force will not progress unless it is placed under civilian control. This was recognised by my friend Pandit Malaviya many years ago; he went to the length of suggesting the appointment of an Indian Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council as a Member to look after the Territorial Force or in the alternative the appointment of a civilian member to the Military Council for the same duties. But of course, in our race for constitutional advance we have forgotten all about it. But I am reminding the Honourable Pandit that this is what he said many years ago and it stands true to-day. Sir, unless this House takes an intelligent interest in the military policy of this country and secures a complete orientation of the headquarters administration of the Indian Army, there is neither going to be constitutional advance nor advance in our military affairs. Our friends on the other side are very anxious to get constitutional advance; so are we. But what is the value of a constitution which must be defended by a foreign army? Such a constitution no honest Englishman can give and no honest Indian can take.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): Sir, I rise to support the amendment before the House. We are, Sir, on the last day set aside for Demands for Grants. The total number of heads of Demands for Grants is about 79 and during the last 4 days I do not think we have discussed more than 5. If I mistake not, this is the fifth one. The total amount which this House will be called upon to vote away by 5 o'clock this afternoon runs into rupees 31 crores and 82 lakhs. We have till now, including the present Demand, only touched Rs. 12 crores. I am aware, Sir, there is a very strong feeling in several quarters of this House that the number of days which have been set aside by His Excellency the Viceroy for the Demands for Grants is much too small. (*An Honourable Member*: "Hear, hear.") One minute. Whilst I am of that opinion, I really feel that this House is responsible for such a large amount as about 20 crores going under the guillotine and I mention this, Sir, even at the risk of being a little irrelevant in speaking on this amendment, because I feel very strongly that, if a few constituencies asked of their elected Members here, why such a large amount was allowed to go under the guillotine, it would be very difficult for many Members who may be put this question to render an account of what they did during the time of the Demands for Grants. I would like, Sir, to mention one or two concrete instances of risk in this. Ever since the New Delhi scheme was started in 1921 and put before the Assembly for their vote and most of it was votable, I have looked in vain through the various discussions on the

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Demands for Grants to see any particular budget period when the demand for a Grant for New Delhi ever was reached by the Assembly. A more tragic instance, Sir, is in Bombay, where I know that the Development Department having been the last one to be started always used to come right at the end of the Demands for Grants. And although owing to very strong feeling all through Bombay that, if the Development Department Demand for Grants did come up, very substantial cuts would have been made, unfortunately owing to want of arrangement or want of discipline, whichever you like, it was never reached and the Bombay Council is now being told with some justification at least that they were partly at any rate responsible for the Development Department mess. I therefore appeal to this House not to lose sight of the fact that, whilst the number of days allotted may be small, it is up to the House to show that they can discuss more than 5 heads of Grants in 5 days for after all, if this is the best that can be done in 5 days, namely, disposing of 5 or 6 heads of Grants, in order adequately to dispose of 80 heads of Grants, does anybody think we want the best part of 20 days for Demands for Grants? (*An Honourable Member*: "30 days." *Another Honourable Member*: "80 days.") In a way, both these figures I think are unreasonable. And I do not think it is right for us to overlook this because I am very much afraid, Sir, that the way in which this particular Session we have handled the Demands for Grants cannot be said to stand to the credit of the businesslike methods of this House.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): If you have another half a dozen parties with half a dozen leaders in this House it will take more than three months then.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: And if Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed will interrupt a little less perhaps we will be able to shorten that time appreciably.

Sir, the military expenditure of the Government of India is one which stands out pre-eminent as to the extraordinarily superficial powers which this House has on one of the largest spending departments of the Government of India. (*An Honourable Member*: "Question.") Sir, according to the budget figures, the Army estimate is put at rupees 54.92 crores this year. Of that the only amount which is subject to the vote of this House is Rs. 5 lakhs 98 thousand, just under one-tenth of one per cent. of the total expenditure on the Military Department of the Government of India. Even supposing this House wanted to show its utmost dissatisfaction with either the policy or any of the details of the Military Department, we could not touch more than one-tenth of one per cent. of the total military expenditure of the Government of India. I hope that it will be borne in mind that of all the various departments, the Military Department at any rate requires a special day set aside for it, on either the Demands for Grants or in any other manner that is possible, in order that the various details and the policy of that Department may be fully considered and dealt with by this House. Sir, I do not wish to take any more time of this House than may be absolutely necessary. I wish to refer to one or two special items of interest, which I see have not been touched by any of my predecessors who have spoken on this item. To this expenditure of rupees 55 crores, I see that the Finance Member in his budget speech gives one paragraph, and he mentions casually there the provision of 5 lakhs of rupees to create the Royal Indian Navy. Due either to the enterprise or to the sense of proportion of the editor, I have, Sir, here cuttings from the *Indian Daily Mail*

which give telegrams from Reuter regarding some questions in Parliament about the Royal Indian Navy Bill introduced there:

“ Mr. Beckett asked whether the Indian Legislative Assembly would be consulted before they (Royal Indian Navy) were sent away from India. Mr. Bridgeman expressed the opinion that Mr. Beckett could find there were ample safeguards in the Bill.”

A little later, Sir, we have it from Lord Winterton that “he commended the Bill to the House because to the best of Lord Birkenhead’s belief it was desired by the people of India.”

Now, I wonder, Sir, whether we want any Navy for India which can be outside the vote of this House and which could not be touched in point of its annual expenditure. I understand that a Bill in connection with this Royal Indian Navy will be brought up later at the Simla Session, but I cannot let this opportunity pass without putting it on record, at any rate as my personal opinion, that I would have no paraphernalia added to the Military Department if it is not subject to the vote of this House. I would rather go without any Navy or any Air Force or any part of the armament required for the defence of India, if this Assembly cannot be trusted by Government to vote the necessary money for it on the merits of such requirements. I see from the *Indian Daily Mail* of the 9th instant that in reply to a question asked in Parliament “whether the Legislative Assembly did not do what the Government wanted, the Viceroy would have the authority to override the Assembly”, the Speaker intervened and saved the Government Member for having to give a reply which might have let us into approximately what is intended.

Whilst I yield to none in my aspiration for a Navy for India, I strongly feel that it would be wrong for this House to sanction anything which in point of expenditure would be outside the reach of this House. It is bad enough to have the military expenditure of rupees 55 crores, Sir, outside the reach of this House and to have only 5 lakhs submitted to us for our vote. We have more than enough to do before we can get Great Britain and the Cabinet to remove this unnatural, unjustified handicap, but we do not want a single pie more added to this by our vote by creating either a Royal Indian Navy or anything else. Not even, Sir, with the temptation and inducement that a few Indians may find employment there. I therefore feel, Sir, that at the very first opportunity available I should like to put it on record—and I hope that it will have the endorsement of this side of the House at least—that we want no addition to our Military Department if we are not to vote the money for it.

Next, Sir, is the question of Aden. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief dealt with this in his speech before this House on the 3rd of this month. His Excellency, Sir, if I may say so, expressed great solicitude in his speech and told us that Aden was never a paying proposition and that in giving £250,000 a year towards the military expenditure of Aden for the first 3 years and £150,000 a year after that—presumably, I understand, permanently—His Excellency, by inference I make out, is of opinion that India is striking a very good bargain. Now, Sir, the question of how India has been made to carry the burden of either Persia or Aden or any of the other very convenient places for Imperial domination in the East is a long and an old one and I do not wish to deal with it to-day. All that I wish to submit to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is, if this is so good a proposition or arrangement for India, why was India made to bear the expenditure of Aden, both military and civil, for the best part

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of a hundred years? Sir, Aden has been made what it is to-day—attractive, promising and a very useful point for Imperial power—owing to the enterprise of Indians. I know that in deference to the very strong agitation set up in Aden and in India the civil administration has for the moment been left with the Government of India. But I am not at all sanguine that it will long be left there and I have very grave apprehensions that the Colonial Office may extend its very strong arm even to that part of Aden's administration. I cannot sufficiently deplore, Sir, the manner in which India has been saddled with military expenditure in connection with Aden till now, and especially during the war period; I feel that in not consulting the Indian Legislature regarding this latest arrangement, the Government of India have, if I may say so, been guilty of a breach of promise, because, in 1922 and 1924,—in reply to question No. 144 in the Assembly on the 7th September 1922 and question No. 309 in the Council of State on the 9th June 1924—it was promised both in this House and in the other place that nothing would be done regarding Aden without the Legislature of India being consulted beforehand. Our helplessness comes home to us when places which India and the Indian tax-payer develop for the best part of a century are taken away from our control without the knowledge and the consent of the Legislature. It remains to be seen whether it has been done with the consent and approval of the Government of India even. But even if the Government of India did agree to it, which I would be rather surprised to hear, I say that that would not mean that the tax-payer of India approves of it. But what is to be done? There is no remedy at the moment except a protest. It is a mercy that they do not take away the civil administration too from the Government of India for the Colonial Office. All that one can say is that this is hardly the policy which can inspire confidence or ensure the co-operation of the people here or the tax-payer of India, because, after all, it was due to India that the representatives of the tax-payer of India were given at least an effective voice in this matter before the arrangement was completed. The thing, Sir, is notified to us as a *fait accompli* and all that remains now to do is to point out how unfair these sorts of arrangements are and warn the representatives of the Indian tax-payer here that they should be no party to any enterprise in the future which may leave them at the mercy of the Colonial Office or of any other Department of His Majesty's Government.

Sir, the Finance Member says that the disappearance of post-war charges for demobilised officers accounts for a saving of 64 lakhs but, he says, this is counterbalanced by the extra provision necessary for the expansion of the Air Force. This again, Sir, is a matter which we have to accept without any demur, and absolutely, I suppose, without any recourse at change in what is now put before us. Where is this, Sir, going to end? There will be new armaments, there will be new methods of destruction, and there will be new scientific discoveries made from year to year. In spite of India saving all this up-to-date machinery, we are told that not only can the number of men in the troops here not be decreased but it is very necessary that an increase should be made in fighting troops at the very first opportunity. This practically means that whilst the War was responsible for almost doubling of the military expenditure which was close upon 30 crores before the War but is very close upon 60 crores now, within the next 10 or 15 years this might mount up to anything between rupees 70 and 75 crores. This, Sir, I am

afraid is really developing into not only a great joke on this Assembly but a cruel joke. After all, if you can trust the people of this country to be solicitous of their own safety there can be no objection to putting before this House for their vote on the merits of the question any proposals for increase required in the military expenditure either for better protection or for protection with more up-to-date material over the borders of India or for the purpose, if you like, of internal peace. When, Sir, railways in India were few and far between and transport was comparatively scarce and primitive, when there were no aeroplanes and none of the other deadly weapons available, a certain number of men were necessary in India to defend her frontiers and for internal purposes. When the railways have now multiplied, and Government have aeroplanes and the rest of the 'up-to-date materials that they have, they still find that they want the same number of troops both for frontier protection and, as is stated in His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech itself, for preservation of peace within.

Now, every year the Indian public are not getting better arms, but more arms are being taken away from them; stricter Arms Rules
12 NOON. have been promulgated, and so far as the civil public are concerned, they are practically becoming less capable of doing any harm owing to the way in which arms have been taken away from them. Is there any justification for urging that the personnel of the troops must be preserved and even increased for the sake of internal peace? I feel that this aspect of it is so serious that unless with an increase in, say, the Royal Air Force, a corresponding decrease in expenditure is not ensured, there will be no end to this. And what I am afraid of most is that, in trying to keep Bolshevism away from across the borders, Government will really by higher taxation invite Bolshevism to start from within owing to the terrible effects of the high taxation and the very serious effects of it on the people as a whole. I cannot help feeling that those who are very anxious to increase our military armaments as a source of defence against aggression from across the borders really overlook the serious risk to which they export the civil population here owing to greater burdens which are bound to fall if this policy regarding the Military Department is allowed to continue. And there what can this House do? They can only talk, they can only express their own disapproval in strong and unequivocal terms.

I was really surprised when I heard the Honourable the Home Member say yesterday, "If your ideal is a national army, would not the cost of that be the same as the army that we are maintaining at present," he said, "with so much efficiency." Irrespective of the fact that a national army would mean that the money spent on it would be mostly spent on the personnel in the country and to that extent would not be a drain on the country—irrespective of that, I am surprised that such an important Member of His Excellency the Viceroy's Cabinet should overlook the difference between the cost of the British troops and the cost of troops that may be recruited from within India. I will only name a few figures which are taken from a very authentic source, namely, the report of the Inchcape Committee. A British private costs Rs. 2,503 a year; an Indian sepoy costs Rs. 631 a year. A British officer British cavalry costs Rs. 11,294 and Indian cavalry Rs. 14,277—that is the British personnel of the Indian army. A British officer British infantry costs Rs. 10,277 and Indian infantry

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Rs. 13,992. As against this an Indian officer, Viceroy's Commission, Indian cavalry costs Rs. 2,524 and Indian officer Indian infantry Rs. 2,124. The difference is more than five times, and whilst one may even grant that there is a little higher efficiency with the British personnel—even granting it for the sake of argument, I ask whether that is not the efficiency which should be aimed at by the Government of India themselves for the Indian officers? And when is a start for this to be made? The difference, Sir, on the financial side of it alone is so attractive and so enormous that, after all, if these Viceroy's Commission holders—Indian officers—did so well during the last war, it cannot be said that any serious risk is being incurred in pushing on at a faster pace than is being done at present, with the Indianisation of the officers' grades in the Army. I therefore cannot help coming to the conclusion that on the merits of it, from the point of view of rupees, annas and pies alone, there is nothing which can be urged against Indianisation. The whole question is, Sir, one of policy of His Majesty's Government and of the War Office and it is there I suspect that the Government of India have been absolutely helpless. If, therefore, this part of it cannot possibly be remedied, I fail to see how any reasonable chance exist of a decrease in the military expenditure, and to my mind, the risk of a substantial increase in the military expenditure stands considerably magnified. I feel that where such important savings can be made by a change in policy, in which unfortunately at the moment we have no effective voice, it is a sheer waste of time to touch upon a few small items which may strike one here and there as points in which savings can be made.

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Krishna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Why do you then want more time for discussion?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I wish to touch upon one or two of these. I will only mention them. I do not want to go into details, because Mr Prakasam has rightly reminded me that it will take more time.' The Fort Sandeman Railway is one which the Inchcape Committee recommended to be built. The cost of camel transport in the last accounts which were submitted to that Committee came to about Rs. 30 lakhs and it was estimated that if a railway were built it would have cost about Rs. 35 or 40 lakhs. Owing to certain peculiar vagaries of red tape which always exist in any Government office, and which exist in the Government of India Secretariat in a larger degree, the railway was put off from year to year. I should like very much to know what has happened to this scheme or what is the amount which the Government of India in the Army Department continue to spend on the cost of transport to Fort Sandeman.

The capitation grant is a question which had very many objectors to it even amongst Englishmen on the Welby Commission. That grant to-day stands at the considerable figure of £25 per head of British troops in India. It would be pertinent to enquire of the Government of India whether any effort has been made to have a decrease effected in this figure, and, if not, when they expect to move in this matter at all. Or is it that £25 per head is to be taken now to be the normal rate at which the Government of India propose to pay the War Office? There is only one word by which the capitation grant can be adequately described, and

that is, in the words of Mr. Buchanan who was on the Welby Commission, that nobody in India believes that it is a fair grant to charge to the Indian tax-payer. The sooner it is removed the better for the sake of the good name of England herself.

I have no doubt that we have a very, very long way to go before the military policy can be moulded in a manner which will satisfy us. I feel that I should suggest one thing, although very small and trifling and may not satisfy some on this side of the House. I should like to ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief whether he has any objection to having a committee elected by this House attached to his Department, so that regarding the various items of expenditure we may at least understand—after all, even in the other civil departments these committees are merely advisory committees—we may at least understand some of the various increases in expenditure or delays occurring in getting reductions in many directions in his Department. The question of surplus stores is an item which strikes one very prominently in this connection. We are told that the residual surplus of stores still left is considerable but the value of it is nil or, more accurately, those stores are unsaleable. What is the total cost of these stores which have now turned out to be absolutely unsaleable? Does it go into crores or is it only a few lakhs? Surely no harm can be done by an advisory committee like the other departmental committees being consulted and allowed to go into such details because they will remove to my mind a good deal of misunderstanding or misconception, if any at all, on this side of the House regarding some of the details of the Military Department.

Sir, I would not like to take up more time except in reply to my friend Mr. K. C. Roy who asked whether consideration of the military policy was excluded from the terms of reference to the Inchcape Committee. Sir, the terms of reference to the Inchcape Committee were fairly wide, but I will read the short preface which I put on to the note which I submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy in connection with Indian military expenditure:

“While considering the expenditure of the Government of India on Military Services, on the Indian Retrenchment Committee I was greatly impressed with the necessity of going beyond the mere details, into the causes which appear to have been at the root of the phenomenal growth of Military expenditure. This resulted in the preparation of the following Notes. As it did not perhaps fall strictly within the four corners of the terms of reference to the Retrenchment Committee (and this is the view which Lord Inchcape and my other colleagues on the Committee took) it was not embodied in their report and I submitted it separately to His Excellency the Viceroy.”

I feel, Sir that no pin-pricks and no small cuts here and there regarding the military expenditure, even if the whole was made subject to our vote, would give us the relief which we seek in the immediate and best interests of India and the Government of India. It is a complete change of outlook in the whole policy which alone can bring India to the point where every civilised nation has a just right to be. I feel that it is useless to criticise the personnel concerned with the Military Department but at the same time it would be wrong and amount to failure in our duty if we did not, year in and year out, mark our complete disapproval of the method and the manner in which the Military Department is being carried on owing to the policy laid down for it.

Mr. P. B. Haigh (Bombay: Nominated Official): I had no intention, Sir, of speaking on this motion for reduction and I should not have done

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so had it not been for the speech made yesterday by my Honourable friend from Bombay, Mr. Jayakar, on the question of the Territorial Force. I listened to his speech, if my Honourable friend will allow me to say so, with the very greatest interest and respect, as I always do listen to the speeches he makes in this House. I know something of the political career of my Honourable friend opposite and every word that he says here in the House is entitled to a careful hearing as the words of a man who speaks sincerely and from his heart and I trust that he will believe that I have no intention of carping at anything he said. I merely wish to the best of my ability to give him a direct answer on some of the points that he has raised.

I do not presume to address this House on the general military policy of Government. It is not a matter with which I am in any way competent to deal. I merely wish to speak on a few points in connection with the Territorial Force which have come under my personal notice as a district officer. It may be that some Honourable Members opposite may inquire why I should venture to intervene at all, as I have no connection either with the Army Department nor am I a soldier. Well, Sir, it was my privilege during the War to serve for three years as a subaltern officer in an Indian regiment and I may add for the benefit of my Honourable friend opposite that I am proud to say that it was a battalion of the 5th Mahratta Light Infantry, a battalion of which the then Adjutant was the brother of my Honourable friend the Army Secretary; his name is still one to conjure with in that regiment. The burden of Mr. Jayakar's speech and to some extent of Mr. Jinnah's speech on the same subject was this. He said—what have you done? You have not tried to do anything. What you have done is a sham. You have instead of encouraging the Territorial Force tried to humiliate them. Mr. Jayakar gave us some of his experiences in connection with the formation of the University Training Corps. With all respect to Mr. Jayakar I cannot help feeling that he may perhaps have misread the actual state of things. It must be remembered that for those who attempt to undergo military discipline for the first time, even as amateur soldiers, some unpleasant shocks are in store. I remember very well, as I have no doubt many of my Honourable friends on this side do, my early experiences as a private in a University Corps. It is 27 years ago since I first enrolled as a private in that distinguished corps which no longer exists now—the Cambridge University Rifle Volunteers—known irreverently as the Bugshooters—and I shall not easily forget the first week we spent in barracks in Aldershot, in extreme cold, with inadequate blanket arrangements and very rough food. I remember very well the first morning after our arrival. When the tea for our breakfast was served, it arrived mixed up with sugar and milk in a large horse bucket and we dipped in our tin mugs into it. Well, we got used to it and I think it is quite possible that some of Mr. Jayakar's young friends might have found the inevitable hardships of amateur soldiering a little too hard to begin with. (Mr. M. R. Jayakar: "I do not complain of it.") There must have been a misunderstanding on both sides. After all he is speaking of what happened several years ago. That day is past. We heard yesterday from the Army Secretary himself and again this morning in answer to a question that the ranks of the Officers' Training Corps in the university battalions are now practically

full. The days of those misunderstandings have gone by and I do not think we should dwell on the unfortunate incidents that happened in the past.

Now let me turn to the ordinary branch of the Territorial Force, the Territorial Force proper as designed to form the beginnings of a second line for the Indian Army. When the Act first came into force I was Collector of North Kanara in the Bombay Presidency; not a military district, not a district from which many recruits have been ever drawn for the regular army. But we had on the extreme north of that district, north of the *Kalinadi*, a group of villages inhabited mostly by the caste of Konkani Mahrattas and I thought we had better make a beginning with them. I can assure my Honourable friend that I was as pleased as he was when that Act was passed and I was anxious to do what I could as Collector of the district to help the Territorial Force to be a success there. We called together a meeting of the patels. We got the Commandant of the Battalion to come down from Poona to attend a meeting. We got a translation made of the speeches that were made in this House by Colonel Nevill, I think, and a précis of that was printed in Mahratti and distributed. We had a little money left over from the recruiting fund from the War and from that we put a man on special duty of the rank of circle inspector (I think you call him *patwari* in the North) and he went round the villages; and we got the assistance of two Mahratta school masters who were given leave by the education authorities and we made a regular campaign. A non-official committee was formed, the President of which was my dear old friend who is no longer living, Diwan Bahadur Yennemadi. Well, Sir, we succeeded in inducing about 70 recruits to come forward, mostly Mahrattas, some Bhandaris and one or two other castes. We also made an effort—this is for my friend Mr. Ruthnaswamy—to enlist the assistance of the Roman Catholics who are numerous on the coast, and I got the priests to promise to hold forth on the subject after Mass at the churches one Sunday. Well, I regret to say, Sir, we only got two recruits from that community. We had a promise from the headquarters of the battalion that if we could raise even 25 men to form the nucleus of a platoon they would be taken. But unfortunately we never got more than two and so we had reluctantly to decline. We had every assistance from the military authorities in Belgaum. It was pointed out that Kanara was a remote place and many of these recruits might hesitate to come even as far as Belgaum for the first year's training. It was not so long after the War and there was an uneasy feeling amongst the parents of these young fellows that if they once left Kanara they might be sent to France or Russia or goodness knows where. So the District Command very kindly arranged for us to have the first month's recruit's training actually at Karwar. A camp was formed there; arrangements were made for rifle practice and the whole of the first year's recruit training of the Kanara Company was carried out in the neighbourhood of Karwar itself. And if I may be allowed to make one suggestion to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, I venture to think that it would materially assist recruiting if it were possible at all events for the recruit training to take place in the civil district to which the recruits belong. I realize of course that it is necessary to embody the battalion in one centre, and for the Bombay battalion the natural centre is Belgaum. But if it were possible for recruits to do their first year's training in centres near the district to which they belong, I think

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it might facilitate matters, and I venture to make this suggestion to His Excellency here.

Well, Sir, in course of time I had to leave Kanara and I went to Poona, the heart of Maharashtra, the place where, Mr. Jayakar says, if anywhere, you must find genuine military enthusiasm. And what did I find? There was hardly a man who had joined the Territorial Force; hardly a man. There is a non-official committee. It numbers amongst its members a gentleman who was at that time a Member of the Legislative Council, who had promised openly to do his best to bring recruits. In fact he said: "I will bring you men". I am sorry to say that they have done practically nothing and the Force is moritund. "What have you done?" says Mr. Jinnah. Well I say to Mr. Jayakar: "What have you done?" What has my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar done? Has he ever found a single recruit in the Poona district for the Territorial Force?

Mr. N. C. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): What are the careers open to them, that I may go round to preach to them and ask them to join the regiment?

Mr. P. B. Haigh: I must point out to my Honourable friend that service in the Territorial Force or in the Militia is not a career. It is one of the privileges open to a citizen to serve in a national army. What are the conditions under which he has to serve? The Honourable Mr. Jayakar has suggested it is a humiliation. These men serve under exactly the same conditions as sepoys in the regular army. Does he mean to say that that is a humiliation? Will Mr. Jayakar go into any of the Mahratta battalions: will he go to Belgaum to the training battalion of the Mahratta Light Infantry and say to those men, "You are humiliated by serving in this way?" He dare not do it. They would repudiate the suggestion at once, and very justly.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): When I spoke of humiliation I was referring to racial distinction. There is no humiliation involved in drinking tea from buckets. We would welcome such a hard life. (Applause.)

Mr. P. B. Haigh: I notice that Honourable Members applaud. Where is the racial distinction that exists among the ranks of the Territorial Force? (*An Honourable Member*: "Where is it not?") (*Dr. Moonje* also rose to interrupt.) I do not give way to *Dr. Moonje*; let him look in the book. (Laughter.) I say, Sir, that there is no consciousness of racial distinction and inferiority among the sepoys of the Regular Army, and sepoys of the Territorial Force are treated in the same way as members of the Regular Army. Now, Sir, I do not want to say this in a carping spirit. I want to let bygones be bygones. I give an invitation to my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar. When we both go back to Poona at the end of this Session, will he come with me round the district? Will he come and speak on behalf of recruiting? Will my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar come over to Poona and help us? Will he speak as eloquently as he spoke here the other day, and speak this time in his own language and get these young fellows to come forward? They do not realize what a territorial army means. The very idea of a citizen army is totally new. They think a soldier is a man who follows the profession of arms for a certain number of years and devotes his whole time to it. We want the whole idea explained to them. The

non-official committee at Poona have done practically nothing. Are you going to leave it to the foreigner, the foreign Collector, to go round and explain to your young men what service in a Territorial Force means? I ask Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Kelkar and their friends in Poona to come round the district and help me. I do not want to make any invidious distinctions between officials and non-officials in this respect. The Collector of the district is just as much interested in the progress of his district as non-official Members like Mr. Kelkar, and I invite Mr. Kelkar, when we get back to Poona, to come round and see if we cannot do something to make the Territorial Force there more of a success. "There is no place," says Mr. Jinnah, "there is no place in the national army for the citizens of this country". Well, there are 3,000 and some hundred odd places vacant still, as he will learn from the figures given by my Honourable friend. There is place in the ranks still for many of the young men in the Poona district and other parts of Maharashtra, and I want my Honourable friends opposite to come forward and help to fill those ranks. They call themselves Responsivists and I hope that they will show they are by responding to this appeal. (Laughter.) (Applause.)

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): Sir, I think the House owes a debt of gratitude to my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas for drawing attention to the manner in which the House has dealt with the Demands for Grants. I would like to add, Sir, that our little group have done our best to assist the House in coming to a discussion on every grant if possible. We arranged with other leaders of parties a time table; we arranged for the order in which the principal Demands should come forward; we arranged, or thought we had, for a short time limit in order to give all Members a chance. I very much regret, Sir, that the good work we and the other leaders thought we had organized has broken down. We were not successful, and I put it to the leaders of parties that it is due to the desire of individual Members to speak at very great length. I would ask the leaders another year to try and exercise some control over their Back-Benchers in order that we may get on with the business.

Sir, I, like my Honourable friend Mr. Haigh, do not propose to debate on the particular matter of the general policy and expenditure of the Army Department. Because I feel I am not altogether qualified. But, Sir, there are one or two points to which I would like to make a brief reference. Mr. Haigh has drawn attention to the complaints put forward by my Honourable friend, Mr. Jayakar, in connection with the University Training Corps and the Territorial Forces. I do not quite understand what is the particular complaint or grievance that Mr. Jayakar has; he has told the House to-day that he does not complain of the hardships that the young men or boys have to put up with when in camp of drinking out of buckets or taking their tea out of buckets as explained by Mr. Haigh. Then what is it that he complains of? I understood it was humiliation. Now, Sir, I can quite feel with him on that score, because when I first became a volunteer, I think 43 or 44 years ago, in the city of London, in the London Scottish Corps, I felt very humiliated every time I went to a squad drill. We had two or three drill sergeants with a most wonderful vocabulary of abusive terms that it was possible to imagine, and when I went away after an hour's drill, if wishes could kill, they were dead men. Now I ask Mr. Jayakar if it is in matters of that sort that he finds complaint, because I assure him that it is very common in the training of the youths of the

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country to form a second line of defence force. They are not soldiers, and it is only for a few hours in the week that they are put to squad drill—they do not understand it exactly in the same way that an enlisted soldier does. I would ask Mr. Jayakar to think the matter over again and see whether the system is so very much to blame.

Now, Sir, with reference to my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, I did not quite appreciate what appeared to be a little sneer on his part at what my Honourable friend, the Finance Member, had put before the House a few days ago when he asked us to exercise those virtues of faith, hope, charity and love. I think what the Honourable Finance Member had in view was that the House, when making speeches, should exercise a little more charity. I know how easy it is to throw mud at other people and become somewhat violent in terms, but it is not pleasant for the other side, and it is not pleasant for many listeners; and I would also put it to Members that it is not likely to advance their cause towards the goal that they wish to attain. I have it, Sir, in a letter from a very old friend of many Members in the House; he was a Member of the House only quite recently; and he writes to me from London:

“Some of us here are doing all we can to create a favourable atmosphere here”

—he was referring to the appointment of the Royal Commission—

“for it must be remembered that any Bill following the Government of India Act has to go through the British Parliament. Public opinion in England is puzzled about India. The new spirit of Locarno and of the Imperial Conference inclines it to be friendly to Indian aspirations, and then it gets a sudden set-back, and we are asked to explain communal tension, riots and speeches and votes in the Assembly.”

And he concludes:

“It is up to all of us to do what we can to ensure that in 1929 the atmosphere in England will be what it should be, and this depends largely on what happens in India generally and in the Assembly in particular during the intervening period. You have all got a difficult task before you, but knowing the calibre of the men who have to shoulder the burden, I am by no means without hope and look forward to a large measure of co-operation between all parties and the Government as soon as the excitements of the elections have died down.”

Now, Sir, that is the position I put to the Members on the other side—and do you not think that it is worth while trying another method of inducing Government to do what is wished for?

(At this stage a small tile fell from the ceiling.)

An Honourable Member: This is New Dehli.

Mr. President: Order, order. Sir Darcy Lindsay.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: Be less abusive to Government. The Government—I think the House are really ready to admit—are doing a great deal for the advancement of India (*An Honourable Member:* “Are they?”), and they never get any credit for that (Hear, hear). Are there no good deeds which you can put down to the credit of the Government? (*Mr. T. C. Goswami:* “Very few.”) If that is your view, it reminds me, Sir, of a very old story I heard about a sailor who felt that he was dying, and he wished to obtain absolution. The priest heard the story of his life, and it was so very bad that he said, “I can’t give you absolution. Cannot you think of at least one good deed that you have done?” The sailor thought

for a long time and said, "Well, once I did convert a Jew to be a Christian", and the priest said, "Perhaps that is a good deed, and if you will recount the circumstances, I may see what I can do." So the sailor explained that on a voyage a passenger fell overboard, and he went away with a boat to pick him up, and he was the man who got hold of him, and when he held his head up, he saw he was a Jew, and he said to him, "Jew, will you be a Christian?", and the Jew said, "No", so he put his head under the water. Then he pulled him up again, and repeated "Jew will you be a Christian?", in a feeble voice, the Jew said, "Yes," and with that the sailor said, "Very well, die a Christian", and let him go. Now that story reminds me of my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, in his support of the Government for the Steel Protection Bill.

Mr. President: Order, order. I would like the Honourable Member now to come to the point, namely, the military policy of the Government of India.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: Well, Sir, I was interested to learn my Honourable friend Mr. Roy's views on the Frontier policy, and I was particularly pleased to hear him say "Stabilise on Razmak". As far as I am aware, Sir, that is what the military authorities have always proposed to do. I thought that was their advance policy. I was up in that district two years ago and it is certainly what I was told. The idea was to stabilise on Razmak and have a mobile force there to advance on Wana or the Afghan Frontier, if necessary.

There is one other matter that I would like to refer to in connection with the speech made yesterday by my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer. If I heard him aright, he said that I and my fellow Members in the group are tied to the end of the Government string. I deny, Sir, any such imputation. We are entirely free to vote as we please and we are in no way tied to the Government string. In any case . . .

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): All that I said was that the Honourable Member who leads the group and sits on the Front Bench dances to the tune of the Government in regard to the military policy, and he is doing so now.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: I deny that. We have absolute freedom to hold whatever views we please and we are in no way tied to the Government or the Government strings.

Mr. E. B. Howell (Foreign Secretary): Sir, so far as I am aware, my Honourable friend Mr. K. C. Roy did not mention the subject of the Government's Frontier policy as one of the grounds which he put forward for criticising the Demand now under the consideration of the House. Therefore, Sir, he has the advantage of taking me unawares: he has stabbed me in the back; but he has done it very amiably and pleasantly, quite in the Mahsud fashion. Sir, I am glad that he did so and I am grateful. For the Frontier problem is one of the great problems that India has to face and the attention of this House cannot be too often or too seriously drawn to it. Besides, Sir, I have been spending the last three years in Waziristan in charge of that policy which he denounced so vigorously and I have become quite accustomed to this sort of thing. Now, Sir, what is the primary object of the Government's policy on the Frontier? I leave aside the larger questions—Russia and so forth. I am talking only of the actual guarding of our borders. Sir, the object of that policy is nothing but the protection of the lives and the properties of those who dwell in British India, whether they are Englishmen or English women

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or Indian, Hindu or Musalman men or women. Our object is that they should go about their lawful avocations in peace and security. Now, Sir, my friend Mr. Roy said that at some time and in some place—he did not mention when or where—Government had been pursuing a ruinous forward policy. May I ask him if I am correct in assuming that he was referring to the last few years, since 1920?

Mr. K. O. Roy: The Waziristan expedition.

Mr. E. B. Howell: Waziristan since 1920. He also mentioned in that connection that he had no belief in statistics, because with statistics you could prove anything. That may be so, Sir, but I say, without them you can prove nothing. (Laughter). I would like, if the House will bear with me for a few minutes, to give some facts and figures which relate only to the two districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan that adjoin Waziristan. They are for the years 1919-20 onwards. In those two districts in the year 1919-20—that was the year of the Afghan War—there were no fewer than 324 raids into British India from Waziristan: 149 British subjects were killed, 197 wounded and property to the value of Rs. 12.7 lakhs was carried off. In the next year the number of raids was 233; 106 persons were killed, 188 wounded and property worth Rs. 1.6 lakhs was carried off. In the next year, 1921-22, the number of raids dropped to 129; 50 persons were killed and 108 wounded and property worth .8 of 1 lakh was carried off. In the next year the corresponding figures are 73 raids, 33 persons killed, 42 wounded and .4 of 1 lakh of rupees of property carried off. In the next year, 1923-24, there were 45 raids, 26 persons were killed, 10 were wounded and again property worth Rs. .4 of a lakh was carried off. In the next year, 1924-25, there were 21 raids, 18 persons were killed and 18 wounded; .1 of a lakh of rupees worth of property was carried off. Last year there were 11 raids, 10 persons were killed, 1 was wounded and .01 of a lakh worth of property carried off, that is, Rs. 1,000 was the amount of property carried off. I think, Sir, these figures speak for themselves. At the same time, Sir, I would like also to give you figures of Government's military and civil expenditure in connection with Waziristan. I have not got the figures for the years 1919-20 and 1920-21. So I will begin with the figures for 1921-22. In that year military expenditure amounted to Rs. 772 lakhs and Rs. 47 lakhs was spent on the Jandola-Sorarogha road. The civil expenditure was only 8.3 lakhs. The civil expenditure, I should explain, was low, because at that time the militia had been disbanded and the Khassadars were not yet organised. In the following year military expenditure fell to 747 lakhs and civil expenditure rose to 45.9 lakhs, which marked the inauguration of the Khassadar system. There was a slight increase in tribal allowances and the expansion of the two Scout Corps, who are responsible for maintaining the safety of certain parts of Waziristan. In the same year the expenditure on road building and hutting at Razmak was 108 lakhs. In the following year, 1923-24, military expenditure fell to 455 lakhs, while civil expenditure rose to 60 lakhs, at which point it has since been stable. 86 lakhs were spent again on road construction and hutting at Razmak and elsewhere. In 1924-25 stability was attained in military expenditure also at 283 lakhs, while civil expenditure remained approximately the same, 58.7 lakhs; 48.7 lakhs were spent on road construction. Last year the military expenditure again stood at Rs. 281 lakhs, with 39 lakhs for road construction.

Now, Sir, I think these figures really are a proof that the policy that this Government have been following, whether it is a forward policy or not—I will come to that in a moment—has certainly not been ruinous. I am, Sir, I think, qualified to speak on this head, because I have myself been in Waziristan for the last 2½ years in charge of that policy. My friend Mr. Roy denounced it as a “forward policy” and in the same breath he said “Sit tight at Razmak and do not go to Wana.” Sir, as a matter of fact, though he may not be aware of it, Razmak is nearer the Afghan frontier than Wana. How you can get to Razmak without a forward policy I cannot imagine. However, Sir, we are at Razmak and we are not at Wana. It is a tenable argument, one may say that the tribes of Waziristan are sufficiently bound down from doing mischief to us in British India by the presence of a force at Razmak. That, Sir, is an arguable proposition, but it is a very long way from Razmak to Wana, and a very difficult road in parts. Perhaps Mr. Roy does not know it, but I do, having walked that distance this spring with the column.

Mention of roads brings me to an item which I mentioned over and over again in giving those figures just now, and that is the system of road construction in Waziristan. I do not propose to bother the House with details, but I would like nothing better than to take a party from the House over those roads. (*Some Honourable Members*: “No, thanks, we do not want to go.”) Those roads, have acted, Sir, exactly in the same way that the roads built 200 years ago by General Wade in the Highlands of Scotland acted. They are acting as civilizing agents. I know many Mahsud-Wazir maliks who own their own motor cars. They may perhaps take up 15 or 20 passengers most of them armed with rifles, but they do come out of their own country and go into the bazars of British India. They go to places like Tank and Bannu, they do buy things there, they do meet their fellow men and they do get away from that spirit of “Here is a stranger, heave half a brick at him” which is said to have been the traditional attitude of Englishmen not so very long ago.

Perhaps you may be aware, Sir, the House is probably aware, that when Government first occupied Wana it did so at the request of the Wazirs themselves, and when I was there with the column in May last, there was one subject which no Wazir could be kept off. They all said with one voice, “For God’s sake come back to Wana”. I may mention one more thing, Sir. I say it in no spirit of vain glory. When I left Waziristan, the Mahsuds gave me a garden party at Tank. This they paid for themselves. So did the Wazirs at a place near Bannu. They would no doubt have done the same for any one else. They are not accustomed to paying for things themselves. They are accustomed to take what they want. But they conducted the whole business of the garden party admirably and they made perfect hosts. At those garden parties Malik after Malik made speeches, responsible Maliks representing the tribe. They said, “Never have we had better relations with the British Government than during the past few years and we trust that present conditions may go on.” Of course, Sir, I am not such a fool as to believe everything that Wazirs or Mahsuds say to me, but I do ask the House to believe that those sentiments were on the whole more or less sincere.

Sir, I would now like to turn to another subject. It is not really primarily my business, but perhaps the House will bear with me. I refer to my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas’ remarks on the subject

[Mr. E. B. Howell.]

of Aden. I would not deal with that topic but for the fact that he alleged breach of promise in this matter. Now, Sir, that promise was given by Sir Denys Bray, in whose place I am for the moment standing. Sir Purshotamdas chose to use the phrase "breach of promise." I understand that that phrase is generally used in connection with promises of marriage. I think in this case it was not very apt. For the marriage between Aden and India remains undissolved. He may have intended breach of faith. I deny that charge, which is peculiarly obnoxious to a person in my position. The promise made by Sir Denys Bray was that the House would be consulted before a decision was taken. From the very fact that Sir Denys Bray gave that promise, it is clear that it was not a promise relating to the incidence of military expenditure, but to the future control and administration of Aden, and it is also perfectly clear that it really meant an adverse decision. In this connection I submit that the decision has not been an adverse decision, but on the contrary a very favourable decision indeed. Therefore I maintain that there was no breach of any undertaking whatever. May I provide the Honourable Member with a few facts in regard to Aden?

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Is the Honourable Member aware that the Government of Bombay actually dropped the Bill

Mr. E. B. Howell: I am not giving way to you, Sir.

Sir, up to the year 1900, India, from which place an expedition went forth in the year 1839 to occupy Aden, treated Aden as part of India.

1 P.M. Then came the Welby Commission as a result of which the Home Government contributed a sum equal to half the military expenditure on Aden at that time. That went on until the War, although of course actual expenditure no doubt increased in that period. In the year 1917 the Home Government informed the Indian Government that they wished to retain in their own hands direct military and political control at Aden. They have done so ever since. I take it what the House is interested in is the fate of the settlement and the Indians in that settlement, who by the way scarcely number 3,000 out of a total population of 56,000. That is what the House is interested in, not the Arab tribes in the hinterland. After 1917 came the end of the War. Throughout the War His Majesty's Government bore all extraordinary expenditure in connection with the War and the Indian Government continued to pay the cost of the garrison less the annual contribution of £72,000. With the re-establishment of peace conditions came a new arrangement. The Home Government continued to contribute this £72,000; India continued to pay the cost of the pre-war garrison less this contribution, and the remaining expenditure with an enlarged and more expensive garrison was shared equally between the two Governments. The actual burden which fell upon India this last year for which I have figures, 1924-25, was 40 lakhs odd. Now, Sir, we have come to a fresh agreement. We are going to pay, as His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief told you, £250,000 for 3 years and after that £150,000 or one-third of the total expenditure, whichever is less. I maintain, Sir, that that is a favourable bargain and I do not see how anyone who can do a little arithmetic can question it.

Mr. T. C. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, with regard to Aden, the excuse which has been pleaded by the

Foreign Secretary that, because the decision—which was arrived at without consulting the Assembly and therefore I repeat in disregard of a promise given to this House—in his opinion is not adverse to India, therefore there has not been any breach of faith

Mr. E. B. Howell: My point was that there has been no decision.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Why has the Bombay Government dropped its Bill?

Mr. Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadian): Why did His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief make that announcement here if there was no decision arrived at?

Mr. T. C. Goswami: If there is no decision the whole of the second paragraph of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief's speech which I have before me has no meaning absolutely. That plea which Mr. Howell has now taken up is so flimsy that I shall not insult the intelligence of the House by trying to repudiate it. Sir, a little incident which took place a few minutes back, (pointing to the ceiling from which a brick had fallen) which the most ingenious advocate defending the architect of these buildings could not dare to bring within the plea of "Act of God," set in motion some thoughts in my mind. This architecture of New Delhi at once appeared to my mind to typify the military organisation of this country. It is a huge, colossal, gaunt and graceless system. It has all the appearance of strength if only because it has been reared on extravagance; but, in the course of time and when the time comes to test it, it will—and it gives me comfort to contemplate—give way. I suggested the other day to the Honourable Member in charge of Public Works that the uncompleted buildings in New Delhi might be made over to the Archaeological Department. Sir, I look forward to the day when this archaic system of military administration in this country will be consigned to the archives.

We have in the Commander-in-Chief's speech, delivered on the 3rd of March, a virtual repudiation of the Incheape Committee's recommendation of the fifty crore limit of military expenditure. In past years I was at great pains to point out to this House the concealed items of military expenditure; so that I have always questioned the accuracy of those figures of 56 and 57 crores as representing the total military expenditure. In the present Budget, even on a superficial examination of the Demands for Grants, I find there are items, for instance, under Demand No. 74, North-West Frontier Province, involving Rs. 230 lakhs and under the Demand, Frontier Watch and Ward, involving Rs. 119 lakhs; and then there are items under Civil Works which really are military expenditure. Sir, if you add up the concealed items of military expenditure, the total military expenditure of this country stands at a much higher figure than is presented to us in the Budget. Of course this year the Waziristan scheme, which used to pervade so many of the Demands for Grants in past years, does not appear. At the same time I must say that even in this Budget, if we add up the concealed items, the total military expenditure will be found to be a good deal in excess of the pretended total.

I thought, when I went away yesterday from this House, that it would be unnecessary for me to refer to the University Training Corps.

[Mr. T. C. Goswami.]

But speeches of Honourable Members to-day make it necessary for me to emphasise again the differential treatment between the Auxiliary Force and the Territorial Force; and the grievances of the University Training Corps men, at least so far as the Calcutta University Corps is concerned, are not of the nature which have been ridiculed by Sir Darcy Lindsay and the Honourable gentleman over there. It is really a humiliation

Mr. P. B. Haigh: May I intervene for a moment

Mr. T. C. Goswami: I do not give way, Sir

Mr. P. B. Haigh: I wish to protest against the insinuation (*Cries of "Order, order."*)

Mr. President: The Honourable Member refuses to give way. Is it a matter of personal explanation?

Mr. P. B. Haigh: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I had no desire whatever to ridicule the grievances of these young men at all; I merely pointed out that in the entirely novel circumstances they might be inclined to attach undue importance to and put an unfavourable construction upon what I may call the incidents of amateur soldiering. It is the last thing in my mind and I disclaim altogether any desire whatever to ridicule the feelings of these young men who have had the patriotism to come forward and join the University Training Corps.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: I do not grudge the Honourable Member the privilege of his supplementary speech. But I do submit that it is not a matter about which you can justly be light-hearted or which you can with any decency ridicule,—namely, the susceptibilities of educated young men. I know these University Training Corps are used only for the purpose of furnishing guards of honour to Governors and the Governor-General—a most humiliating thing. Then, it was pointed out that they were not given rifles; they were not trusted. Is that not humiliation? In what manner can you more effectively humiliate men who have self-respect, men who come from respectable families, men who have received education and have learnt to think for themselves. Sir, I again repeat that to ridicule high sentiments of self-respect is a crime.

Then, as regards Indian Sandhurst it was my opinion before the Sandhurst Committee, of which my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, was a member,—it was my submission before that Committee that we should turn our eyes away from the fascinations of the English Sandhurst, that we must cease to think of sending our boys to Sandhurst. It was pointed out by an Honourable Member at the other end of the House yesterday that of the Indian boys who had been to Sandhurst, some were disqualified. Now, Sir, I have no hesitation in saying that I have very grave suspicion as to the reasons why some of our boys failed to complete their training. It is a suspicion which is shared by many people in this country, and it is my deliberate conviction that we should not send our boys to Sandhurst and that the substantial contributions which, as Mr. Jinnah pointed out yesterday, we pay to Sandhurst, to Woolwich and to Gatham, ought to be withdrawn. We should have a military training college in India and we must turn our eyes away for ever from Sandhurst.

Then, Sir, there is the question of troops being sent out of India. I am speaking on the subject as a general subject. I think this House ought to condemn unequivocally the sending of troops out of India for purposes which are not directly connected with the defence of India

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to raise this question on this cut? It is a big question which will take some time to discuss. If the Honourable Member however desires to raise it now, I have no objection.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: I was only mentioning this matter because I thought it was a matter of military policy.

Mr. President: If the Honourable Member wants to discuss it, the Chair has no objection.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: I accede to your suggestion, Sir, that I should not go at length into the subject. I only wish to put it to the House that our soldiers should not be used as hired assassins.

Sir, it is our belief that this huge military organization is kept up not merely with a view to protect India from outsiders, but rather with a view to suppress our liberties. That is my belief, and that is a belief borne out by facts which I have observed, that great preparations have been made to meet certain contingencies, certain eventualities. For instance, great preparations have been made in case the threat of civil disobedience is put into operation; and the whole policy with regard to aerodromes and aeroplanes, with regard to the dispositions of troops in different parts of the country seems to have been based on an imaginary campaign of civil disobedience in this country. Sir, this is not a view which is very far-fetched. We have the history of Mesopotamia in our minds. There aeroplanes and bombs were actually used for the purpose of enforcing payment of taxes, and I have heard from military officers whose names I cannot disclose, that similar preparations have been undertaken in this country; so that we pay not merely to keep the British garrison here, not merely for training English troops in this country at the expense of India, but we pay for our own enslavement and for the perpetuation of our impotence. That is where the Military Budget hurts me most. It is not that 50 crores is not a small amount; it is a large amount, but I think that India could have to a certain extent overlooked this heavy expenditure had it not been for the painful fact that it means the perpetuation of our impotence. That is how the Military Budget hurts me terribly.

Lastly, permit me to say, that by the attitude of Government in not taking this House into their confidence, in continuing to withhold from this House detailed information with regard to military expenditure and general policy, they are driving us more and more to desperation, and they are making the country feel that it is useless to argue with the power that rules the land to-day, that perhaps other methods are necessary—methods other than those of argument and persuasion. That is a feeling which it may be dangerous to foster in this country. Sir, after all even a pampered child of fortune like Great Britain has in ordinary prudence to look forward to times less propitious than the present, and after all wars in Europe may

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become inevitable, and it may become necessary for the Commander-in-Chief, instead of making the sort of speech he made on the 3rd of March, to come, and upon bended knees and with folded hands to ask for contributions from India, contributions in men and money. Such things have happened before, and such things may happen again.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhamadan): Sir, before speaking on the main question, I should like to reply to the Honourable Mr. Haigh's reference to Mr. Jayakar and the Territorial Forces. And in doing so, he will believe me when I say that my association with the Territorial Forces of at any rate one University is intimate and I am conversant with the needs and requirements of the Territorial Forces of that University. Sir, 4 years ago, when I applied on behalf of the Delhi University for the leave of His Excellency, the then Commander-in-Chief, for instituting a Territorial Force, after two years of negotiation a company was sanctioned and within a fortnight we produced boys sufficient to fill two companies and the result was that Mr. Burdon, the then Army Secretary, said that since the first company was a success, sanction would be given for the creation of another company. So that we had on the waiting list something like 185 boys who were awaiting the decision of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief for enlistment in the second company. But as soon as the first company was formed, my boys all came to me in groups and complained to me that the discrimination that was made between themselves and the members of the Auxiliary Force was to the following effect. I complained of it to the then Military Secretary and it has been the subject of reference on the floor of this House; and the Honourable Mr. Haigh will bear me out if he consults the military authorities that the thing that galls members of the University Training Corps is this, that, while the members of the Auxiliary Force are regarded as the second line of defence of the British Army and their treatment and equipment therefore approximates to that of the British Army, the members of the Territorial Force are regarded as the second line of defence of the Sepoy Army and their equipment, therefore, approximates to that of the Indian sepoy in the Indian Army, the result being that during the first year, the members of the Delhi University Training Corps were merely given drill like school boys without any arms and accoutrements and the complaint which the Honourable Mr. Jayakar has made from far-off Bombay is a complaint which can be verified by reference to the members of the Delhi University Training Corps. That is what is wrong with the Territorial Force connected with the universities of India.

Sir, passing on to the main subject, I am not here concerned with either the Indianisation of the Army or with the various questions which the Honourable Members of this House have raised; and when I rise to speak here on this subject I speak with a heavy heart because I feel that a decision has been come to by the Army Council and the War Office and possibly the British Cabinet against which both this Assembly and the Government of India feel powerless. Let me give the Honourable Members the facts. Immediately after the close of the Great War the Secretary of State for India appointed a Committee for the purpose of making recommendations regarding the Army in India. That Committee was presided over by Lord Fisher, and in the forefront of the report of that Committee it was laid down as one of the principal recommendations of the Committee that the objective of the Army of India was to treat it as a unit of the

Imperial forces. Well, Sir, since the report of that Committee was published the Members of the first Assembly raised a debate on that question and a Committee, with the consent of the Government of India, was appointed to examine the proposals made by the Esher Committee. Honourable Members will find, if they turn to the report of the Esher Committee, dated the 22nd June, 1920, and the subsequent Resolutions of the Assembly, dated the 28th March, 1921, how far the Government of India and the elected Members of the House were in entire agreement as to the main object and policy in regard to the military in India. While the Esher Committee had recommended that the Army in India must be regarded as an instrument of Imperial policy, the Government of India and this House conjointly decided that the main policy of the Army of India is the defence of India. Consequently, at that time, the Government of India, presumably with the consent of the then Secretary of State, fell into line with the wishes of the Members of this House and a series of Resolutions were then passed on the date I have given enunciating the policy regarding the Army in India and the ways and means by which that policy was to be carried out. Honourable Members will be interested to learn that in formulating those Resolutions we were mainly guided by the report of Sir Krishna Gupta who was a member of Lord Esher's Committee. Let me recapitulate the main recommendations which Sir Krishna Gupta as a member of the Esher Committee made dissenting from the majority report. He said that "the superior ranks of every branch of the army, including the Artillery, Air Force, Engineers, Transports and Supplies, etc., should be freely open to qualified Indians." Then he went on to say that these should be drawn not from the wealthy families, but the best qualified candidates irrespective of birth or creed. "As in every other country, so in India, it is the educated middle-classes which must furnish the largest contingent of officers." Then Sir Krishna Gupta pointed out that "no effort should be spared to make the Territorial Force a success and a real adjunct to the regular army." "The practice", he said, "of officering the Indian Army by regular periodical drafts from Europe is not only very costly, but it is harmful to the best interests of India", and then he suggested that "steps should be taken in due course to establish in India training and educational institutions for all branches of the Army", and then he pointed out that "Our proposals must add largely to the army expenditure, which is already high, and the only way of introducing economy without impairing efficiency is gradually, to increase the Indian element in the ranks as well as in superior positions". Sir, these were the main recommendations of the Indian member of Lord Esher's Committee and every one of those recommendations were confirmed by the unanimous vote of the House in which the Government joined. We expected and we presumed that the Government of India could not have lent their support to all these Resolutions without the previous concurrence of and consultation with the Secretary of State and the subsequent history of these Resolutions shows that the then Secretary of State must have really approved the concurrence of the Government of India to the Resolutions of the Assembly. For we find that in order to give effect to these Resolutions the Government appointed a Departmental Committee and also appointed another Committee popularly known as the Military Requirements Committee and both of them submitted their report. We waited for two years to give effect to the recommendations of this House and when we found that there was delay and disquieting rumours began to reach us from England as to the intervention of the War Office we

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moved another Resolution on the 4th July, 1923, asking the Government to give effect to our considered Resolutions. On that day Mr. Burdon let the cat out of the bag and let me give you the *ipsissima verba* of the Hon-ourable the Army Secretary. He said:

"His Majesty's Government, taking, as needs they must, a serious view of the high responsibility which rests upon them, are not prepared to risk the efficiency and traditional reputation of the Indian Army by embarking on any large and revolutionary change, such as would be involved by immediately replacing British officers in large numbers by Indian officers, without—without I say—having the proof of some well-chosen experience that the risk will not be unduly great. Accordingly, for the time being, Indianisation has been limited, so far as formations are concerned, and apart from the employment of individual officers, to the gradual substitution of Indian officers for British officers in eight selected units of the primary combatant arms—cavalry and infantry."

In plain prose this means that His Majesty's Government had overruled the combined recommendations of the Government of India and the Legislative Assembly on the first and foremost principle which enunciated the policy which we wanted the Secretary of State and the Government of India to accede to, namely, that the policy of the Army in India should be restricted and confined to the defence of India. The War Office, on the other hand, who had always been struggling to use the Indian Army as a pawn in the Imperial game, overruled not only the Government of India but also the Secretary of State for India, and it is against this that this House has been complaining during the last four years. What is the good of our appointing Committees for Indianisation here and Indianisation there? The first and foremost principle that we want the Government of India and the Secretary of State to accede to is that the sole objective of the Army in India is the defence of India and nothing more than and nothing beyond the defence of India. Are the Government prepared to accede to this policy? Have the Government any information that the War Office have not overruled all their recommendations made as far back as 1921 on the principle which I have submitted for the consideration of this House? And that, I submit, is a principle upon which this House should give a united vote. Sir, so far as the Government of India are concerned, I have no quarrel with them because they have been fighting at least up to 1922 and possibly till 1923 the battle for India. It is the War Office that has been overruling the Government of India and the considered decision of Members of this House. This fact was brought home to this House in a remarkable way about 3 years ago when the Under-Secretary of State for War declared in the House of Commons that, while the Government of India concurring with the Inchcape Committee had recommended the reduction of 10,000 white troops, the British Government were unable to accede to their recommendation and that if they had acceded to their recommendation, it would add to the cost of the British tax-payer. The result was that the British Government overruled the combined recommendations of the Inchcape Committee and of the Government of India and presumably of the Secretary of State for India and that not for the interest of India but because it would increase the taxes of the British tax-payer. That was the statement which was made by Colonel Guinness, the Under-Secretary of State for War, in the House of Commons and one of us drew the attention of the Government of India to that fact. Now, Sir, what we want is to reaffirm the policy which we have all along struggled for, namely, that the policy of the military in India should be limited to the defence of India and we should therefore in passing the motion that we do, be understood to reaffirm the

series of Resolutions which this House unanimously passed as far back as the 28th March, 1921.

The second point that I wish to make in this connection is that . . .

Mr. President: Is the Honourable Member going to take long?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Say about 15 minutes.

Mr. President: He must continue after Lunch.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, the first point, therefore, that I make is that the military policy of the Government of India is controlled by the War Office and the further development of the Army that has taken place in India has been for military purposes without advertence to the requirements of India. That accounts for the establishment of the Royal Indian Navy, the Air Force and the order for the re-armament of the Indian Army and the retention of the British garrison in India at the post-mutiny ratio of two to one. Honourable Members will realize that during the War His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was in direct communication with the War Office. That power has since been taken away from the Commander-in-Chief. He can directly communicate with the Imperial General Staff, but no longer with the War Office. The point that the House wishes to make, therefore, is that it should once more enunciate the policy which it did in 1921, that the aim and object of the Army in India is the defence of India.

The second point I wish to make is with reference to the Territorial Forces. The Secretary of State has fixed the maximum number of 20,000 as the strength of the Territorial Force, though there is no corresponding fixation of a maximum in the case of the Auxiliary Force. That, I submit, is a discrimination against which this House has protested, and justly protested. The Honourable Mr. Haigh, speaking this morning in reply to my friends, Mr. Jayakar and Mr. Jinnah, pointed out the difficulties that the Cambridge University Corps had to experience in his early undergraduate days when he had to draw and drink his tea from a horse bucket, but he forgets altogether that the Universities in the United Kingdom are entitled to a hundred commissions as against one King's commission and one Viceroy's commission open to the University Training Corps in this country. Now, Sir, members of the University Training Corps here will gladly take tea from a horse bucket if they had the chance of receiving the same number of commissions as are open to the undergraduates of the Universities in England; and that, I submit, is a distinction which should not be lost sight of when Honourable Members opposite speak of the humiliation to which members of the University Corps confess in this country.

One more point, Sir, and I have done. We have always protested against the army expenditure in this country being a non-votable subject. The distinction between the votable and non-votable part of the Budget was the subject of a Resolution in this House which was carried with the consent of all the non-official Members and in which the non-official Europeans joined, and I submit that the military discussion this afternoon has more than ever convinced the House that if this House is to

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exercise its powers and responsibilities in regard to the military expenditure of this country, it must be given a voting power for the purpose of curtailing the military expenditure, the appallingly growing military expenditure of this country. The Indian tax-payer has to pay the taxes; the Army is maintained nominally for the benefit of India, but really for ulterior military purposes, and I therefore submit that this House must record its emphatic protest against having to pay the army charges by throwing out the votable portion of the Army Budget.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I move that the question be now put.

(Several other Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: I am sure Honourable Members would like to hear the Commander-in-Chief before I accept closure. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: Sir, I am afraid in the time at my disposal it will not be possible for me to deal with the very many considerations that have been brought out in the debate during yesterday and to-day. I had hoped that the Army Secretary might have been able to give Honourable Members certain details of information regarding them. I will not keep the House long, Sir, and I will make my remarks as brief as I can. Mr. Jinnah in talking yesterday took great exception, I gathered, to the fact that I in speaking on the Budget had not made mention of any definite military policy as that of the Government of India. In my speech I had, however, mentioned the fact that during the last 12 months, that is during my stewardship of the Army of which Mr. Jinnah was talking, I mentioned that it had been an extremely quiet time, that things had been absolutely normal on the frontier, that things there had been I might almost say abnormally quiet, while internally, though troops had to be used on many occasions, there was nothing which happened either externally or internally to cause any change whatever in the military policy of the Government of India. That being the case, I am quite certain that Mr. Jinnah would not wish, nor do I contemplate that this House would for a moment tolerate, any department of the Government of India recapitulating from time to time what the policy of the department was. I think, however, that perhaps when Mr. Jinnah spoke about my not mentioning any particular policy, I gathered from the remainder of his speech that he really had in view the fact that I had mentioned nothing about Indianisation, while he also took exception to my not agreeing to any reduction of the Military Budget. As regards the matter of Indianisation, Mr. Jinnah I think knows as well as I do and as well as anybody else does, the reason why I was unable to make any reference to it. He had been told, I think privately, and had certainly been told in answer to a question, that the whole matter, that the report of the Sandhurst Committee was at the time before the Secretary of State, that the question of the publication of this report had been under discussion between the Government of India and the Secretary of State. He probably knows that when it gets home it is not a matter of the Secretary of State personally being able to read the report and saying "I agree to publication." He has to refer probably to other departments of the Home Government. Many questions have

to be decided and he cannot in any short period sanction publication. In any case, he knew that the report of that Committee was before the Home Government, that we had been discussing the question of publication and that the matter was *sub judice*. That being the case, he must have known that my mouth was closed regarding it. The same reasons apply to the Shea Committee on the Territorials. That also, the House has been informed, has been submitted to England. It is under discussion with the Secretary of State, and pending his giving approval to it, our mouths here are closed in regard to an expression of opinion on it.

Then, the other matter to which Mr. Jinnah took exception was, I think, the fact that in my budget speech I had stated that it was impossible for us to reduce our expenditure below what the present Budget shows. As a result of that statement, I heard expressions used that the Army Department has refused to accept the cuts recommended by the Inchcape Committee. To make matters quite clear, I should like to state exactly what the position is regarding that. In the speech I made in this House on the Budget last year, I stated—I think it coincided with the day I was speaking—that the last of the three British regiments which the Inchcape Committee had recommended was to leave India was embarking at Karachi for England; on the departure of that unit, the very last of the cuts, the definite cuts recommended, thoroughly gone into and recommended on principle after expert advice by the Inchcape Committee, was actually carried out. Before the Inchcape Committee met the Military Budget was Rs. 67½ crores. As a result of the cuts made the Budget has been reduced this year to 54.98 crores; further reductions have been considered and the cuts recommended by the Inchcape Committee have been absolutely loyally carried out by the Army Department. My distinguished predecessor—and I should like to take this opportunity of sincerely conveying my grateful thanks to Mr. Jinnah for the way in which he spoke about Lord Rawlinson—Lord Rawlinson stated there and then that he was unable to accept any further reduction to 50 crores. The Army Department having definitely accepted and carried out all the definite recommendations were not prepared further to go into what I described as the “pious aspiration” of the Inchcape Committee to reduce further to Rs. 50 crores.

Mr. Chaman Lall: I do not wish to interrupt His Excellency, but may I know where Lord Rawlinson said that?

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I will give the information to the Honourable Member. Lord Rawlinson definitely refused to accept that suggestion, for there was no definite recommendation made; it was merely an expression of hope that the Army Budget might be reduced to that figure and if I remember aright—I hope to get the words presently,—Lord Inchcape himself said “provided that prices decrease”. Prices have not since gone down. We still have to pay abnormal prices for our food, for our clothes, for our barracks, for our equipment and for our weapons and our transport. If I may, I would like to read one paragraph from the Inchcape Committee’s Report:

“We do not, however, consider that the Government of India should be satisfied with a military budget of Rs. 57 crores, and we recommend that a close watch be kept on the details of military expenditure with the object of bringing about a progressive reduction in the future. Should a further fall in prices take place”—

I would ask the House to note those words:

“—we consider that it may be possible, after a few years, to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores, although the Commander-in-Chief does not subscribe to this opinion.”

[H. E. the Commander-in-Chief.]

That is the recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief and that is the statement made by the Inchcape Committee. I hope I have made that quite clear. I do wish the House to remember that we have loyally accepted the detailed recommendations that were gone into detail by detail. That is the point and possibly the House will realise what was at the back of the mind of Lord Inchcape when he expressed that further hope, that we should further reduce the Military Budget, but prices have not fallen as he anticipated they would do.

I gathered from Mr. Jinnah's speech that he recommended the Army in India to follow the example of the American Army as regards its number and mobilisation. I gathered from him that he would like to see us develop into what the American Army practically is, a skeleton army. They do not keep up standing units like we do. They keep a skeleton which can be expanded in time of war.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I did not suggest that we should follow the American model, but the policy laid down in the Government of India Act, 1920, and the policy which I read from Mr. Burdon's book that you should proceed with your Territorial Force and make it your second line of defence.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: I gathered, Sir, that Mr. Jinnah had suggested that America could put a million men into the field within two months, and he implied that we might follow the same principle as regards the Indian Army. I am sure that if he had thought the matter out fully he could not possibly have suggested that we in India could contemplate following America. If we had a skeleton army and relied on them for the defence of our border, I am afraid that it would not be the skeletons of soldiers but skeletons of an innumerable number of civilians which would strew the plains near our borders.

We have reduced the army very considerably since the War. One of the speakers yesterday afternoon referred to a remark made by Lord Curzon during the war, which rather implied that India was prepared to send very large forces, if necessary, to any part of the Empire. Before the War, we could, if hard pressed, send something like more than eight divisions abroad. The most we can now put into the field without very much mobilisation is four divisions. Four divisions is a very small force indeed. Fortunately the last two years have been quiet, but there have been times when the foreign outlook has been sufficiently disturbing to make one wonder whether it would not react on our North-West Frontier, and that we might perhaps become embodied, and if we were I can assure you that our military advisers would spend sleepless nights wondering if our force was sufficient.

America can always take her time. She has no difficulties like we have, and no vulnerable frontier to defend. As it was, America entered the Great War in April, 1917, and one year later, in April, 1918, there was not one single American Division that had landed in France. They did land there in July, 1918; one Division was then able to take its place in the line. I have the greatest respect and admiration for the American Army in which I have many real good friends and comrades. I never had American troops actually under me, but I had them serving alongside of me and I had many general and other officers whom General Pershing very kindly sent to act on my Staff and to work with some of my Army Corps and Divisions.

One could quite see their keenness and bravery, their feelings of comradeship, and their very fine physique, but one had to realise they were not fully trained. I think some Honourable Members of this House will have read Ludendorff's book on the War. Ludendorff in talking about Americans gives them credit for what I have myself said just now—for their courage, their energy and their determination to fight; but he also does point out the fact that their troops were not sufficiently trained to make them as formidable enemies as some other of the Allies fighting against them. I trust the House will realise that we cannot in India take a year—where we are given days and sometimes minutes, where we never know how quickly we may have to defend the North-West Frontier, we cannot afford time to mobilise. I am sure my Honourable friend there from the North-West Frontier Province will entirely agree how essential it is to be ready to defend ourselves almost at a moment's notice: if we get a telegram to-night we may have to fight to-morrow morning.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Yes, I remember when we had to move troops in lorries from the Khyber to defend Tal in 1919.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: Yes, I am very glad that they were available then, otherwise Tal might very well have fallen.

There is only one other point about which I should like to say a few words, and that is as regards the Territorial Force and what Mr. Jayakar said. To me it was a very great grief to hear what Mr. Jayakar said about his feeling of the position of the University Training Corps in Bombay. I had not heard it before and I have always tried to keep in touch with troops and to see how things are going on. Later, after his speech, I met Mr. Jayakar and asked him if he could give me details of any of the humiliations that he said were being suffered by the people there. He told me he could not give me details then but he kindly promised to get me these later. When I have got them I will certainly look into them and see if there is anything to be done. I am hoping that other University Training Corps are not situated in the same way. I say that because only a few weeks ago I had the real pleasure and the privilege of going round the Benares Hindu University with my old friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya—an old friend of 15 years' standing. The Pandit when I was there naturally showed me his Cadet Corps. I saw the boys and I thought they turned out very creditably. They used their arms well, and as far as I could see they were happy and contented. I spoke to many of them and asked them if their work was going on all right or if they wished to make any representations. Their only complaint was that we could not give them enough vacancies and they asked me to increase their number. That certainly does not bear out the point brought out by Mr. Jayakar that the cadets in his University were trying to cut their connection with the Corps and were refusing to stay on. I therefore do hope that other Universities are not in the state described by Mr. Jayakar and I fully believe they are not so. As regards the Lahore cadets, I was there a couple of years ago; I went round with the Governor and I heard no complaints whatever. We all know that in these cases a great deal depends on personality. It may be that the individuals we have sent from time to time, the officers doing duty with any particular Corps, do not carry on entirely satisfactorily either because their sympathy is not with the men or the sympathy of the men is not with them. If that is so, I should be very glad to look into any case brought to my notice. I would assure

[H. E. the Commander-in-Chief.]

the House that I can quite understand the feeling of Mr. Jinnah and others that the two Reports they have asked for are not available; but I think we must think of the position of the Secretary of State at the other end. He is not, as I said just now, an autocrat. He cannot read the Report and say "Carry on!". It has got to be put before other departments, and we know that the Home Government has been very busy lately. Sir Austen Chamberlain has been to Geneva once or twice, and a great deal of work has had to be done. I am quite certain it is not due to malice aforethought that the Secretary of State has so far not been able to publish these Reports.

3 P.M. I can assure my friends and every Member of this House that we in the Army Department are out to do our utmost to work in sympathy with the House and with the people of India. I believe our Indian friends realise that. Only this morning before I came here I spent two and a half hours with an Indian regiment in the New Cantonment, and I can assure you, Sir, that we of the Army Department are anxious to do our utmost to help the House in any way we possibly can.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:-

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 1,000."

The Assembly divided.

AYES—63.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.	Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dhirendia
Abdul Matin Chaudhary, Maulvi	Kania.
Abdullah Haji Kasim. Khan Bahadur	Lajpat Rai, Lala.
Haji.	Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
Acharya, Mr. M. K.	Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
Aney, Mr. M. S.	Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.	Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Seshu.	Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Belvi, Mr. D. V.	Nayudu, Mr. B. P.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.	Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Chaman Lall, Mr.	Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.	Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
Das, Mr. B.	Prakasam, Mr. T.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.	Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.	Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
Dutta, Mr. Sush Chandra.	Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
Ghazanfar Ali Khan. Raja.	Makhdum Syed.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.	Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.	Roy, Mr. K. C.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.	Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.	Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
Ismail Khan, Mr.	Sarferaz Hussain Khan, Khan
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.	Bahadur
Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.	Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.	Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
Jinnah, Mr. M. A.	Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.	Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.	Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.	Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Khin Maung, U.	Sinha, Kumar Gangnanand.
Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.	Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Kikabhai Premchand, Mr.	Tok Kvi, U.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.	Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
	Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.

NOES—44.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhoze, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.

Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-
 Sardar.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: I do not know if any other Honourable Member wishes to move the motion standing in his name.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur *cum* Champaran: Non-Muham-
 mudan): Sir, I have got a motion standing in my name. Sir, I beg to
 move. (*Cries of "Withdraw, withdraw".*)

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to move it or not?

Location of Troops in Muzaffarpur.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Yes, Sir, I wish to move it. I beg to move:

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The object with which I have brought forward this motion is to protest against the location of troops in Muzaffarpur. I may say at the outset that I propose to be very brief. A company of British infantry has been stationed in Muzaffarpur off and on for about the last six years, and this arrangement has been made permanent. We attempted in the Bihar Legislative Council, as well as in this House, to find out the reasons for this move; but we have not been successful in our efforts. So far back as the 25th July, 1921, the Bihar Government said, in reply to a question in the Bihar Legislative Council, that "the move was made by the order of the military authorities to relieve a temporary congestion at Dinapur", and that "the Local Government had nothing to do with the move." Then, Sir, on the 24th January, 1922, the Local Government, in reply to a question in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council, said that "the troops had been sent with the knowledge and approval of Government"—evidently meaning the Local Government of Bihar and Orissa—and "they did not

[Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh.]

propose to withdraw them". I asked a lot of questions in this House, Sir, during the last three years, in February and in March, 1924, and subsequently, but got no satisfactory reply. In 1924 I sent notice of a Resolution signed by no less than 38 Members of the Legislative Assembly, recommending the withdrawal of the troops from Muzaffarpur; but the Resolution was disallowed by His Excellency the Governor General, under Rule 22 (1) of the Indian Legislative Rules "on the ground that it cannot be moved without detriment to the public interest." Then, Sir, I sent notice of another Resolution asking for the publication of the papers in this connection, but strangely enough, that Resolution also was disallowed by the Governor General on the same ground. I saw His Excellency Lord Reading in 1924 in this connection, and also wrote to him a letter from which I shall read out one short paragraph. This is what I said :

"There is a general apprehension in the minds of the people that this project owes its origin to a dexterous move on the part of a few local Indigo-planters, who wield considerable influence with some of the officials of the Government of Bihar and Orissa."

And further on, I said :

"This apprehension gains ground from the fact admitted by the Government in the Assembly on the 1st February, 1924, that out of many public bodies which presented addresses of welcome to H. E. Sir Henry Wheeler at Muzaffarpur on the 24th July, 1922, the Bihar Planters' Association was the only body to express its appreciation at the location of troops in Muzaffarpur, and to suggest that 'the present policy should be continued'. I asked for papers to be laid before the Assembly, which might have thrown some light on the dark corners of this case, and brought out the true facts. But the Government have thought it proper to withhold the papers on the plea that they are of a confidential nature. This, I submit, is hardly calculated to allay the popular apprehension or to remove the impression, however wrongly founded it may be, as to the origin of this step."

I received a reply, Sir, from the Army Department, which was couched in the usual stereotyped form. The District Board and the Municipal Board of Muzaffarpur passed Resolutions protesting against the permanent location of troops in Muzaffarpur. A public meeting was also held there presided over by Maulvi Muhammad Shafi, M.L.A., and a similar Resolution was adopted. I understand that copies of these resolutions were sent through the usual channel for being forwarded to the Government of India, but it appears from the reply of Government to a question put by me in this House that the resolutions were withheld. Cases of friction between the troops and some of the inhabitants of Muzaffarpur take place off and on, and some of these cases were admitted by the Government themselves in reply to certain questions put by me here, and in reply to certain questions put by my friends in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council. I am not going to weary the House with a narration of all the incidents, but I would like the Government to state why this step was taken, why so much money, probably about 5 or 6 lakhs, have been spent in the construction of barracks, and why they are not prepared to place all the papers before this House for consideration.

Mr. G. M. Young (Army Secretary): Sir, I have a very short answer to give to the Honourable Member's motion. The troops were sent to Muzaffarpur on the recommendation of the Local Government for internal security purposes. They have been there for some years now and apart from the very few minor incidents which the Honourable Member did not specify for obvious reasons, there has been no complaint about

them and they are still required to be there for internal security purposes, and that is also the reason why the Government are not prepared to lay the papers on the subject before the House.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Demand under the head 'Army Department' be reduced by Rs. 100."

The motion was negatived.

(Other amendments on the paper under this Demand were not moved).

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a reduced sum not exceeding Rs. 5,78,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Army Department'."

(Mr. Chaman Lall rose in his place).

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member want to speak?

Mr. Chaman Lall: I beg to oppose this motion. Sir, it is not without hesitation that I rise to oppose this motion and I do so in view not only of the trend of the debate which has gone on for two days on this question, but in view of the important interests that are involved in regard to the military policy pursued by the Government of India. Perhaps, Sir, I am wrong in saying: "the military policy pursued by the Government of India" because it is my firm belief, in spite of the statement of my friend Mr. Howell, that the military policy of India is not dictated by the Government of India but by the Government of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. (Hear, hear). It is a policy which, as I shall show presently, is a policy in the interests of the Imperialistic designs of Great Britain, not in the interests of the people of India. Sir, the question that is before us is as to what this policy entails for the people of India and for the general tax-payer, and the question is whether we, on this side of the House, are prepared to accept without challenge all the implications involved in regard to the military policy pursued by Great Britain in India. The military policy, involving a tremendous expenditure, running into crores of rupees, must necessarily have as its end the adjustment of the ratio of the revenues of this country to the ratio of military expenditure. Such would be the case in any self-governing country. But that, Sir, I submit, is not the case here. What is the principle that should guide the expenditure for our Army? The principle should be that its expenditure should not eat up an enormous portion of our revenue, should not entail a very heavy burden upon the tax-payer, particularly when the tax-payer is unable to afford the expenditure that is involved. The second principle, I submit, is that the growth of military expenditure should be in consonance with the growth of the revenues of this country, and I find that in the policy that is pursued by the Government of India neither of these two principles are kept in view but that additional taxation is levied from the people of India with the sole object—I say it advisedly—with the sole object of providing more money and more funds for the military policy pursued by the Government of India. Let me for a minute give a few details in regard to the statement that I have made. In 1900 the net revenue of the Government of India was in £ sterling 89,767 and the military expenditure was £15,378. In 1920 the net revenue was £86,326 millions and the military expenditure was £44,480 millions. In these two figures what is most prominent is this, that within

[Mr. Chaman Lall.]

20 years between 1900 and 1920 the increase in the net revenues of this country was 117 per cent. One would expect that the increase in military expenditure would (if necessary, but the necessity is not shown) keep pace with the increase in the revenues of the country, but we find according to these figures that whereas the increase in the net revenues of this country was only 117 per cent. the net increase in the military expenditure was no less than 190 per cent. Taking the latest figures, the accounts estimates for 1925-26, the net revenue was 133.32 crores and the military expenditure was 60.3937 crores. The ratio of military expenditure to the revenues of this country is no less than 45 per cent. I have before me the figures of military expenditure in Great Britain and the ratio between purely military expenditure and the net revenues of Great Britain works out to somewhere between 5 and 6 per cent., whereas in India the ratio works out to 45 per cent. of the revenues of this country. There is not the slightest doubt that that principle which I enunciated at the very beginning has been drastically violated by the military experts and the Government of India in this country, and violated for what purpose? The purpose is obvious. The purpose is not, as my Honourable friend, Mr. Young stated, merely the defence of the people of India. The purpose is to keep a standing army in this country not only to keep the people of this country down but also to use it for Imperial purposes. If I am challenged in regard to that statement I have only to refer, as I did refer on a previous occasion, the Government to a despatch issued sometime ago by the Government of India, and that despatch clearly stated that the policy pursued in regard to the Army in India is a policy which is purely for the purposes of sustaining British Imperialism in the East and the Middle East. This is what Mr. Buchanan has said:

"In so far as the military defence of India is concerned, India pays everything and the United Kingdom nothing, and yet the maintenance and the military defence of India is one of the greatest of Imperial questions. The military strength of India is the main factor in the strength of our Empire in the East. In virtue of that strength Great Britain is a great Asiatic power."

Then the Government of India in 1896-1897 spoke with great frankness and this is what they said:

"Millions of money have been spent on increasing the army in India, in armaments and fortifications to provide for the security of India not against domestic enemies"—not against domestic enemies as my Honourable friend, Mr. Young stated—

"or to prevent incursions of warlike people of adjoining countries but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East. The scope of these great and costly measures reaches far beyond Indian limits and the policy which dictates them is an Imperial policy. We claim, therefore, that in the maintenance of the British forces in this country just and even liberal views should be taken of the charges which should legitimately be made against Indian revenue."

Now, Sir, in view of this categorical statement made by the Government of India themselves let no man on the Government or official Benches have the audacity to tell us that the Indian Army is kept merely for the purpose of defending the people of India. The Indian Army, as they themselves admitted some time ago, is being kept for Imperial purposes and, if we have that one central fact in mind, we shall understand the reason for the tremendous increase in military expenditure in this country and the reason why the British Government want to keep a huge standing army with all the expenditure which it entails on India. Now, Sir, there are historically two schools of thought. As is well known to Honourable Members, there is the cautious school of thought in

military matters and there is the forward school of thought, and the forward school of thought to my mind, as I read Indian military history, has had the ascendancy for a very long time and it was that ascendancy which led to the appointment of various Commissions to investigate the question of military expenditure and the need for keeping a huge army in India. Honourable Members are aware of the Simla Army Committee, and the Simla Army Committee definitely declared that the question to be faced is—is India for the Army or the Army for India? It is my definite opinion that the verdict cannot be otherwise than that it is not the Army for India but India for the Army. Now, Sir, the forward policy that was pursued by the forward school is the policy which His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has enunciated not only on the floor of this House but also in the other House. I am quite well aware that not one word was uttered by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in regard to the various details of that policy on the floor of this House but underlying his whole speech was the spirit of that forward policy, and when he translated himself to the other House His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was exceedingly frank. He apparently took the cue from my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford who threatened us with very many dangers from the outside world and when I asked him what those dangers were he was discreetly silent; but His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said in the other House that the danger was the danger from no other foe than Soviet Russia. He said that as long as Soviet Russia is practically upon our borders we cannot reduce our army. Now, Sir, that plea is not a new plea. It is not a new argument. It is the chief mainstay of the forward school and has been used by the forward school for nearly half a century for launching on their policy of keeping a huge standing army in India. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said incidentally that the Army was not for Imperial purposes. He said:

"I heard, I think, a remark also that our army in India was kept up to the present level owing to our 'political ambitions', the 'political ambitions' of the United Kingdom. The political ambitions of the United Kingdom, Sir, do not apply to this country. I can assure this House and I can assure the Honourable Member who made that remark that there is nothing in the way of political ambitions behind us when we decide on the necessary military establishments."

Now, I would ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, did he speak in his individual capacity when he made that remark or was he trying to justify the Imperial policy of Great Britain? As I have already quoted from a despatch of the Government of India, the policy of Great Britain is otherwise. It is not purely for the defence of India. It is purely for the defence of the Imperial interests of Great Britain in the Far East. His Excellency then went on to say:

"I may say we have to keep a strict watch on the North East Frontier also; we know what the Bolshevik propaganda is doing not only in Afghanistan but also in China. The time may come—God forbid that it comes soon—but the time may come when the Bolshevik menace may come upon us. We have seen that the Bolsheviks never seem tired of their propaganda work; both in Afghanistan and in China they are carrying on an enormous amount of propaganda and if we were deliberately to reduce our army in India I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that India would suffer and suffer in a way from which she might never recover."

Now, Sir, Honourable Members will also realise that this bogey of Bolshevik Russia is a bogey that is trotted out every time in order to still the voice of those who claim that drastic retrenchment must take place in the military expenditure of this country. I assert, and I am sure that I shall have the voice of India behind me when I say that we are not

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frightened by this bogey that was trotted out in the Council of State by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. There is no truth whatsoever behind the assertion that Bolshevik Russia intends to menace the borders of India. We know from recent facts that Bolshevik Russia was the one country in the world which gave up its Imperialistic commitments in Persia and in other parts of the world. Is there another country in the world which has been able to realize so frankly and openly that self-determination for other nations ought to be the honest policy of all great countries? Bolshevik Russia realizes that, and are we to be told now, Sir, that a country which has acted in that manner towards the Persians, which has acted in that manner towards the Chinese, is a country which is going to menace the frontiers of India? And forsooth! because of this menace we are going to keep a huge army in this country. No, Sir. I submit that this is a false fear which is being instilled into us. I do not say that the Commander-in-Chief does not honestly and sincerely believe that there is a danger. It is his business to believe that there are dangers. He is there in order to keep dangers in view. But we know perfectly well that all this is being done with the purpose of enabling the Imperialistic policy of Great Britain to reach fruition. It is being done of set purpose and we are being made to pay for the policy of our masters.

Now, Sir, His Excellency also said that our lives may not be of much account. Of course we know that Indian lives are not of much account, and I shall have a word to say on another occasion in regard to that matter when I come to the question of the use of Indian troops abroad. But the one central fact that emerges from all this is that we are at the present moment in an absolutely impotent state in regard to the greater portion of our revenues. We are being made to pay enormous sums year by year over which we have no control. 55 or 56 crores of rupees come out of the pockets of the tax-payer. All that we are asked to do is to come here and discuss a minor vote of 5 or 6 lakhs. We are told it is no business of ours. It is no business of ours to deal with our own money; it is no business of ours to meddle in the policy which results in the expenditure of this vast sum of money. But we are told on the other hand that even the question of Indianization is a question which is the chief concern of the Secretary of State for India. Now, Sir, I have a definite charge to make against His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and that charge is this, that he has very lightly treated the Legislative Assembly. He said that the reason why he did not touch upon the question of Indianization in this House was that his mouth was closed regarding Indianization. May I ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief if his mouth was closed about the question of Indianization, was not his mouth also closed in regard to the question of Europeanization? Did not His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief bear testimony to the fact that the main problem that was troubling him was the question of recruitment of our boys as he called them.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief: May I mention, Sir, I have no recollection of saying "our boys". I said "English boys". My mouth was closed in regard to the point raised as the matter was *sub judice*, as I have no doubt the House knows. It was known to Mr. Jinnah when he asked me the question. There was no question of English boys being *sub judice* with the Secretary of State.

(An Honourable Member: "What is the difference between our boys and English boys?")

Mr. Chaman Lall: Now, Sir, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief says that he was referring to English boys. Well, I did not mean to quote His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief; what I mean is that he was referring to English boys. There was a question of English boys and of the Europeanization of the Indian Army. That was the question His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief was discussing. Let me quote His Excellency:

"We have not been getting boys from Sandhurst in the numbers we want. One can only imagine that the cause of it is that service in India is no longer as popular and does not hold out the attractions it did for the youth of England. There are many reasons for it. The Civil Service, as we know, a year or two ago was placed in the same difficulty, but I am glad to say, has now somewhat overcome its difficulties. We sincerely hope that ere long English boys will again come forward to join the Indian Army, an army in which I have served all my life, and to which I am proud to belong."

Now, Sir, could not His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief have said a word equally in such general terms as he talked about English boys, about Indian boys as well? It was up to His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to have taken a chapter out of the life of the late Lord Rawlinson. For what did Lord Rawlinson say? He devoted the best part of his speech to the question of Indianization. I regret to say that it was the last speech that Lord Rawlinson delivered on the floor of this House,—he devoted the best part of that speech to the question of Indianization. Was it wrong to ask His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to devote at least a few general remarks to the question of Indianization? But neither on the floor of this House, Sir, nor on the floor of the other House did His Excellency refer to this matter. He did not refer to it because I consider, as Mr. Jinnah has pointed out, that there is no real serious intention on the part of Great Britain to Indianize the Army. For if they were to Indianize the Army, Sir, the result would be obvious: their power would weaken, and not only weaken in this country but the Imperial power of Great Britain throughout the East would weaken; and as my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, pointed out, it has been reckoned by statisticians that at the rate at which they are intending to Indianize, it would take centuries; one statistician has computed that it would take at least 365 years to officer the Indian Army with Indian officers at the rate at which we are going. Is that a state of affairs to which we are going to commit ourselves? And I desire, Sir, in moving the rejection of this motion, to pass a vote of censure upon the Government for the military policy that they have pursued, and I desire that the elected Members of this Assembly should place it upon record that they will be no parties to the policy that is being pursued by Great Britain? What are the implications of this policy, Sir? Let me take the question of Aden once more. It has been said by the Honourable Member representing Government when my Honourable friend Mr. Goswami was speaking that there was no decision—there was no "decision"—in regard to Aden, and therefore there was no change in the policy. May I remind that Honourable gentleman of the actual words used by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and ask him whether he does or does not find in those words the announcement of a *decision*? These are his words:

"These conversations regarding Aden have now at last come to a conclusion. All the details have not yet been definitely settled, but it has been decided"

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—mark the words, “ it has been decided ”—

“ that the Home Government shall from the 1st of April this year be responsible for the military and political administration in Aden.”

“It has been decided”: if that is not a decision, I would like to know what a decision is.

Mr. E. B. Howell: May I rise to a point of personal explanation, Sir? ‘ Political administration at Aden ’ means the control of the Aden Hinterland and of the tribes who live there. This has been in the hands of His Majesty’s Government since August 1917, and there has been no change.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Precisely! May I ask the Honourable Member, Sir, whether that was not an unofficial transfer of control to the authorities in Great Britain in 1917? May I ask, Sir, whether only an unofficial and temporary transfer was then made? Is it not a fact that from now onwards, what was but a temporary measure is going to be a permanent measure, and whether that does not involve a very important change in policy? May I ask the Honourable Member whether that is correct or not? What is the good of coming to us on the floor of the House and trying to humbug us with mere words and phrases? The fact remains that you have transferred the military and political control *permanently*, a control which was formerly in our hands. What have they done? They talk about the transfer of the control of the civil administration of Aden itself, the settlement itself. I would ask the question, what about Little Aden? What decision have you come to in regard to Little Aden? What decision have you come to in regard to Sheikh Othman? Those were two territories which were purchased. I believe—I stand subject to correction by my Honourable friend if he contradicts me—purchased with Indian money. What is the decision of the Imperial Government in regard to these two territories? We have not been told that. In the most casual manner His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief comes to this Assembly quietly and announces that a decision has been arrived at. What are we here for if we are not trustees of our own people and of the territory that belongs to us? What are we here for? To be trifled with in this manner? I ask Honourable Members to note the manner in which the great affairs of this country are being handled by not only His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief but by all the advisers of the Indian Government. Now, Sir, I want a definite verdict from the Government in regard to this question. It is said that there was no breach of promise, no breach of promise in regard to Aden. I want to remind my Honourable friend over there once again of what that promise was. As the Honourable Sir Pusshotamdas Thakurdas referred to 1921, referred to the statement of Sir Denys Bray. I want to remind the Honourable Member over there once again of the statement that was made, of the statement that Sir Denys Bray made to us then:

“ They had not arrived ”

he said,

“ at any conclusion in regard to Aden and they were awaiting the opinion of Aden and also of India on the question.”

They were awaiting the opinion. May I ask Honourable Members opposite, did they take the opinion of Aden? Did they take the opinion

of India? When in 1921 they announced that they were still awaiting the opinion to be given to them, did they take any steps to obtain that opinion? I say deliberately, Sir, that they have broken their promise that they gave us that they would take the opinion both of Aden and of India, and without taking the opinion either of India or of Aden they have transferred an important bit of territory because of its strategic value to the military authorities in Great Britain. This is the manner in which, Sir, we are being trifled with here.

Let me come to another aspect of this problem of Imperial policy. Let me come to the question of the Indian Navy which was so ably dealt with by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. What is this question, Sir? We are being given the great advantage of what is going to be known as the Royal Indian Navy. We are going to have the privilege, the great privilege, of calling this Navy our own; and we are going to have the further privilege of being able to put one out of 320 million people in this country, one out of 320 million people, in the course of one year as an officer in that Navy. Is that correct, Sir? I want to ask Government. We are going along with it to be foisted with expenditure in regard to this Navy, which will not be votable by this House. The Indian tax-payer will have to pay the money, but the Indian tax-payer will not have the right to call the tune, and what is the reason? Again in pursuance of that same policy of Imperialism in the East, the decision has been taken that this Indian Navy will be used not merely for patrolling our waters and for our defence, but it has been announced by the British Government that this Navy will also be used for war purposes by the British Government. We have to pay the cost of this Navy and Great Britain is going to make use of it. Let me read a reply that was given in the House of Commons to Mr. Anmon. The reply was:

"That the Indian Navy Bill had provided for the possibility that the Royal Indian Navy might be placed at the disposal of His Majesty, and might be employed for purposes other than the purely local defence of India."

Now, Sir, I want to ask Honourable Members here, I want to ask, if there is a single elected Member, who has the interests of his country at heart, who will be a party to this bargain of giving us the great name of what will be known as the Royal Indian Navy and filching us of the wealth of this country in order to support the Imperialistic measures of Great Britain. (*An Honourable Member*: "Don't ask Sir Darcy Lindsay.") Now, Sir, my friend, Mr. B. Das, says "Don't ask Sir Darcy Lindsay". I am not asking Sir Darcy Lindsay, but I am asking the masters of Sir Darcy Lindsay; incidentally they happen to be my masters as well.

Now, Sir, let me revert once again to the question, the third question, and that is the question of Aviation, in connection with military policy. The other day I was attacked by my Honourable friend Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra for saying that this was only a left-handed move for obtaining still further power for the military machine, namely, the grant for Civil Aviation. I have in my hand an article written by Lala Lajpat Rai and I am glad to say, Sir, that I am entirely supported by him in what I suspected was a policy, a deliberate policy, of adding more strength to the military machine in India.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But he did not support you at the last election.

Mr. Chaman Lall: My friend, Mr. K. Ahmed, says he did not support me at the last election. My friend knows that I am here in spite of that.

Now, Sir, I come back once again with your permission to the question of the ratio between taxation on the one side and military expenditure on the other. The figures have been given to us as regards reduction of expenditure from 67 crores down to 54 crores. That is one way of looking at it but not an intelligent way. Another way that I want Honourable Members to view it is in regard to the ratio between taxation on the one side and military expenditure on the other. In regard to the ratio figures for 1927-28 I think taxation amounts to Rs. 78,69,56 (thousands), taking revenue under principal heads, and the ratio of military expenditure I worked out is something like 71 per cent. of taxation.

I want an answer from the Honourable Members opposite. Can they give me an example of any country in the world where such a state of affairs exists and exists in a peaceful country, comparatively speaking compared with other countries? And what for? Some imaginary Russian bogey that exists in the minds of those who subscribe themselves as belonging to the forward school of military politics.

There is one other fact that I should mention. In a very valuable memorandum published by an ex-Member of this Assembly, figures have been worked out which show that the large increase in taxation that has taken place in recent years is not for the benefit of the people but because more and more money is required for military purposes. I refer Honourable Members to the memorandum prepared by Sir Dinshaw Wacha. At page 7 they will find that the excesses in taxation in recent years amount to 34.47 crores which have been almost entirely absorbed by the military machine in India. In other countries such taxation would have been utilised for the benefit of the people of India, for better sanitation, education, housing, but in this country it is utilised for the better prospects of British officers, for more passages for them, better machine guns and howitzers to keep the people down and to frighten them with some imaginary Russian bogey. I do not wish to weary the House with regard to those statistics, but Honourable Members will find the figures in this valuable memorandum.

I do not desire to harp any longer on this question of policy, but I must mention two or three very interesting facts of historical value. There was once upon a time a Committee in regard to which I have made mention, the Simla Army Committee. They pointed out that the Army in India was for two purposes, one is the defence of India and the other is defence from aggression from outside. Now it has been alleged by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief that the great question is the question of security. This is the insurance that people in India pay, that is, the military expenditure is the insurance that the people of India are paying for their own safety. I cannot do better than quote the words of Sir Dinshaw Wacha in this respect, where he said:

"No doubt a reasonable and judicious expenditure, compatible with the ability of the country, may be granted in order to safeguard the frontiers. So far the expenditure may be considered as a sound premium on insurance. But the proposition that such a premium can be unlimited will, I fear, be not approved by any sound economist or financier. A premium on insurance effected is limited by the ability of the insurer and no more. It is a proposition which needs no demonstration. It would be most imprudent for any insurer to insure his life for £25,000 when he is not in a position or able to provide the necessary premium thereon beyond £10,000. Such a way of insuring

life will sooner or later land the insurer in bankruptcy even though he may make shifts for a time by raising the balance by borrowing. What is true of the individual in ordinary business life holds equally true, I venture to observe, of any Government. I for once cannot but express my dissent at so palpably spacious an argument as that urged in the Explanatory Memorandum on behalf of the Government."

Now, Sir, I consider that of interest to the country. In view of the military policy of Great Britain, in view of the Imperialistic implications of that policy in regard to India, in view of the fact that we are paying a tremendously huge premium even for ordinary insurance, I say, we would rather not pay the premium for a safety that is no safety to us, that we would rather utilise the enormous sums that are being wasted on military expenditure, that we would rather preserve that money for the betterment of our people, instead of which this money is being utilised for the Imperial purposes of Britain. I desire that all Honourable Members who have the interests of their country at heart should register their verdict by a vote of censure against the Government for pursuing this policy.

I have one word more to say, and that is to remind again those who believe in the forward policy in military matters of what Lord Morley has said :

"I do not think your case could be better put, or more ingeniously, only forgive me for saying that all this military analogy from Fortress and Glacier strikes me as essentially misleading, or at any rate narrow and partial; and the result of it is to make the Government of India, as it always is, and always will be (except when by the mercy of Heaven there is an accidental Secretary of State of the opposite persuasion in power), virtually and by the natural drawbacks of the position what I will call for short and without offence *Jingo*."

That is the word with which I would describe Honourable Members sitting opposite. That is the word I would describe the Government of India with. That is the word with which I would describe the military policy of Great Britain in India; and I say no man who loves peace, no man who loves his country, no man who has the true interest of his own people at heart, will ever subscribe to the policy that is being pursued by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, by the Government of India and by the Government of Great Britain. Sir, I move the rejection of the motion before us. (Applause.)

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhamadan Urban): Sir, I do not rise at this late hour to inflict a speech upon the House. I rise to make the position of this side of the House clear in regard to the opposition to this Demand. As the House will remember, it has now been ruled that you cannot move a total cut and the opposition to the Demand itself has taken the place of a total cut. Now I know that among certain Honourable Members even on this side there is a sort of nervousness when a total cut or anything taking the place of a total cut is before the House. I wish to explain that whatever reasons there may be for their not taking part in a total cut, those reasons do not apply to the opposition to this Demand. But I must not be taken to concede that a total cut is open to any objection. Sir, the psychology of such a cut has not been understood by Honourable Members who are not inclined to vote for it. The other day, my friend Mr. Muhammad Yakub, although in full agreement with us, held himself unable to vote because the motion took the form of a total omission. Again, my Honourable friend Colonel Crawford on another point also made the same observation:

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He did me the honour to agree with me in what I submitted to the House; but he said he was prevented from voting because I had gone too far in proposing a very big cut—almost a complete cut. Now, what is there in the amount of a cut? It does not in the least matter to the Government whether you cut down a hundred rupees or a thousand rupees or ten lakhs of rupees for the matter of that. But we have to consider what it is that we wish to bring home to the Government by moving a motion of that character. It was on the Railway Board Demand that my friend Mr. Muhammad Yakub made that observation. Now, the object plainly was that we were not willing to vote a single rupee because we entirely disagreed with the whole policy of the Department which we are attacking. It is only to express the extent of our dissatisfaction that the motion takes that form. Here again there is the military policy of the Government. By moving or rather by opposing the motion for the Grant what we say is that we entirely and totally object to that policy. But that is not the position that every Honourable Member need take and I am going now to lay before the House one consideration and one only which, so far as I have observed, has escaped the notice of the House. That is a matter which I look upon as conclusive and I expect that my friends, even of the European group, will also see eye to eye with me on that point.

Now, Sir, what is the amount which is votable? Rs. 5,89,000; and we are proposing cuts of a thousand rupees, a hundred rupees and so on. If I satisfy the House that even ten times of the amount which has been submitted to our vote is wholly unjustifiable, will they still desist from voting with me simply because it goes to the extent of the whole sum that has to be voted? I am sure, not. Now, let me explain the point. The point is this: His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has been quoted—and I think it will now be a classical phrase—that he cannot afford to do with one man less or one rupee less in carrying on the military administration of the country with efficiency. Now, Sir, we have the same sentiment expressed in different words in the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member. He says:

“Only the sternest economy and the strictest vigilance can now prevent our military budget from showing a tendency to rise rather than to fall, and the present level of expenditure seems to be very nearly the minimum absolutely essential to maintain in a state of full efficiency an army of the strength at present authorised.”

Now, what is the state of things? As I was turning over the pages of this Military Budget, my attention was attracted to a most remarkable figure and I wish to draw the attention of the House also to that figure. We find on page 4—expenditure under the head “Army”—Part I—Standing Army: Under sub-head 8, there is a lump cut for probable underspending. And do you know what is the amount of that cut? It is no less than 80 lakhs of rupees. Now, what does that show? That shows that the estimates and the Budget have been prepared in such a way as to enable those who have got to spend this money, to throw it away with both hands and yet never come to the end of it. There will most probably still remain no less a sum than 80 lakhs of rupees unspent. Then there is a Note to this. That is also very important. The Note says:

“In preparing the Budget Estimate for 1927-28 under the revised heads of classification and with reference to the rearrangement of controlling officers, double provision was discovered.”

It was somehow by the merest chance discovered that there was a double provision:

"the exact amount of which cannot be stated as the Budget Estimate for 1926-27 is not susceptible of recompilation fully under the new heads. Of the total lump cut of Rs. 80 lakhs in 1927-28 for probable underspending, the Military authorities have undertaken to keep the expenditure within 40 lakhs of their detailed estimates and the balance represents short spending as anticipated by the Finance Department. A lump cut of Rs. 12 lakhs was taken by the Finance Department in the Budget for 1926-27."

So that, while the military authorities were also content to keep it at 40 lakhs, the Finance Department thought that it was an underestimate, and that probably the amount underspent would come to something like Rs. 80 lakhs. Now, Sir, if we had all the materials available to us, we could further test how this amount would be underspent. But what do I find? The whole of the military budget is framed in a different way altogether to the way in which the General Budget is framed. When you want to look into the details, when you wish to make any comparison between the past years and the present, you find that the columns of Accounts for 1925-26, Budget Estimates 1926-27, and Revised Estimates 1926-27 are all blanks from beginning to end. That is as regards the standing army. I am quite sure that the Honourable the Finance Member will find some explanation of this 80 lakhs. But how am I to find it out for myself? How am I to understand this Budget? Unless I understand this Budget, I say that I am fully justified in refusing anything on the Demands which have been put to our vote.

Then, Sir, I shall briefly deal with the statement made by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, that it is impossible to do with a single man less or with a single rupee less. I need only point out that it has been possible and quite easy indeed for us to send out large numbers of men to serve outside India. Well, if for our own purposes we cannot do without one man less, how is it that we have from time to time been able to send large numbers of men outside for purposes with which we have nothing to do—not purposes, at any rate, of the defence of India? Now, Sir, these are the points to which I wanted particularly to draw the attention of the House. I would ask the Finance Member to explain to the House how is it that, when you can put down no less a sum than Rs. 80 lakhs under the head underspent, why should we allow you these 5 lakhs and odd thousand rupees that you have put to our vote? Why cannot you manage with the many crores that you have got and as to which we are not consulted at all?

Now, Sir, as I have thought fit to rise and speak on this occasion, I should like, before I sit down, to make one or two general observations in regard to the speeches that I have heard to-day. My friend Mr. Howell in justifying the military policy on the Frontier, gave as evidence and proof

positive of the success of that policy that he was entertained at 4 P.M. a garden party and was assured by the Mahsuds that things had very much improved and that they did not want any change in the policy. I am sorry my friend is not in his seat. But that reminded me, Sir, of an incident which occurred in the course of the impeachment of Warren Hastings in the House of Commons. It was said on his behalf that numerous entertainments were given to Warren Hastings which showed that India was quite pleased with him, that the Indian people had no complaints against him. To this Edmund Burke's reply was—India was a country where they worshipped small-pox; what wonder that they gave

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these entertainments to a man they wanted to get rid of? I think, Sir, that the same remark would apply to the great majority of the farewell parties given to retiring officials (*An Honourable Member*: "And addresses.") and the addresses. They do not imply anything at all in this country. At best they simply amount to a polite way of getting rid of the undesirables. (*Sir Hari Singh Gour*: "Of making friends with the crocodile.") Then I must not omit to notice the remarks of my Honourable friend, Sir Darcy Lindsay, the veteran leader of the European Party. Now, Sir, I am free to admit that there has been a certain amount of laxity in the conduct of the debates, the reasons for which it is not necessary for me to enter into, but it hardly lay in the mouth of my friend Sir Darcy Lindsay to raise any objection on that score. I find that during this debate on the Demands no less than 7 Members belonging to his group consisting of 11 all told have spoken on various heads of the Budget.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: How long were the speeches?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Just wait a minute. This Party, Sir, which as everybody can see is the strongest Party in the House in numbers at least. (*An Honourable Member*: "Only in numbers?") in this Party which consists of more than 40, there were just 20 who spoke during all these days. Then my friend says: what was the length of the speeches? May I ask another question? What was the stuff in them? What was the stuff in all these speeches?

Sir Darcy Lindsay: I am glad you call it stuff.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: What was the stuff in the short speeches? I say if the speeches were lengthy, (some of them were, and some of them were lengthy on the other side too), they were so because of the ground they covered. But the shorter the speech the less stuff in it perhaps for want of material. Then there was another thing. My friend, Sir Darcy Lindsay, gave us a story which I think was very apposite. It was the story of the sailor who tried to rescue a drowning man. Well, he caught him by the head as it floated on the surface, and asked him who he was. He said he was a Jew, on which the sailor gave him a ducking; but he bobbed up again and the sailor asked: "Will you be a Christian?" He said "No." So he gave him another ducking. After a time he pulled him up again and asked him: "Will you be a Christian?" The poor man was now very exhausted and in a faint voice he said "Yes". Then he let him go saying "Then die the death of a Christian." Now, Sir, apply that story to India. India was sinking just before these Reforms came (*An Honourable Member*: "When?") India was sinking after Amritsar, Sir, and when these Reforms came, Nationalist India said, "We shall not co-operate." The sinking head was raised up and was asked "Will you co-operate?" Sinking India said, "No." It was allowed to go down. Then it was lifted up again in an exhausted condition. That was after the first Councils had met and had run their course. It was asked again, "Will you co-operate?" India said, "Yes, on honourable terms." After some formal ceremonies of baptism by which I refer to my Honourable friend the Home Member's Committee, known as the Muddiman Committee, and certain other Committees, eventually the answer was given, "No honourable co-operation". The answer amounted to that, and India was let go and she went down again. But, Sir, India is not dead and she is not

going to die, at any rate not in the way in which some people would wish it die, that is to say, in co-operation when it is not honourable. She would rather die in honourable non-co-operation than in dishonourable co-operation.

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I shall not detain the House for more than a few minutes. (*An Honourable Member*: "How many?") Not more than 5 or 6 or 7. (*An Honourable Member*: "Or 8 or 9?") But I feel that I shall be failing in my duty to my country if I were to record a silent vote on this all-important question.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Not a bit.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Sir, my sense of self-respect makes me feel I shall be failing in my duty to my country if I were to record a silent vote and not make the few observations that I should like to make on this question. I want to tell the Honourable Members on the other side in this House, as well as all concerned outside that the whole of India feels very strongly and very bitterly on this question. The military policy of the Government of India can be looked at from two points of view, the economic point of view and the purely military point of view. In the history of British rule in India there are two words written which anybody can read while running, namely, the exploitation of India economically to the verge of practical starvation, and complete emasculation of India from the military point of view. If it were confined to the former, Sir, perhaps we would not feel so keenly but I want to tell this House that we feel the emasculation much more keenly than the exploitation. At no time in the history of this great country which extends over thousands of years was India so completely disarmed and so completely emasculated as under the British rule. Indian history goes back to thousands of years and no other rule has ever tried to disarm the people, no other rule has ever tried to make the people so helpless from the defence point of view, as the British Government has done. I submit it is adding insult to injury to tell us now to-day that we shall not have our country given back to us because we cannot defend it and at the same time to put all sorts of obstacles in the way of our being fit and trained to defend our country. I submit it is extremely cruel, and I join with my Honourable friends in this that this is one item in the whole Budget which we should unanimously throw out without any consideration at all. We are not here to consider questions of what shall happen and what shall not happen. My Honourable friend Mr. Chaman Lal has dealt with the menace of Soviet Russia. There will be menaces always. What we want is to be able to meet those menaces ourselves and not to hire other people to meet those menaces for us. We may fail, we may suffer, we may lose, but we want to fight our own battles. Any Government which prevents us from fighting our own battles we do not consider as our friend. I want to say that distinctly. Let the European Members think what they please, but I want to say it in very clear terms that we do not consider any Government that prevents us from fighting our own battles as a friend of ours, (*Mr. K. Ahmed*: "Communal troubles."), because it practically emasculates us for all time to come. My Honourable friend talks of communal troubles. There would be no communal troubles if Hindus and Muhammadans had been allowed to join hands and defend their hearth and home against foreign aggression. Where were the communal troubles before the British came? They have introduced communal troubles and they are responsible for them. But for this third party, willy nilly we should have managed

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to live as neighbours and friends, but it is this third party which pats one community on the back at one time and pats another community on its back at another time; and on one and the same question gives different judgments, different orders and different decisions. It is because of this, that these communal troubles go on from one day's end to another day's end.

Maulvi A. H. Natiq (Central Provinces: Muhammadan): You have become a toy in their hands.

Lala Lajpat Rai: So far as playing into the hands of the Government is concerned, many people play into the hands of many others with various motives. I do not want to discuss that question here. Once we begin to feel that whether we wish or do not wish we have to fight our enemies from abroad. I am perfectly certain that all these temporary communal differences will be thrown aside and everybody will unite to make preparations for defence against foreign aggression.

I want to say only one more word and I have done. The Government of India have made a declaration of policy in their announcement of the 17th August, 1917. They say that they are proceeding with that policy: I want to say that the one acid test of their sincerity in that declaration will be the amount of progress which the Government of India makes from year to year in Indianising the Army and in allowing us to be fit and properly trained to defend our hearth and home in the nearest possible time. I do not believe in the theory that India will require 30, 35 or 40 years to make herself fit for her defence. The experiences of the Great War are before the whole world. I was in the United States of America when the War was on. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has told us that the army which the United States of America trained in the course of a year or so was not a very fit army. But we know that it was the army of the United States that saved the Allies by their timely intervention. If they were able to prepare an army which was considered fit to go to the field of battle and take its place in the fighting line within a period of 12 months, I should like to know what period is required to make us fit to take charge of our army, for the purposes of defence. I submit that the feeling on this point in the country is extremely strong and I expect that with the exception of the official Members every Indian Member in this House will combine to throw out this Demand, so that once for all it may be proved to the Government that we cannot possibly pass any votable item of the Army Demand because we feel that the Government are not doing what they ought to do to Indianise the Indian Army.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): I had every intention of recording a silent vote on this motion until somewhat to my surprise it strayed accidentally into one or two financial questions. The Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru has drawn attention to what I admit is a somewhat unusual item in the military estimates for the year and to the explanation given. He has also drawn attention to the fact that there is no comparison easily possible between the estimates for 1927-28 and the estimates for 1926-27 and the expenditure of 1925-26. I have already once explained it but it may have been in another place. The Army estimates this year are prepared on a new and simpler basis as the result of a Committee on cost accounting on which a Member of the

last Assembly sat. They recommended that the system of cost accounts which had introduced very serious complications into the form of the Army estimates should be very much simplified and that we should start to bring the form of our Army estimates into line with the form of other Demands. Now that has been a work of very considerable difficulty, and as we progressed with the preparation of this year's estimates we found that we ourselves, owing to the complications of the cost accounts, were not in a position to make comparisons between expenditure in the current year and the estimate of expenditure in the new year. The cost accounts introduced some very remarkable items. For example, there were certain items amounting to over 2 crores of receipts which were never received, and a corresponding amount of expenditure which was never expended. It is easy to understand that in getting to a new form there were considerable difficulties in making comparisons, and the double entry to which reference was made was an incident arising out of the difficulties of comparison between one year and the next. The lump sum cut to which reference has been made is also in part explainable by the same reason. We have introduced in the Finance Department the principle of the lump sum cut for several years now and by experience we have found that it is generally justified in the places where we have introduced it. But I actually noted on the file relating to this particular cut that lump sum cuts were all very fine but an estimate had to be an estimate and not mere guessing and that lump sum cuts of this sort seemed to me to be reducing the estimates to absurdity. But it was nevertheless justified because we are guided by the experience of the actual expenditure of last year as well as by the comparison of our accounts and we have no doubt that the full cut will, unless some unexpected circumstances intervene, be justified. We shall, I hope, next year be able to present the House with a very much clearer comparison between one year and the next as the result of the change and we shall also, as I say, unless something unexpected intervenes, be able to show that the faith, hope and charity of the Finance Department were justified in this case.

I should like just to refer to one other matter which has to do with finance. The lump sum cut is partly at any rate justified by the fact that, unless the troops come back from China before the 1st April, their absence in China may by itself lead to a certain reduction in expenditure. The Honourable Pandit in that connection asked how it was that we could spare troops for China if it was true that we could not get on with one rupee less or one man less in India. I do not like to differ in public from a colleague but I should not like to say that we could not get on with one man less or one rupee less, especially the rupee. But the answer I think is this, that we have only spared those troops on the understanding that their place will be taken at once by reinforcements from elsewhere in case of absolute necessity, which is a very different thing from having a permanent reduction in your forces.

As I am on my feet I will make one last reference to other subjects that have been raised. The proportion of our military expenditure to our total expenditure is an interesting subject on which extraordinarily different answers can be given according to the statistics used. I drew attention in my budget speech to the difference between our gross and net expenditure. I do not propose to repeat the figures that were given in this House by my Honourable friend Mr. Shankar Rau in the course of the

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budget debate, in which he explained that our total military expenditure amounted to something like 25 or 26 per cent. and not the rather fantastic figure of over 50 per cent. which was given by Diwan Chaman Lall.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask whether that was in relation to gross income from taxation or net income?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That was in relation to what we regard as the proper comparison. If you take the net income and if you include, as some people like to include, the total of our expenditure on interest on debt as part of our military expenditure, you can arrive at the result that you spend more on your army than you raise by taxation. A large number of different sets of figures can be given.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Do you include the expenditure of Provincial Governments?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would refer Honourable Members who are interested in the subject, and I know the whole House is, to the speech of my Honourable friend Mr. Shankar Rau on the 3rd of March, which will give them some real instruction in the matter. (Laughter.) My Honourable friend Pandit Motilal Nehru suggested that it would be quite all right to throw out this voted sum of five lakhs and 80 thousand because it was only a very small portion of our military expenditure which was non-voted. I should like to point out that this sum is not a part of the military expenditure. This is part of the civil expenditure controlling the army and the voted portion is chiefly for the salaries and wages of the Indian officers and others employed in the establishment. The reason why the House is asked to vote this is that under the Reforms system it is asked to vote and appropriate to a particular head the sums required for expenditure under that particular head. The argument with which the Honourable Pandit has sought to induce us to vote against this Demand is one that rather appeals to me. I think that we might say that though the Reforms have given us the right to vote certain expenditure we do not like having to vote it; it makes it uncomfortable for us, and Government has to restore it if it is cut. Therefore it would be most dangerous that the Government should not have anything to restore; so let us throw out every voted grant so that the system under which restorations take place will become so normal as to be the only one on the Statute-book. When we have arrived at that situation we shall I think have completed the full circle of co-operative non-co-operation. (Laughter.) However, as I am sure, other Honourable Members desire to say what they think of the Army I do not propose to continue my remarks.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney (Nominated: Anglo-Indians): Sir, it is with great hesitation and with considerable anxiety that at this late hour I take part in this discussion. But I feel I would not be doing my duty to my community if I gave a silent vote. I have a vote to give on this motion and the way I propose to use it depends on the replies I receive from the Government Benches. Sir, I represent a community that has been knocking at the door of the Army for the last century, and this is still a closed door to me. My friends on the opposite side have complained of Indianization of the Army. I also stand in this House to offer my emphatic protest against the treatment that has been accorded to the

Anglo-Indian community so far as the Army is concerned and to demand an honourable and worthy place in its composition in the defence of my motherland, India. Sir, for the past 100 years we have been knocking at the door of the Army, and it is still closed to us and no reason has been assigned for this ostracism; Sir, if I receive no assurances or reasons to-day, I shall vote against the Government. Sir, although I believe, that an army, reduced and starved financially, is no insurance for the time of need and I look upon Rupees as the shock troops of war and the oil of the peace machine. I consider it is wrong and unjust for the Army Department after the war is over and after having used us to offer military economy now as an excuse for not enlisting Anglo-Indians in the Army except on Indian wages. It was 100 years ago when Ricketts, an Anglo-Indian, went to England and asked in vain for the admission of my community into the Army, and it was only a year ago when, as leader of the 1925 Anglo-Indian Deputation, I did the same thing, and this House knows what reply His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief gave me a few days ago—an impossible term of enlistment on Indian wages. Sir, I have circulated His Excellency's offer to the leaders of my community, and, Sir, I desire to tell His Excellency that we cannot possibly accept them. I am very surprised indeed that such terms should have been offered us in this House by one who is so familiar with our mode and standard of living and our past military history. If it is a question of military economy, if it is a question of his inability to reduce military expenditure, I for one must join issue with him here and now for I can conclusively prove that military expenditure can be reduced without any loss in efficiency. It is strangely true that among the various speeches to which I have listened to-day, not one single Member has suggested any practical measure of reducing military expenditure. Most of the speeches have been against military policy, frontier and foreign, and a general complaint against the obviously excessive Military Budget, but not one practical suggestion has been made to-day to the Army Department as to how it can reduce military expenditure.

Now, Sir, I shall offer one or two suggestions. One is the Military Finance Department. Sir, you have only to take the local telephone directory and you will find half a page devoted to the names of the Financial Advisers of the Army. The Army Department has a Financial Adviser, it has five Deputy Financial Advisers, it has five Assistant Financial Advisers, it has five Superintendents, and it has an army of 97 clerks, costing a large sum of money. Compare this with the Finance Department of the Post and Telegraphs which has only one Adviser, with that of the Railways, which controls many crores of rupees and a million men, and has only one Adviser. These Finance Departments are paid by the Departments concerned whereas the cost of maintaining the Finance Department of the Army is borne by the Finance Department in the Civil Estimates. Here Sir, there is an avenue of retrenchment and economy. Will action be taken in this direction?

The next suggestion refers to the Military Medical Department to which I have frequently referred in this House as being one where great economy could be effected without loss of efficiency, and I again refer to it to-day. Now, Sir, I look upon this as a real and practical measure of economy. Since the war recruitment to the I. M. S. has been stopped by competition, and has been done by nomination; and if one examined the history of recruitment to the I. M. S. from the year 1918 to date, one would find

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a very unhappy and unsatisfactory reading. The Army Department says it is difficult to obtain recruits from England and so certain very fascinating terms are offered to them to join the I. M. S. amounting to nearly a thousand rupees a month. These men are being offered salaries of from Rs. 650 to Rs. 750 per mensem, together with £1,000 gratuity at the end of five years and a first class passage to India and back. This works out to nearly Rs. 1,000 per mensem and yet we have excellent men in our country who are ready to join the I. M. S. but are practically shut out except as temporary officers on a lower wage and no permanent prospects. Sir, I consider that this offers a large and productive field for economy to be effected in the Military Medical Service. Another point—I submit that it is unfair to the Indian tax-payer to use highly paid senior R. A. M. C. Officers to perform the duties of junior Lieutenants at British Military Hospitals and so swell the military expenditure. Why cannot the Army Department, if they are true military economists, use British qualified I. M. D. officers in these posts and so effect great economy whilst retaining efficiency? I am not speaking on behalf of my community. I am concerned mainly in offering ways and means for a reduction in the military expenditure. Another matter. Why is it that the Army Department now want to replace Ang'o-Indian and Domiciled European trained nurses who have worked efficiently for years in British Family Hospitals by English nurses from England? These are a few of the avenues where practical retrenchment and economy can be immediately effected. I have been bringing these matters to the notice of the Army Department for the last three years, but they have turned a deaf ear to my advice. Again equally capable nurses can be obtained in this country for all Military Hospitals and yet you elect to squander the Indian tax-payers money and import nurses from England at the exorbitant rate of Rs. 500 a month inclusive of pay, allowances, passage money, etc., and stop the women in this country getting the employment to which they have every right. Here are three avenues of retrenchment which I offer to the Army economist to ponder over. The I. M. S., both European and Indian, are discontented; if you desire to make the service a happy one, then stop this nomination system of yours and, whilst getting men from England, recruit in this country where you will get a good class of medical men and at a cheaper rate of pay. You also have your excellent hospitals in this country; so, why not recruit your nurses from them? If those two suggestions were adopted, the military expenditure would be reduced by many lakhs of rupees.

Now, Sir, there is another point that I want to mention; it refers to the Lee Commission recommendation of free passages to England so far as it affects the I. M. S. I. M. S. officers, especially those who have been recruited in this country and who are of Asiatic domicile, have been seriously and prejudicially affected. These I. M. S. officers are not allowed any passages to go to England, whereas those of non-Asiatic domicile are allowed four passages during their service, as also passages for their nurses and children. I submit, Sir, that this is a gross injustice to the Asiatic domiciled members of the I. M. S. especially those who entered the service by competition. This delay in announcing the decision of the Secretary of State regarding the future of the I. M. S. is causing great discontent, anxiety and ruin to the European and Indian officers, as also the administration of our Hospitals and the training of our Medical Departments. India demands the best men of both East and West—not the fourth best. More-

over this deprivation of free passages to Asiatic domiciled I. M. S. officers is unjust to them amounting to a British preference so far as study leave especially is concerned. Indian I. M. S. men need equal opportunities as Europeans to improve their professional knowledge in Europe and to deny them this is to deprive them of obtaining accelerated promotions. Moreover, I. C. S. Asiatic domiciled officers, even nominated, have got this concession till 1925. Passages by a trooper are useless because they are rarely obtainable nowadays. Equal passage facilities should be given to Indian I. M. S., and any distinction is unjust.

There is another point which I wish to bring to the notice of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. It refers to medical relief to the women and children of Indian troops. Sir, if you compare the medical relief given to the Indian women and children of the Indian troops with that given to the British troops, you will find a very very sad and marked difference indeed. In the British Army you have fully equipped family hospitals whose maintenance is a military medical charge. In the Indian Army you have very little medical relief obtainable; indeed I may say there is none except of a voluntary nature. The result is that in the families of Indian troops the death-rate and infantile mortality are unduly high. Attendance for serious cases is practically nil. In three stations, however, Quetta, Secunderabad and Delhi, the work that is being done amongst these Indian women and children has been done entirely by voluntary efforts and voluntary subscriptions. Sir, I consider that the Army Department should bear this responsibility and maintain Indian Families Hospitals. There should be no difference whatever in medical relief given to the women and children in the Indian Army as compared with that of the British Army. This is a very important point and the Army Department should lose no time in attending to it.

Sir, before I sit down, I should like the Army Member to let me know whether it is a fact that it is their intention to enlist a large number of British soldiers into the General Service branch of the Telegraph Department again. I understand—I speak subject to correction—that this is the intention of the Army Department and that it intends to bring the strength of military telegraphists of the Telegraph Department to its former level, that is about 260 men. I believe to-day that there are only 60 British soldiers as military telegraphists and that it is the intention of the Army Department to increase this number and so deprive the Indians and Anglo-Indians of 200 jobs in this Department. If this is true, I consider it a wrong policy and I vehemently protest against it; and if such be the intention of the Army Department I shall give my vote to the other side and support the motion refusing the entire Demand for the Army Department. I await a reply to my question before I cast my vote.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the first point I want to place before the Assembly is the necessity of making a recommendation to the Governor General through you that there should be more time allowed for the business of this Assembly. The days allowed are too few to enable us to deal with the many measures that interest us. There are not sufficient days for Resolutions, there are not sufficient days for Bills, and there are not sufficient days for grants. Objection has been taken to speeches being long. I submit that they have not been too long. The subjects are of such great importance, and greater time is needed to deal with them. If more days had been allotted for discussion of Resolutions and

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Bills, the discussions would not have been so prolonged as they have been.

The first thing I wish to do is to acknowledge the kindness and courtesy of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in the remarks he made about the Benares Hindu University. It was a pleasure to us, to welcome His Excellency there. All that His Excellency said about our young men is quite true. They are happy. The only thing that has made them unhappy is that while a company was sanctioned in 1921, only half a company has been allowed to be started. Hundreds of young men are eager to enrol, and we are in a position to put up a full battalion. Our young men won 33 medals last year and 33 the year before last. I hope that Government will recognise that the delay in giving sanction to increase their numbers is a matter of sore complaint with them. I hope that things will improve in Bombay and other places also by sanction being given to the proposals of the Shea Committee relating to the expansion of the University Training Corps which were entirely satisfactory.

Sir, I regretted to hear His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief say that he could neither reduce the number of men in the Army nor the amount of expenditure. I first take the question of expenditure. As His Excellency said, the Inchcape Committee said that:

"should a further fall in prices take place, we consider that it may be possible, after a few years, to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores, although the Commander-in-Chief does not subscribe to this opinion."

The Committee recommended a reduction of Rs. 13,95,52,000, but they said that the Government of India should not be satisfied with a military budget of 57 crores. To quote their exact words, they said:

"We do not, however, consider that the Government of India should be satisfied with a military budget of 57 crores, and we recommend that a close watch be kept on the details of military expenditure with the object of bringing about a progressive reduction in the future."

They further said:

"Should a further fall in prices take place, we consider that it may be possible, after a few years, to reduce the military budget to a sum not exceeding Rs. 50 crores, although the Commander-in-Chief does not subscribe to this opinion. Even this is more, in our opinion, than the tax-payer in India should be called upon to pay, and, though revenue may increase through a revival of trade, there would, we think, still be no justification for not keeping a strict eye on military expenditure with a view to its further reduction."

If I understood him aright, His Excellency pleaded that there had been no fall in prices since the Inchcape Committee Report was made. On that point I beg to invite the Commander-in-Chief's attention to the fact that it appears from the *Indian Trade Journal* that since March 1, 1923, the date on which the Report was written, prices have gone down in India from 172 to 143 (*vide* page 330 of the Journal.)

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have more than once pointed out that it is the prices of foods that are important in connection with the Army, especially pulses and grain, and they have gone up very considerably.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am sorry the figures given in the *Trade Journal*, which is a Government publication, vary with what the Honourable the Finance Member says.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Those are the general prices.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: But the general prices have gone down from 172 to 143, and in England from 160 to 145. On that ground the reduction in military expenditure should have been larger by this time. I submit, Sir, that this is a question of such immense importance that it should receive better attention from the Government. I wish to say here that this Assembly will not be satisfied and the country will not be happy and contented unless military expenditure has been reduced very considerably. It should go down below 40 crores and I submit there are ways of doing this. There is not time for me to dilate upon the points I wish to make. I therefore only place them before His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India. I wish Government to know that this question of military expenditure being of the importance it is, to-day's vote—which I hope will be unanimous so far as the elected Members on this side of the House are concerned—to-day's vote is meant to draw the attention of the Government to the immense dissatisfaction which exists in this country with the present military expenditure and the present military policy of Government. The vote is meant to strengthen the hands of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief and other Members of the Government of India who may wish to fight for a greater reduction both by alteration in the composition of the troops and also by reduction of other expenditure.

I submit, Sir, that there must be a new policy declared now. The time has gone by when India could be content to have herself defended by such large numbers of British troops. We are thankful to our British fellow-subjects for their willingness to defend this country, but we want to wipe out the dishonour of not being able to defend India ourselves. I therefore want the Government to declare the policy that hereafter Indians shall defend India. The second declaration I want should be that Indians shall be prepared to defend India in the future. I urge that a really good military college like that at Sandhurst should be established in India. When I had the honour of appearing before the Army Committee over which Lord Rawlinson presided in 1921, I suggested that such a college should be established to commemorate the Prince of Wales's visit. We have had a school started at Dehra Dun since, but that is like an English public school, not a real military college. What we urge is that a real military college should be established in India. I wish a policy to be inaugurated by which military training will be introduced in every school in the country. I wish a policy inaugurated under which every University will have its University Training Corps expanded to the fullest extent and all fit young men to be given an opportunity to have the benefit of a course of military training and discipline. Sir, I also wish a Council of National Defence to be created. The defence of India concerns not only British India, but also Indian India; and I suggest that there should be a National Defence Association created in which the Princes also should be invited to take part, and the Indian States and British India, of course including high military officers of Government, should together plan the defence of India, should plan national defence on national lines. Towards this end I desire that an Indian should be appointed as the Military Member of the Council whose duty it should be to look after the preparation of Indians for national defence. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief is an Indian, for he was born at Kirkee, and I wish that he should be the President of this Council. We are proud to claim him as a fellow-countryman and a fellow-subject, and I wish he would place himself at

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the head of such an Association, as I suggest, start branches in the provinces and the districts, and proclaim to the world that the present military policy of the Government of India has changed, and that henceforth Indians shall be prepared to defend their country honestly and honourably and to fight for its freedom. That is the policy I wish to be adopted. Towards the adoption of this policy I hope His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief will make the fullest contribution he can. India cannot be satisfied, Sir, with the present state of things. Such an enormous amount as 55 crores to be spent upon the Army when it can be reduced by substituting Indians for Europeans, without reducing their number! I say you can substitute more Indians for British troops. The numbers of the internal security British troops have gone up very much; and if they cannot be brought down directly by absolute reduction the substitution of Indian for British troops to that extent will very effectively reduce the total expenditure. This vote to-day ought to be taken by the Government as an indication and as a strong indication of the desire of the House that this matter of military expenditure should be reviewed. The Army should be reorganised. It should no longer be a tail of the British Army. It should be an Indian Army standing on its own legs, organised in a way satisfactory and honourable to Indians and yet quite as efficient as the present Army is. Towards this purpose I hope to-day's vote will be taken by the Government as a guidance, and that work will be commenced during the year. If we find that our protests and prayers and suggestions go unheeded, the only course left open to Members on this side of the House will be to vote against military expenditure whenever it is brought before them in any shape or form. The Honourable the Finance Member wanted to tell us that there may be some incongruity in voting against this proposal. But we are driven to take the course that we propose to adopt because this is the only manner by which we can mark our extreme dissatisfaction with the present military arrangements of the Government of India. I hope every Member of this House will record his vote against the motion and I hope that the vote will not be misunderstood, but will be correctly appreciated as strengthening the hands of those members of the Government including His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, who, I believe, desire to do the best, the most honest thing by India, that is to say, to prepare Indians in the shortest space of time for defending their own country. I do not think I should take up more time of the House. I hope the vote will be unanimous on this side of the House.

Mr. G. M. Young: Sir, this is the first time for three years that the Army Department Vote has been discussed in this House. On the last occasion the discussion took place on a single motion for a cut of Rs. 100; there were very few speeches made and they were all in the nature of requests for information? And, as the demands for information were supplied in advance on that occasion, the Army Secretary was able to comply with them all before the debate was over.

The Army Vote has not been discussed in detail on motions for reduction of grants ever since this Assembly began; it is therefore not to be wondered at, perhaps, that there has been an immense volume of criticism, and of requests for information. A large part of the criticisms consisted merely of the complaint that non-votable expenditure is non-votable. Well, we cannot do very much about that. That is regulated by

the Government of India Act, and it does not seem worth while for us to try and defend that position here. Another large part of the criticism was devoted to the control of the Government of India by His Majesty's Government through the Secretary of State for India. That is a fact, Sir, which cannot be altered in a discussion on the Army Vote. My Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, went further and complained of the control of the Secretary of State for India by the Secretary of State for War. That is a constitutional by-path into which I am unable to follow him; but I am not aware, Sir, that the position is as he suggests.

The discussion—and in this I include the previous one on the cut—the discussion has turned topsy turvy? We are now discussing the Demand for the entire grant, while yesterday and the greater part of to-day we were discussing a motion for a particular cut. On that particular motion the discussion swelled until it took in every conceivable line of Army administration and some lines which are not Army administration. It began, however, with two main points of criticism of the Government policy. These were connected with the two Reports—the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee's Report, and the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report. It has been repeatedly pointed out in the course of these discussions that the earlier Report still awaits the decision of the Secretary of State for India on the recommendations of the Committee, and on the proposals of the Government of India in connection with those recommendations. It has also been repeatedly pointed out that the Indian Sandhurst Committee's Report is awaiting a decision on the question of the date of publication, and yet speaker after speaker has got up and condemned the Government for not taking action in the various directions covered by the terms of reference of those two Committees. I still claim that the period of 18 months which the Government of India and the Local Governments took to consider in consultation the recommendations of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee was, in view of the importance of the subject, a reasonable period.

Then, Sir, on the question of reduction of expenditure the debate started with what I may call a misstatement, that the Inchcape Committee recommended a cut, and that His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said that that cut was a pious aspiration. This has been explained again and again, and still speakers have got up under the same misapprehension. The Inchcape Committee said that they thought that the expenditure, which was then about 67 crores, should go down to 57 crores. The Government of India brought it down first to 59 crores, and subsequently to 55 crores. That is the cut. Now for the pious aspiration. The pious aspiration was that if prices fell further, they thought we should not be content with 57 crores, but we should cut down to 50 crores. The two things are quite distinct, and they have been amply explained to the House.

Then there has been a great deal of demand for a reduction of the Army. My Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lal in his speech to-day, on the motion on which I am now speaking, said that the Army in India was maintained for Imperial purposes. Well, Sir, we have told the House again and again that the Government of India are not maintaining the Army in India for Imperial purposes . . .

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is that the view of the War Office?

Mr. G. M. Young: I am not the spokesman of the War Office, but I should imagine so. My Honourable friend Diwan Chaman Lall went on to say that we were not only maintaining an army in India entirely for Imperial purposes, but that we were creating and fostering a bogey in order to justify that army, or in other words, he said that no menace existed on the frontiers of India. The logical conclusion of that is that India can do without an army, and if my Honourable friend thinks so, he is welcome to his opinion. He has not, however, made any suggestion, nor has any other Member, who has spoken on either of these two discussions, made any practical suggestion for reduction, until the two suggestions of my Honourable friend, Colonel Gidney, who spoke a few minutes ago. One of his suggestions was a reduction in a department which is not under the control of the Army Department, and the other suggestion was so diversified that it is quite impossible to follow him into it now.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): What about the Indianization of the Army?

Mr. G. M. Young: The substitution of Indian troops for British troops?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: That was the method suggested.

Mr. G. M. Young: Indianization was not suggested as a matter of economy.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Your mouth is shut, say so.

Mr. G. M. Young: One of the objects of the reduction of the Army was stated to be to find money for expenditure in other departments, what are known as the nation-building departments. Well, Sir, apart from the fact that these departments are controlled by the Provincial Governments, and the only way in which the Government of India can help them is the way taken by the Finance Member, that is, abolishing the provincial contributions—I submit that the Army itself is, for the agricultural, the rural classes, a nation-building department. It finds employment for agriculturists. It teaches them the virtues of courage, duty and discipline, and physical fitness, and it throws in a very decent education into the bargain. If that is not nation-building, I do not know what nation-building is. The proof of it comes not only from what I say now, but from all sides of the House and from every corner of India. My Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar is always asking me why we do not recruit more Mahratta Brahmans in the Army. He has also pleaded the cause of Ramoshis, Dangs and Mahars. (*An Honourable Member:* "Madrassis.") I am coming to Madrassis in a minute. My Honourable friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan says "Why don't you recruit more Syvads in the Army?" My Honourable friend from Burma complains, because we are no longer recruiting Turmans except in the Sappers and Miners. When the other day, in pursuance of economy, we had to disband a regiment, and a particular regiment, namely the Madras Regiment was selected, we had a howl from Madras. I could multiply instances of this. But what I would like to think, Sir, is that these manifestations represent not merely a cry for employment, but a recognition of the fact that the Army is, in a true sense, a nation-building department.

Then, Sir, I come to the reduction of British troops. That, Sir, is after all a question for the military experts and also the Government of

India, who are responsible for internal security, and must be allowed to decide. It is no use my Honourable friend Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya getting up and saying that so many British troops can be dispensed with. How can he tell that?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: You do not want British troops for internal security.

Mr. G. M. Young: Sir, my own experience, such as it is, is very much to the contrary. (*An Honourable Member:* "It is one-sided experience.") Yes, Sir, it is one-sided experience. I was the third party. I was Deputy Commissioner for about three and a half years of a district and chairman of a municipality of a very large city not a thousand miles from here. When I was there, there were times of considerable tension, and on one such occasion I went over to see the General who was commanding the troops. He said: "What have you come to see me about?" And I said "I have come to see you about this occasion" (it was a religious festival). He said: "What would you like me to do?" I said: "I should like you to march a small detachment of British troops through the city". He said: "You can have them; do you want them with machine guns?" I said: "Certainly not." He said: "Would you like them with a band?" I said: "Yes, I would like them with a band." And so they marched through the city with a band. (*An Honourable Member:* "Did you go at the head of them?") I did not. I had not got military uniform. Well, Sir

Mr. President: Order, order. The question is:

"That a reduced sum not exceeding Rs. 5,78,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Army Department'."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—46.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Abdul Qayyum, Nawab Sir Subhzada.
Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
A. M. M.
All'son, Mr. F. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
Nawabzada Sayid.
Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
Gopalaswami.
Bhore, The Honourable Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad.
Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
W. M. P.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Graham, Mr. L.
Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hezlett, Mr. J.
Howell, Mr. E. B.

Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
and Honorary Captain.
Keane, Mr. M.
Lamb, Mr. W. S.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
Alexander.
Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-
Sardar.
Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
Paddison, Sir George.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Sir Ganen.
Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Willson, Sir Walter.
Young, Mr. G. M.

NOES—55.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
 Abdul Matin Chandhury, Maulvi.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Belvi, Mr. D. V.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chaman Lall, Mr.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Hyder, Dr. L. K.
 Ismail Khan, Mr.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
 Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra
 Kanta.

Lajpat Rai, Lala.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
 Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Nayudu, Mr. B. P.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
 Prakasam, Mr. T.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rananjaya Singh, Kumar.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Gangenand.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Tok Kvi, U.
 Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.

The motion was negatived.

(It being Five of the Clock, Mr. President then proceeded to put the Demands which still remained to be disposed of.)

DEMAND No. 17—TAXES ON INCOME.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 64,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Taxes on Income'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 19—OPIUM.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 89,14,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Opium'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 20—STAMPS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Stamps'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 21—FOREST.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Forest’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 22—IRRIGATION (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES), NAVIGATION, EMBANKMENT AND DRAINAGE WORKS.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,11,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Irrigation (including Working Expenses), Navigation, Embankment and Drainage Works’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 24—INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT (INCLUDING WORKING EXPENSES).

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,37,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Indo-European Telegraph Department (including Working Expenses)’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 25—INTEREST ON DEBT AND REDUCTION OR AVOIDANCE OF DEBT.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 98,79,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Interest on Debt and Reduction or Avoidance of Debt’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 26—INTEREST ON MISCELLANEOUS OBLIGATIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 29,22,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Interest on Miscellaneous Obligations’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 27—STAFF, HOUSEHOLD AND ALLOWANCES OF THE GOVERNOR GENERAL.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,15,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Staff, Household and Allowances of the Governor General’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 29—LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,62,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Legislative Bodies'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 30—FOREIGN AND POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 7,95,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1923, in respect of 'Foreign and Political Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 31—HOME DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,51,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Home Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 32—PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,04,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Public Service Commission'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 33—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Legislative Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 34—DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,97,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Department of Education, Health and Lands'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 35—FINANCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,55,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Finance Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 36—SEPARATION OF ACCOUNTS FROM AUDIT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 13,34,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Separation of Accounts from Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 37—COMMERCE DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,89,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Commerce Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 39—DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 4,94,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Department of Industries and Labour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 40—CENTRAL BOARD OF REVENUE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,89,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Central Board of Revenue'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 41—PAYMENTS TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS ON ACCOUNT OF ADMINISTRATION OF AGENCY SUBJECTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Payments to Provincial Governments on account of Administration of Agency subjects'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 42—AUDIT.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 74,49,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 43—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Administration of Justice'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 44—POLICE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,70,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Police'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 45—PORTS AND PILOTAGE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 22,95,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Ports and Pilotage'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 46—SURVEY OF INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 30,98,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Survey of India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 47—METEOROLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,52,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Meteorology'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 48—GEOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,13,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Geological Survey'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 49—BOTANICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,17,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges, which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the ‘Botanical Survey’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 50—ZOOLOGICAL SURVEY.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,65,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the ‘Zoological Survey’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 51—ARCHÆOLOGY.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,27,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Archæology’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 52—MINES.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,64,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Mines’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 53—OTHER SCIENTIFIC DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,30,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Other Scientific Departments’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 54—EDUCATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That a sum not exceeding Rs. 9,39,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘Education’.”

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 55—MEDICAL SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 8,19,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Medical Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 56—PUBLIC HEALTH.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 10,22,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Public Health'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 57—AGRICULTURE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,15,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Agriculture'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 58—CIVIL VETERINARY SERVICES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,80,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Civil Veterinary Services'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 59—INDUSTRIES.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,62,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Industries'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 60—AVIATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,96,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Aviation'."

The Assembly divided :

AYES—48.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian
 Abdul Qayyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhole, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
 Costman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
 W. M. P.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.

Ismail Khan, Mr.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-
 Sardar.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. O.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Sykes, Mr. B. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Young, Mr. G. M.

NOES—15.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chaman Lall, Mr.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Lajpat Rai, Lala.

Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Rananjaya Singh, Kumar.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. O. S.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Tok Kyi, U.

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 61—COMMERCIAL INTELLIGENCE AND STATISTICS.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,59,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Commercial Intelligence and Statistics'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 62—EMIGRATION—INTERNAL.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 46,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Emigration—Internal'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 63—EMIGRATION—EXTERNAL.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 88,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Emigration—External'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 64—JOINT-STOCK COMPANIES.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,32,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Joint-Stock Companies'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 65—MISCELLANEOUS DEPARTMENTS.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 2,29,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Departments'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 66—INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,34,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Indian Stores Department'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 67—CURRENCY.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 53,42,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Currency'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 68—MINT.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 17,72,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'Mint'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 69—CIVIL WORKS.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,46,48,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Civil Works'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 70—SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCES AND PENSIONS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 38,09,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Superannuation Allowances and Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 71—STATIONERY AND PRINTING.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 34,53,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Stationery and Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 72—MISCELLANEOUS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 14,66,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Miscellaneous'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 73—REFUNDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 56,23,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Refunds'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 74—NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 99,68,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'North-West Frontier Province'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 75—BALUCHISTAN.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 27,02,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Baluchistan'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 76—DELHI.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 38,30,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 77—AJMER-MERWARA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,38,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Ajmer-Merwara'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 78—ANDAMANS AND NICOBAR ISLANDS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 41,46,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Andamans and Nicobar Islands'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 79—RAJPUTANA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 5,45,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Rajputana'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 80—CENTRAL INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 6,82,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Central India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 81—HYDERABAD.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 85,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Hyderabad'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 82—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 15,31,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—Secretary of State for India'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 83—EXPENDITURE IN ENGLAND—HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 21,32,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Expenditure in England—High Commissioner for India'."

The motion was adopted.

Expenditure charged to Capital.

DEMAND No. 84—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON SECURITY PRINTING.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 12,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Security Printing'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 85—FOREST CAPITAL OUTLAY.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Forest Capital Outlay'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 86—IRRIGATION.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 16,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Irrigation'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 87—INDIAN POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 59,90,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Indian Posts and Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 88—INDO-EUROPEAN TELEGRAPHS.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Indo-European Telegraphs'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 89—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON CURRENCY NOTE PRINTING PRESS.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,16,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Currency Note Printing Press'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 90—CAPITAL OUTLAY ON VIZAGAPATAM HARBOUR.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 39,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Capital Outlay on Vizagapatam Harbour'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 91—COMMUTED VALUE OF PENSIONS.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 19,05,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Commuted Value of Pensions'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 92—NEW CAPITAL AT DELHI.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 65,18,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of the 'New Capital at Delhi'."

The motion was adopted.

*Disbursements of Loans and Advances.***DEMAND No. 93—INTEREST-FREE ADVANCES.**

Mr. President: The question is :

"That a sum not exceeding Rs. 1,01,33,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of 'Interest-free Advances'."

The motion was adopted.

DEMAND No. 94—LOANS AND ADVANCES BEARING INTEREST.

Mr. President: The question is :

“ That a sum not exceeding Rs. 3,80,78,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1928, in respect of ‘ Loans and Advances bearing Interest ’.”

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Wednesday, the 16th March, 1927.

ERRATUM.

In L. A. Debates, Vol. IX, No. 34, p. 2081,
para. 2, line 1, for "Lala Lajpat Rai" read
"Diwan Chaman Lal".

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 16th March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House, at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

DEPRESSION IN THE COAL TRADE IN BIHAR AND ORISSA.

967. ***Mr. Siddheswar Sinha:** (a) Are Government aware of the serious depression of the coal trade in the province of Bihar and Orissa?

(b) Is it a fact that some coal companies have been closed in the Jharia coalfields on account of such depression? If so, will the Government be pleased to state their number?

(c) Is it a fact that the output of many other coal companies in the same coalfield has considerably decreased in the last three years?

(d) If the reply to the aforesaid question be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to give a statement of the output of such companies for the last three years?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken or intend to take to give relief to and to protect the coal trade?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a)—(d) I am sorry that the information at my disposal does not enable me to go into as much detail as the Honourable Member desires, but if the Honourable Member wants fully to study the position of the Indian coal trade, I recommend him to read the report of the Indian Coal Committee, the report of the Tariff Board on Coal and the pamphlet entitled "Indian Coal Statistics, 1925," which was published as a supplement to the Indian Trade Journal of December 23, 1926, and which will be found in the Library. I am aware, of course, that the Indian coal trade complains of depression not only in Bihar and Orissa and elsewhere, and that a certain number of collieries have closed down. But the output of the Jharia field, the most important field in Bihar and Orissa, remained more or less constant in 1923, 1924 and 1925, nor have I any reason to believe that there was any serious decrease in 1926. In 1923 the output was 10,346,000 tons. In 1925 it was 10,677,000 tons.

(e) The two reports referred to above indicate that the position of the coal trade has been constantly under review. The most important measures taken on these reports have been the establishment of the Coal Grading Board, the grant of an increased rebate on graded export coal and the reduction of long distance railway freights on coal.

MEMORIAL OF MR. S. H. COUNSELL, LATE DEPUTY MAGISTRATE OF BENGAL.

968. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state whether he received a memorial from Mr. S. H.

Counsell, late Deputy Magistrate of Bengal, addressed to the Secretary of State for India, and, if so, whether it is a fact that his memorial has been withheld?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative, will Government please state whether Rule XXIX of the Rules published in the Notification by the Government of India Home Department No. F.472, dated the 21st June, 1924, entitles Mr. Counsell to claim that his memorial be sent on to the Secretary of State for India and not withheld?

(c) If the answer is in the affirmative, do Government propose to forward Mr. Counsell's memorial to the Secretary of State for India for any action he may consider necessary?

Mr. J. M. Dunnett: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) Rule XXIX does not apply.

(c) The question does not arise.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member please tell me whether he has received a subsequent letter from me about four days ago admitting a misquotation of authority for action and asking for a substitution? I sent it about four days ago and I thought he might have received it.

Mr. J. M. Dunnett: I regret that I have not seen any correspondence of that nature.

**FORFEITURE OF THE GRATUITY OF BABU SURENDRA NATH DUTT, HEAD
PAY CLERK, JAMALPUR, DISCHARGED FROM SERVICE FOR
SLACK SUPERVISION.**

969. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** 1. In connection with certain deficiencies traced in the accounts of Assistant Pay Clerks N. N. Bose and H. C. Bannerjee of the East Indian Railway, Jamalpur, on the 15th November, 1923, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for forfeiting the gratuity of Babu Surendra Nath Dutt, the Head Pay Clerk of that station who, as a result of the investigation following the discovery of the defalcation, was discharged from service for slack supervision?

2. Are Government aware that in a previous case which occurred, *viz.*, Babu Hari Sadhan Mukerjee, the then Head Pay Clerk, Jamalpur, on a similar defalcation being detected in the accounts of Assistant Pay Clerk Narain Chandra Ganguli, was permitted to continue in the service and eventually retire receiving his gratuity in full?

3. Are Government also aware that in another case of defalcation of accounts of Assistant Pay Clerks, the Head Pay Clerk, Babu Binod Goswami, was permitted to retire from service with his gratuity?

4. If the answer to questions 2 and 3 are in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state, why in the case of Babu Surendra Nath Dutt, a novel method of procedure was resorted to?

5. Do Government propose to look into the case of Babu Surendra Nath Dutt?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I have no information about the facts alleged. No appeal has been received from the man referred to in Part I of the question.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member make enquiries into this matter?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No. The man had his right of appeal.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I put Question No. 970 on behalf of Sardar Gulab Singh?

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: On a point of order, Sir. Has the Honourable Member got Sardar Gulab Singh's permission?

Some Honourable Members: Under the rules it is not necessary.

Mr. President: Sir Hari Singh Gour.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Question No. 970.

VISITORS' ROOMS IN THE COUNCIL HOUSE, NEW DELHI, AND THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, SIMLA.

970. **Sir Hari Singh Gour** (on behalf of Sardar Gulab Singh): (a) Is it a fact that waiting rooms for visitors have been provided in almost all the Departments in the New Secretariat at New Delhi?

(b) If so, why has the New Parliamentary building not been provided with such visitors' rooms for the respective Chambers to avoid inconvenience to the visitors desiring to see the Members of the different Houses?

(c) Has any room been set apart for such a purpose in the Assembly Chamber in Simla? If not, when do the Government propose to do so?

Mr. L. Graham: (a) Yes.

(b) Room No 38 in the Council House has been reserved as the room where Members of both Houses can receive visitors. As the furniture and fittings for this room are not yet ready, sofas have been placed all round the octagonal halls on either side of both Chambers for the use of visitors as a temporary measure.

(c) There is no room available in the Assembly Chamber at Simla which could be allotted as a room for visitors waiting to see Members, but chairs are placed near the Notice Office for their convenience.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I enquire if the Government propose to appoint a small Committee of the non-official and official Members of this House with a view to examine the accommodation which is necessary here in Delhi in order to ensure the further convenience of Members both in the Chamber and the waiting rooms?

Mr. K. Ahmed: In view of the fact, Sir, that you, Mr. President, are the sole proprietor of this building (Laughter), the matter is in your hands and not one for the Government to answer.

Mr. L. Graham: I find myself for once in full agreement with my Honourable friend, Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: In view of the narrow escape of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in this House yesterday from

falling brick; will the Honourable Member kindly tell us when he proposes to repair the roof of this House? I would also draw his immediate attention to another loose brick at a dangerous angle just above the seat of the Leader of the Swarajist Party.

Mr. L. Graham: Does the Honourable Member suggest that it is my duty?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Yes, I believe it is.

Mr. L. Graham: I differ from the Honourable Member.

Mr. President: I think I should suggest to the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra to reply to that question.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have already arranged that the roof of this Chamber should be examined by the expert Engineers to-morrow and the day after, taking advantage of the holidays.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: May I point out the dangerous condition of the roof in other parts of the Chamber (pointing to the portion of the roof just above the Swarajist Benches.) (Laughter.)

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I enquire whether the experts who will examine this building have anything to do with the experts who built it?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The expert who will examine this building is the Chief Engineer. He did not personally take any part in the construction of the building.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Was he not supervising the construction of the building?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Chief Engineer does exercise a certain amount of supervision over all the engineers who are engaged in construction work.

Mr. B. Das: Is the Honourable Member aware that there is faulty construction in every part of this building? If the Honourable Member will kindly walk round the corridors of the first floor and the second floor, he will find several cracks, especially lateral cracks, along the arched roofs.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: That is a question of opinion. (Laughter.) I have already asked my Honourable friend, who is an engineer himself, to come and meet me to-morrow when I shall go into the whole thing with my Chief Engineer.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is the dropping of bricks also a matter of opinion? (Laughter).

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I was replying to a specific question put by my Honourable friend, Mr. Das, which had nothing to do with the dropping of bricks.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh: Do the Government propose to take steps against the contractor and the engineers in charge of this building?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I did not catch what the Honourable Member said.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh: Do the Government propose to take any steps against the contractor and the officers in charge of the construction of this building?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: That stage has not yet been reached. First of all, we have to hold an examination and an enquiry as to how this damage occurred.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Then it will go to the Secretary of State!

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I ask if that stage will be reached if a more serious mishap happens in this House?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: That does not follow out of my answer to the previous question.

Mr. H. G. Cocks: May I ask the Honourable Member whether his attention has been called to the incessant banging of doors in this building and whether this banging has anything to do with the loosening of the tiles? (Laughter.)

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Not being an engineer myself, I cannot give a definite reply to my Honourable friend's question.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar: Is it a fact that on account of excessive sound in the House the sound-absorbing tiles fall down? (Laughter.)

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: That may be so, but not being an expert, again I cannot give a definite reply to my Honourable friend's question. If the implication is that that tile fell down owing to too much noise in this House during the past few days, well, that may be so, but I do not know.

Mr. President: With regard to a supplementary question by Sir Hari Singh Gour on the subject of accommodation and convenience for Honourable Members in Delhi, I would suggest to the Leaders of Parties to meet me in my room in order to discuss the question of the appointment of a House Committee for the purpose.

SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

971. ***Sir Hari Singh Gour** (on behalf of Sardar Gulab Singh): When do Government intend to create a separate establishment for the office of the President of the Legislative Assembly, and how much extra expenditure would it involve?

Mr. L. Graham: Government are not contemplating the early creation of a separate establishment for the Legislative Assembly. I am not in a position to estimate the amount of extra expenditure involved, as this would depend in part on the extent and method of the separation of the Assembly staff from the staff of the Legislative Department.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is the Honourable Member aware that this question has been agitating the Members of this House ever since the first Assembly?

Mr. L. Graham: I may remind the Honourable Member that he might have put down a cut in the grant but he did not do so.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: That is not an answer to my question. I want an answer to my question. Is it not a fact that Members of this House have been agitating for a separate establishment ever since the first Assembly?

Mr. L. Graham: I think, Sir, my answer indicates the feelings of Members of this House. If they did not put down a cut, I presume they are not deeply anxious about it.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: My question has not been answered. I repeat it once more. Is it or is it not a fact that ever since the creation of the Indian Legislative Assembly Members have been asking for a separate establishment and the Legislative Department have given assurances that the matter would be considered but that there were financial considerations which stood in the way in 1921, 1922 and 1923, which prevented Government from giving effect to the suggestions made by the House?

Mr. L. Graham: The Honourable Member knows the answer better than I do. He has been in the House all the time and I have not.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I ask the Honourable Member whether he will reconsider the suggestion made on this side of the House that the Legislative Assembly must have an office of its own?

Mr. L. Graham: That has been considered and will be considered.

Mr. President: I may inform the Honourable Member that this is not a question with which I should remain unconcerned. As President of the Assembly I feel it more keenly than any other Member of this House that the matter should be settled as early as possible. The question is under my consideration for some time past and whatever may ultimately be the decision of the Government in the matter, I have decided to prepare and submit a scheme to them for the separation of the office of the Assembly from the Department. It is only a question of time.

ORDER OF THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL, PUNJAB AND NORTH-WEST
FRONTIER PROVINCE, REGARDING THE FILLING OF AIL
FUTURE VACANCIES BY MUHAMMADANS.

972. ***Sir Hari Singh Gour** (on behalf of Sardar Gulab Singh): (a) With reference to the answer to starred question No. 513, dated the 18th February, 1927, will Government please state if it is a fact that the Postmaster-General, Punjab and North-West Frontier Province, some time ago issued a general order to all the officers under him and for his own office that all future vacancies should go to Muhammadans only? If so, will they place a copy of that order on the table?

(b) Was due regard given for Sikh representation in that order? If not, why not?

(c) If so, to show that due regard was given will Government please state how many vacancies in his office and the Deputy Postmaster-General, Railway Mail Service, Ambala, since 1924 (April) occurred and how many of them were given to Sikhs and how many to Muhammadans?

(d) Do Government propose to increase the recruitment of Sikhs in all future vacancies in all the Post Offices and other offices under the Postmaster-General, Punjab?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

(d) There are no restrictions of any kind on the recruitment of Sikhs for the postal service under the Postmaster-General, Punjab and N. W. F. In this connection the Honourable Member's attention is invited to the Resolution moved by Mr. K. N. Nayar and adopted by the Legislative Assembly on the 10th March 1923 regarding recruitment for the services under the Central Government.

SUPPLY TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF A REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS
OF THE CONFERENCE OF THE PROVINCIAL MINISTERS OF EXCISE,
HELD AT SIMLA.

973. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** With reference to Earl Winterton's reply in the House of Commons in November, 1926, to Colonel Day, that the Secretary of State had not received the report of the Proceedings of the Conference of the Ministers of Excise from the various provinces held at Simla, will Government please state:

(a) if they have sent the report of the Proceedings referred to above to the Secretary of State?

(b) if they have come to any decision as to the measures to be adopted for the reduction of the opium consumption in India? If so, what?

(c) if they have not yet decided on the question, when do they propose to do so, and what are the difficulties in its way?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the Government's Resolution No. 4, dated the 17th June 1926, which contains a complete statement of their internal policy in regard to Opium. I would remind the Honourable Member that matters relating to the consumption of opium in the Provinces are a provincial and transferred subject.

ARTICLE IN THE *SEARCHLIGHT* OF DECEMBER 19, 1926, HEADED
"POLL-TAX ON SONEPUR BRIDGE".

974. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** With reference to an article by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, M.L.A., appearing in the *Searchlight's* issue of December 19th, 1926, under the heading "Poll Tax on Sonapur Bridge", will Government please state how the matter referred to in the said article stands at present?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The Government have not seen the article referred to.

ARTICLE IN THE *FORWARD* OF DECEMBER 23RD, 1926, HEADED
"MR. SAKLATWALA AND INDIA OFFICE".

975. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) With reference to an article published in the *Forward's* issue of December 23rd, under the heading "Mr. Saklatwala and India Office", will Government be pleased to state if the matters reported are partially or wholly true?

(b) Has the matter been referred to them and have they given any reply?

(c) If they have given a reply would they please place it on the table for the information of the House?

Mr. J. M. Dunnnett: Government have seen the article referred to. The Government of India are not aware whether the article correctly reproduces Mr. Saklatwala's communications.

SEPARATION OF JUDICIAL AND EXECUTIVE FUNCTIONS.

976. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Have Government received any proposal from any Local Government with regard to the separation of judicial and the executive functions, and if so, what action have they taken thereon?

Mr. J. M. Dunnnett: Proposals have been received from the Governments of Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces and Bihar and Orissa, which are being examined by the Government of India.

ABOLITION OF THE EXISTING EXEMPTION OF AGRICULTURAL INCOME FROM LIABILITY TO INCOME-TAX.

977. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government please state whether the question of abolishing the existing exemption of agricultural income from liability to income-tax is under consideration, or finally abandoned?

(b) Have Government made any estimate as to what would be the probable increase in each province if the exemption is abolished?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The Government are not considering this subject at present.

(b) The answer is in the negative.

TRAINING OF INDIANS AS WIRELESS OPERATORS.

978. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government please state what progress has been made as regards the preparation of a scheme for the training of Indians as wireless operators?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Honourable Member is referred to the information given to the House on the 4th March, 1927, in reply to part (c) of starred question No. 719. Future recruitment of operators for wireless is now receiving my personal attention.

LETTER IN THE *FORWARD* OF THE 26TH DECEMBER, 1926, HEADED "PASSENGER ILL-TREATED".

979. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government please state if their attention has been drawn to a letter published in the issue of the *Forward*, dated the 26th December, 1926, under the heading "Passenger Ill-Treated"?

(b) Are the facts stated therein true?

(c) If so, what action has been taken against the ticket collectors referred to therein?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). Government have no information. The matter has apparently been reported to the police.

CANTEEN SERVICE FOR BRITISH TROOPS IN INDIA.

980. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they have come to any decision as a result of their recent inquiry on the condition of the Canteen Service for British troops in India?

(b) Do they propose to accept the proposals of the All-India Army 'Contractors' Association made in this connection?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) and (b). The decision of Government was announced in a press communiqué, which was published on the 3rd February. I will supply the Honourable Member with a copy.

NUMBER OF MEETINGS OF THE STANDING ADVISORY COMMITTEE ATTACHED TO THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT IN 1925 AND 1926.

981. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that not a single meeting of the Advisory Committee of the Department of Commerce was held in the years 1925 and 1926?

(b) If the answer to part (a) be in the affirmative, will they please state the reasons and if the reply be in the negative, will they please state the number of such meetings?

(c) Were any cases submitted to the said Committee? If so, what and how many?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes

(b) As regards 1925, I refer the Honourable Member to the reply given to the Honourable Mr. Mannohandas Ramji in the Council of State on the 24th August, 1926. In 1926, the gentlemen nominated to be members did not all intimate their willingness to serve until two days before the end of the concluding Session of the last Legislative Assembly, and on its dissolution the panel for the Standing Committee elected by it automatically ceased to exist.

(c) Does not arise.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, NEW DELHI.

982. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government please state by what time the Government House in New Delhi is expected to be completed, and when His Excellency the Viceroy will move into it?

(b) How will the present Viceregal Lodge in Delhi be utilised when His Excellency the Viceroy removes to the Government House in New Delhi?

(c) What use is being made of the old Secretariat, and what will be its immediate future?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The winter of 1929-30.

(b) No decision has yet been arrived at.

(c) To accommodate the offices of Army Headquarters, Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Commissioner, Northern India Salt Revenue, and other offices. The present arrangements are likely to continue for at least another year.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: With reference to the answer to part (c), will the Honourable Member consider the advisability of moving this Assembly back into the old Delhi Chamber, which is far more comfortable than the present building?

(*Certain other Members:* "No. No.").

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The remarks which have already fallen from other Members of the House show that there is no unanimity on the subject.

CENTRAL HAJ COMMITTEE.

983. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that a Haj Committee was established under the presidency of Dr. Mian Sir Mohammad Shafi, the then Member of the Education Department of the Government of India?

(b) If so, is it still in existence, and if so, will the Government be pleased to state the number of its members with names, and the amount at the credit of the Committee at present?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Yes.

(b) No.

EXPENDITURE ON THE DESPATCH OF INDIAN TROOPS TO CHINA.

984 ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the answer given in the House of Commons recently by Mr. Churchill to a question by Mr. Lansbury regarding the cost of sending Indian troops to China?

(b) Are Government aware that, contrary to statements made on the floor of this House, Mr. Churchill maintains that the question as to whether the cost is to be debited to Imperial revenues is being discussed with the Indian Government?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Government have seen Reuter's message on the subject.

(b) No, Sir, Mr. Churchill is reported as having said that the question had not been discussed with the Government of India. That is still the case. His Majesty's Government have not raised the question with the Government of India. I am sorry to be able at the moment only to give negative information on the subject; but I shall have positive information in a very few days.

Mr. President: When the Session is over?

Mr. G. M. Young: No, Sir, before the Session is over. If my Honourable friend will then put a question, and if you, Sir, will allow it, I shall be prepared to accept short notice.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Will the Honourable Member be pleased to lay a statement or make a statement to the House without being questioned on the subject as soon as information is received.

Mr. G. M. Young: It is immaterial to me, and I should have thought that it would be immaterial to the House whether I make a statement in reply to a question, or without a question.

Mr. Chaman Lal: May I ask what information he is expecting? May I make myself quite clear? Will the Honourable Member tell me whether the reply given on the floor of this House was correct or incorrect?

Mr. G. M. Young: That seems to me to be two questions. As I have already said, I can only give negative information at present, but I shall be able to give positive information in a few days.

MOTION FOR THE ELECTION OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): I move:

"That this Assembly do proceed to the election, for the financial year 1927-28, in such method as may be approved by the Honourable the President, of a Standing Finance Committee of the Assembly not exceeding fourteen in number to which shall be added a Member of the Assembly to be nominated by the Governor General. The Member so nominated shall be Chairman of the Committee."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: I may inform the Assembly that for the purposes of election to the Standing Finance Committee the Assembly office will be open to receive nominations up to 12 noon on Saturday, the 19th March, and the election, if necessary, will take place in this Chamber in accordance with the principle of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote on Wednesday, the 23rd March.

THE CURRENCY BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President: The House will now resume further consideration of clause 2 of the Currency Bill. The question is:

"That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill."

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya (Madras: Indian Commerce): Sir, I rise to support the motion of my friend the Honourable Mr. Kelkar. Sir, in this land of plague and cholera a new epidemic

Mr. President: Order, order. Does the Honourable Member support the motion of Mr. Kelkar or does he wish to move his own?

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: Well, Sir, in a way.

Mr. President: That is no reply. The House must know exactly whether the Honourable Member proposes to move his amendment or will content himself by supporting the amendment of Mr. Kelkar. If he wants to move his amendment he must say so.

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: Then, Sir, I will 'move my amendment. I beg to move, Sir:

"That after clause 1 of the Bill the following new clause be inserted and the subsequent clauses be renumbered accordingly :—

' 2. (1) In the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, after section 3 the following new section be inserted and the subsequent sections be renumbered accordingly.

Gold Coinage.

' 4. (1) The following gold coins shall be coined at the Mint for issue under the authority of the Governor General in Council, namely :

(a) a gold mohur to be called the 'Sircar Mohur'.

(b) a half-mohur.'

(2) The standard weight of 'Sircar Mohurs' shall be 123·27447 grains troy and its standard fineness shall be as follows, namely, eleven-twelfths or 113·0016 grains of fine gold and one-twelfth or 10·27317 grains of alloy.

(3) The other gold coins shall be of proportionate weight of the same fineness :

Provided that in the making of gold coins, a remedy shall be allowed of an amount not exceeding the following, namely :

	Remedy in weight.	Remedy in fineness.
Sircar Mohur	Five- thousandths.	Two- thousandths.
Half Mohur		

Dimensions and Designs.

(4) The Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India,—
(a) direct the coining and issuing of all coins referred to in this section, and
(b) determine the dimensions of, and design for, such gold coins.

(5) Provisions regarding Diminished, Defaced and Counterfeit Coins referred to and contained in any of the sections numbers 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 supplemental provisions referred to or contained in any of the sections 21, 22 and 23 for the silver or nickel coins shall apply in the same way to the Sircar Gold Mohurs and to the same extent as applicable to the coins referred to in those several and respective sections.

(6) Any person who tenders at any time to the Governor General in Council, at the office of the Master of the Mint or at the Imperial Bank of India at their Head Offices at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta or at any other place notified in this behalf by the Governor General in Council in the Gazette of India, fine gold and pays seigniorage to cover minting charges, according to a scale to be notified in the Government Gazette, shall be entitled to receive :

Sircar Mohurs or half-Mohurs proportionate to the gold tendered at the rate of 113·0016 grains of fine gold per Mohur and at the rate of 56·5008 grains of fine gold per half-Mohur respectively.

(7) The Sircar Mohur and half-Mohur shall be a full legal tender in payment or on account :

Provided that the coin—

(a) has not lost in weight so as to be more than ·05 per cent. below standard weight, and

(b) has not been defaced.

(8) The silver rupee specified in section 4 shall be a legal tender in payment or on account for any sum not exceeding one hundred rupees at the rate of (one-fifteenth) of a Sircar Mohur :

Provided that the above provisions shall not come into operation until such date as the Governor General in Council may direct in this behalf :

Provided also that such date shall not be later than 1st July, 1935.

(9) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 12 in the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, call in with effect from such date as may be specified in the notification, any silver coin of whatever date or denomination referred to in any of the sections 12 or sub-sections (a) and (b) of section 15 (1) of the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, *including the rupee and half-rupee* referred to in sub-section (1) of section 12, and on and from the date so specified such coin shall cease to be a legal tender save at a Government currency office :

Provided that such date shall not be later than 1st July, 1935 :

Provided also that such coin shall continue to be a legal tender also at Government treasuries until the expiring of such further period, not less than 24 months, as the Governor General in Council may fix by the notification '."

Sir, in this land of plague and cholera

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): On a point of order, Sir. I desire to draw attention to two points in the amendment moved by the Honourable Member. The first is that in sub-section (2) (at the top of page 3 of the printed list), the total amount of fine gold *plus* the grains of alloy amounts to more than the total of the grains troy of the whole coin. I wish to know whether that is strictly in order. He will find that if the two are added together the alloy will make the coin larger than it is allowed to be by the rest of the clause. The second point is that it is proposed that the silver rupee shall be legal tender at the rate of one-fifteenth of the Sircar Mohur. That, Sir, I think is not in order in view of the decision that has been taken in clause 4 as regards the ratio.

Mr. President: With regard to the first point raised by the Honourable the Finance Member, all that I can say is that according to him the amendment is absurd. It is therefore not a point of order. It is for the Honourable Member to consider whether he should not make the necessary alteration in the amendment to meet the objection. With regard to the second point, the Honourable Member must substitute "three-fortieths" for "one-fifteenth" in his amendment.

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: I accept that.

Mr. President: But what are the alterations?

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: If I have made a mistake in the number of grains of alloy I will have the same amount of grains as there are in the sovereign.

Mr. President: But this must be done. The Honourable Member may, however, go on subject to correction later.

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: Sir, the present Bill is the result of the last Royal Commission on Indian Exchange and Currency, though it is mis-named the Royal Commission on Indian Currency and Finance, for we know that under the terms of reference the Royal Commission was not asked to touch "finance". The object of the Bill under consideration is to give effect to certain recommendations which relate to the immediate stabilisation of the rupee in relation to gold and to the interim measures required during the transition period pending the bringing into operation of the proposals for the transfer of the control of the Indian note issue and other operations performed, at present, by the Secretary of State and the Government of India to another "East India Company" called the "Reserve Bank of India" under the major proprietorship and full partnership of the

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Imperial Bank of India. One of the Honourable Members in the discussion on this Bill congratulated the House that for the first time the octopus of the Secretary of State is going to release its hold on the finances and currency of this country, and as that matter will be dealt with in another Bill, I do not propose to dwell upon the subject of the Reserve Bank of India. The Commission in their Report, in paragraph 167, emphasise strongly that their recommendations in the Report should be regarded as a comprehensive whole and that "modifications of any of their integral parts involved danger of destroying their balance and so preventing the efficient and smooth working of the whole." If that is so, the Government should have brought all the three Bills together before this Legislative Assembly.

Before I proceed with the Bill, I may say a word regarding the appointment of the Royal Commission, for we can get some of the most mischievous proposals from such packed Royal Commissions only.

As has already been pointed out by the Honourable Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and the Honourable Mr. Jinnah, the Indian public had condemned the Royal Commission on account of its very unsatisfactory personnel. The question of constitution of the Commission was discussed in this House. Numerous protests were made throughout the country, and as the country's wishes were not complied with, the Commission was even boycotted on account of its very unsatisfactory composition. It was a fully packed Commission. But I must say that the Government made one mistake and deviated into sense and included Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and found a Tartar in him. But for him some of the disclosures now made in his masterly and valuable note of dissent would never have come to light. Though the authorities may regret their choice and the Government of India may have been warned to be more careful in selecting Indian members for packed Commissions in future, India must congratulate herself on having such a devoted, loyal, capable and true son to champion her cause. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas's valuable and masterly note will be ever green in the memory of his countrymen. He has rendered yeoman service to India, and we can never sufficiently thank him for it. But he should have laid equal stress on a Gold Standard and a Gold Currency.

Before I proceed to consider the recommendations of the packed Commission, I should say a word also about the evidences tendered before them. I do not know on what principles they proceeded to take evidence—I do not speak about the evidence having been taken in camera; no other Royal Commission has sat in Purdah—and on what grounds they have rejected half the evidence which is not even published. The Honourable the Finance Member told us that it was on the ground of economy. But several of the gentlemen whose evidence is not published have advocated a gold standard with gold coinage and currency. The gentlemen who took the trouble of submitting the statements were asked even to correct the proofs. Now we are told that the evidence was not published on the ground of economy, and the economy consists in saving only the striking charges and cost of paper!

Let us analyse the lists of those whose "selected" statements have been published and not published. Out of 70 witnesses whose evidence has been published by the Commission, no less than 20 were Professors of Economics, and the evidence of an equal number of Professors is not published.

The analysis of the list of those whose written statements have been published and who were orally examined is as under:

	Indians.	Europeans.	
		In India.	Abroad.
Professors of Economics	15	2	3
Barriers	2	...	...
Vakils	2	...	...
Brokers	3	1	...
Business men	4	...	1
Non-business man (a Member of this Assembly)	1	...	...
Bankers	2	1	6
Experts . . . . .	...	...	2
Government officials . . . . .	...	5	3
Chambers and Public Bodies	9	5	3
Total	38	14	18

An analysis of the list of those whose evidence has not been published is as under:

	European.	Indian.
Professors of Economics	1	18
Vakils . . . . .	...	3
Brokers	1	1
Bankers	2	6
State official . . . . .	...	1
Chambers and Public Bodies	2	10
Miscellaneous	4	14
Total	10	53

The evidence taken was neither full nor on any representative or intelligent basis. The few "selected" European and American witnesses have been given far too great an importance. The whole of India has only 91 Indian witnesses out of which the evidence of 53 is not published. Southern India went wholly unrepresented both on the Commission and consequently in the evidence. Owing to several unsatisfactory features both in the composition of the Commission and in the matter of selected evidence the packed Royal Commission has recommended what suits European interests best and the solid demand of almost all the Indians for a full gold standard with a gold currency and coinage and a free mint has been completely brushed aside. The packed Commission has not decided on the bulk of the evidence tendered but as they thought would suit European vested interests. Not only that, the practical scheme prepared by the Honourable the Finance Member, Sir Basil Blackett, and the Finance Department, with their knowledge and experience of India, as contained in the Finance Member's learned memoranda, has been adversely criticised and rejected. We appreciate the service of Sir Basil Blackett to India in putting the fundamental requirements of the currency system before this packed Commission. I am only sorry that he made such a complete somersault (Laughter) and gave

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up his scheme. After penning such a valuable memorandum, he went about the country to hoist up the Royal Commission's Report and acted as an official propagandist to support a so-called gold bullion standard. The scheme is only a perpetuation of the sterling exchange standard in a worse form. Under it, India would be committed to placing its resources to guarantee a gold currency or bullion to alien exploiters in the several countries called the gold standard countries. Though it is stated that they are gold standard countries, practically, I do not think either Italy or France or Belgium or Spain are such, and it would practically amount to only England and America. The hitherto unauthorised action of the Government in supplying gold remittances by Reverse Council Bills will be sanctioned by the Legislature if this Bill is passed in the present form.

The heated and somewhat acrimonious controversy on the ratio question has unfortunately tended to overshadow the main and important question of the establishment of a gold standard with gold currency. The other mischievous and even important recommendations and the interdependent proposals of the Royal Commission have not received the proper attention of the public. The controversy has degenerated into a somewhat personal duel between the Honourable the Finance Member on the left and Sir Purshotamadas and his friends. The Mahabharat of the ratio has raged furiously in the Press and on the platform and in the numerous pamphlets. The official Duryodhana had behind him only the European Chambers and the official hierarchy while Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Sir Victor Sassoon have behind them the bulk of the Indian Chambers and the Indian community. The blind Dhritarashtra of Whitehall in London espoused the cause of the official Duryodhana and blessed the scheme proposed by their packed Commission and announced with indecent haste the acceptance as a whole of the recommendations, of course with the official slogan "subject to such further consideration of details as might prove necessary", and we know what it means. And we see actually how the proposal of the Commission to sell gold or gold exchange is altered to mere sale of gold exchange. The Viceroy pronounced his opinion in favour of 18d. to secure support, and as it always happens the Government make up their mind in such matters before consulting the Indian Legislature. The ratio battle was fought at the sittings of this Assembly in this new building in the precincts of Hastinapura. The official Duryodhana has won the battle. But I cannot congratulate the Honourable the Finance Member on the kind of victory he had. I must give the credit to Sir Purshotamdas that he has aroused the country from its deep slumber and made them think that monetary problems should receive their due attention. We know India is governed by England by its two important policies, the military and the fiscal policies. If fiscal and military reform is won we are not far from our goal in attaining our self-assertion. It is unfortunate that the Government taking advantage of the duel over the ratio have not first brought up the question of gold standard with a gold currency but introduced the Bill for fixing of the ratio only. The Assembly should have been first asked to decide the issue whether the country wants the gold bullion exchange standard without any gold currency as recommended by the packed Commission or they want a full and true gold standard with a gold unit coin as a standard measure of value and currency. By introducing the Bill the Government are merely trying to retain and stabilise a "bastard" and "false" silver rupee. The scheme means guaranteeing the full value of

the rupee in gold to the foreign remitters only, without any statutory obligation on the part of the Government to give the holder of the rupee in India its gold value originally promised when the Gold Standard Reserve was created. They go a step further and offer 1s. 6d. for a rupee which they had issued for 1s. 4d., thus giving two pence more for every rupee to those foreigners only who wish to remit funds abroad and the Indians at home are cheated of their dues by not receiving its gold value, and whereas they were hitherto getting Rs. 15 for a sovereign they will get only Rs. 18½.

The Royal Commission was commanded by His Majesty the King Emperor to consider the best interests of India as stated in the terms of reference. But they take into account mostly instead the requirements of various Europeans and other countries. I would invite the attention of the House to paragraph 37 of the Report. Requirements of other countries for the purpose of their reconstruction are more important to this packed Commission. The modest and practical scheme of the Finance Department of the Government of India for a gold standard and gold currency for India has been rejected by them. They are haunted by the too much exaggerated fear that the absorption of gold in India will affect the supplies or credit and rates of interest and gold prices throughout the world and also the silver markets elsewhere and the reconstruction of Europe will be retarded. They are solicitous as to the value of the store of silver hoarded by the masses of the Indian population but they do not feel any compunction to demonetise the sovereign and do not care about some hundreds of crores worth of sovereigns in India. They consulted only the interested authorities in England and New York who view the modest and practical scheme of the Finance Department with alarm on the ground that the question of credits would retard the progress of monetary reconstruction in Europe, would upset their prices and would be fundamentally harmful to the rest of the world and consequently to India.

The Bill embodies the recommendations of the Royal Commission of a gold bullion standard without gold currency and without gold coin. The Bill proposes to demonetise the sovereign, a departure from the currency system of the civilised countries of the world. The Bill improves upon the recommendations of the Royal Commission. While the Royal Commission recommends the sale of gold and gold exchange on gold standard countries, the Bill omits the sale of gold, though the sale of gold was included in the Bill presented in August last. The Bill amounts to this that the Government of India should buy gold and make a reservoir of gold in India to be delivered in the form of gold exchange to the foreigners in the several countries. The country does not want a fraudulent gold bullion standard with a demonetised sovereign or any arrangement whereby only foreigners get the gold value for the rupee. From the evidence tendered before the Royal Commission and from the successive demands made throughout the country as expressed by Indian Chambers of Commerce and at the several public meetings throughout India, India wants a monometallic system with gold as the standard of value in order to avoid the embarrassing fluctuations in the rate of exchange with gold standard countries. The Mint should be thrown open for the free coinage of gold. The rupee should no longer be unlimited tender but only a token coin. The rupee should ultimately cease to be standard of value in all internal transactions. We must adopt the recommendations of the Fowler Committee made as early as 1898 in their Report. This recommendation was accepted by the Secretary of State and the Government of India and the effective establishment of a gold standard

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based on a gold currency became the recognised object of the Government of India and its advisers even according to the packed Commission. But the Government's first attempt even to introduce gold in circulation was made half-heartedly and the currency system was deliberately changed to lines quite different from those recommended by the Fowler Committee and accepted by the Secretary of State and the Government of India. The amendments placed before the House contain nothing new or revolutionary. It is practically carrying into effect the scheme of the Honourable the Finance Member for the introduction of a gold standard with gold coinage and currency within a period of ten years. The various clauses suggested in the amendments are to put that scheme for the approval of the House and adoption and I hope the Finance Member will accept the amendments. When we have a real gold standard as suggested on the lines of the amendment we shall have one and the same standard with the other countries wherefrom we import or to whom we export. There would be no question of exchange fluctuations or adjustment of losses in the Budget due to two different metallic currencies. We shall have the same gold standard as obtains in England and other advanced countries. There will be no losses to merchants as in the past due to wide and uncertain fluctuations. Sir Charles Addis in London has said that the Report of the Commission is too theoretical and Sir Felix Schuster thinks a return to the gold bullion standard such as is suggested in the Report would be rather a retrograde step than a step in advance. Let the House reject the Bill and establish an honest, full gold standard with gold currency and coin, the only firm and stable standard aimed at in practice by all who are so keen to condemn its being adopted for us.

Regarding the cost of introducing a gold standard in India the scheme involves the possibility of a recurring cost of Rs. 165 lakhs a year during the first five years and Rs. 112 lakhs a year thereafter. As has been stated by Sir Basil Blackett "these figures represent maxima. The assumptions throughout have been deliberately made to err on the side of safety. The actual charges would be considerably less as there are various possible methods of reducing the liabilities." This cost of securing a stable standard is nothing compared with the loss of Rs. 30 to Rs. 40 crores incurred recently and on one occasion only in maintaining unsuccessfully a bad standard. The total loss to India owing to a silver standard and sterling exchange will be appalling. A real gold standard will stand the stress of war and will be of immense help to England. It is to the interests of even England to have a standard in India which can be relied upon than having a silver standard which is a source of danger. A cost of Re. 1 crore is nothing compared to the military expenditure of Rs. 55 crores. We secure monetary fortification and safety at a sum of Re. 1 crore only. I would therefore earnestly request the House to accept these amendments and adopt the policy of a gold standard with gold coinage and currency and not to wait till the other two Bills are presented next Session. I hope the Government will accept these modest proposals which the Finance Department themselves had placed before the packed Commission. Let it not be said of England that she found India of gold and left her of inconvertible paper only.

Now, Sir, I will proceed to explain the difference between my amendment and the amendment of my friend the Honourable Mr. Kelkar. I may say that the first four clauses of Mr. Kelkar are practically

the same as my clauses 1, 2, 3 and 6 and my other clauses are merely to complete what is suggested by Mr. Kelkar in his amendments and it is only for that purpose that I have put those clauses.

The only radical difference which we have is that Mr. Kelkar still values sovereigns in terms of rupees and treats them as additional coins in circulation. I wish to treat the rupee finally as a subsidiary or token coin only. The rupee should be valued as $\frac{1}{15}$ th or $\frac{1}{15\frac{1}{2}}$ rd part of the gold Mohur or sovereign. Prices and accounts shall have finally to be maintained in Mohurs as in Pounds sterling in England and the rupee should be as a fraction of gold coin just as a silver shilling is in England. Nobody values the sovereign in terms of shillings. We teach in schools that 20 shillings make one sovereign, and not 1/20th sovereign makes a shilling. So also Rs. 15 must make a Gold Mohur

Mr. President: Not Rs. 15.

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: I beg your pardon, Sir, not Rs. 15, but Rs. 15½ must make a gold sovereign. Mr. Kelkar has also not provided for the demonetisation of the rupee. The silver rupee should cease to be a coin of monetary unit in India and the gold Mohur should take its place, and when the silver rupee becomes a token coin in due course it should have only a restricted legal tender value. I therefore provide in clause 8 that the silver rupee shall after 1935 be a legal tender up to Rs. 50 only in payment or on account, and as we shall not need so many rupees as at present, I provide for the withdrawal of rupees and naturally the extra rupees in circulation will be withdrawn. The withdrawal may be gradual. I do not ask that the full legal tender quality of the rupee or rupee notes should be taken away in a short time, as I know it will not be practicable to do so. That is why I allow a period of 8 years for the Government to take the necessary steps to reduce the rupee to a token coin and at the end of ten years the goal must be reached. Though the scheme submitted by the Finance Department for a gold standard fixes a period of five years after which liability to give gold coin in exchange for rupee notes, I have altered it to eight years, and just as is suggested in the Government scheme, I make a silver rupee a token coin after ten years. The eventual position will be:

- (a) Gold coin and gold notes to be unlimited legal tender and silver rupee up to Rs. 50 only.
- (b) A statutory obligation on Government to give gold coins in exchange for gold bullion.
- (c) Similarly a statutory obligation on the Government to buy gold, and
- (d) Government notes to be payable on demand in gold coin.

The question of details of composition and location of Reserves may be decided in the House after we have decided to adopt a Gold standard with gold currency. Now is the time to decide about it.

The packed Commission says that this may be done in the future if necessary. We have been promised so many things in the future, but that future never comes under the present British Raj, and though the recommendation for a gold standard with gold currency was made over a quarter of a century ago and the Secretary of State and the Government of India had accepted these recommendations, nothing practical or

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substantial has been done in that direction. On the other hand, we have now been offered a Gold Bullion Exchange standard which, as I have shown, is a retrograde step and leaves us worse than before. I therefore request the House to adopt my amendments.

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I have also tabled certain amendments on the same subject. The amendments of Mr. Kelkar and of Mr. Pandya are covered by the amendments I have proposed; but in addition there is one other point which I raise separately in a separate amendment about gold note which is not dealt with by them. I shall therefore confine myself now to only those items which are covered by my amendments. Sir, all the trouble that India has been passing through is due to the system of currency that has been prevailing in the country. Prior to 1893, we were having a silver standard, we had a Mint which was coining silver coin free of charge. Whenever silver bullion was taken to the Mint it was received and converted into silver rupees and given back to the tenderer. Before 1893 and at the time of the International Economic Conference at Brussels in 1892, there was a great financial crisis in India and the people of India were looking up to the decision of that International Conference. Their hope was that bimetallism would be adopted by the International Conference and that might solve all the troubles; but it was the English people that opposed then the adoption of bimetallism. Owing to their hostility, all hope of securing an agreement for international bimetallism was gone. Having so opposed in 1892 in that conference, the British Government introduced bimetallism in India making both the gold coin and silver rupee legal tender. Bimetallism adopted here was a thing which was rejected by the International Conference; it was a thing which was not prevailing in their own country or any other country nor was it a complete standard. If it had been a gold standard corresponding to the one that had been prevailing in Great Britain, there would have been no trouble at all. All our present troubles here are due to this. Sir, although Sir Basil Blackett is now backing up this Bill which is based entirely on the recommendations of the Currency Commission, he had done a great service to this country so far by placing a scheme of gold standard and gold currency before the Currency Commission as the scheme of the Finance Department of this Government. That was turned down by the Currency Commission, and a new thing has been evolved by them which is neither a gold standard nor a gold bullion standard, nor even a gold exchange standard. That is the real grievance now. If only the scheme that had been propounded by Sir Basil Blackett and Mr. Denning, the Controller of the Currency Department, had been embodied in the present Bill, this country's troubles would have been at an end. That is the real position so far as this Bill is concerned. In the words of Sir Basil Blackett used in the written memorandum presented before the Currency Commission, it is the silver rupee that has been a stumbling-block in the way of having an ideal system of gold currency in India and that should be removed. The amendment of my friend, Mr. Kelkar, the amendment of Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, and the amendment that I have proposed, all these placed before this House only the scheme, the essence of the scheme proposed by Sir Basil Blackett and also Mr. Denning.

Sir, when the silver standard was abandoned in 1893, there was a definite declaration that the object of the Government was to introduce the gold standard. That is recorded in the Report of the last Currency Commission itself, page 1, as follows:

"Before 1893 India had a mono-metallic system with silver as the standard of value. In order to avoid the embarrassing fluctuations in the rate of exchange with gold standard countries, which were caused by the fall in the price of silver, it was decided in 1893, in accordance with the recommendations of the Herschell Committee, to close the mints to the free coinage of silver. The stoppage of the silver coinage was followed by an appreciation of the rupee and by 1898 it had reached the level of 1s. 4d. The policy adopted in 1893, by the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver, had for its declared object the establishment of a gold standard for India, and the Fowler Committee (appointed in 1898) was invited to consider how this object could best be secured. The relevant recommendation of the Fowler Committee was as follows:

'Paragraph 54. We are in favour of making the British sovereign a legal tender and a current coin in India. We also consider that, at the same time, the Indian Mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as govern the three Australian Branches of the Royal Mint.'

I request your special attention, Sir, to this paragraph 54 of the Report of the Fowler Committee on this point. This is exactly what is desired in these amendments. The Currency Commission itself says that this recommendation was accepted by the Secretary of State and the Government of India. Coming next to what was stated by Mr. Denning before the Commission. In paragraph 8, page 45, of Appendix in Volume II of the last Currency Commission's Report, he stated:

"It is impossible, however, to hope that conditions in India will for generations be such that a full legal tender metallic currency will be no longer necessary. If, therefore, a gold currency is not introduced, defects in the Indian currency and exchange system must remain indefinitely. There is, moreover, reason to suppose that the introduction of a gold currency would hasten the attainment of the ideal system, as the fact that notes were convertible into gold and not merely into an overvalued silver coin would tend to increase confidence in the note issue and to decrease the demand for metallic currency. The conclusion is that the only way of remedying all the defects in the system within a reasonable period is by establishing a gold standard with a gold currency in circulation."

That is what he stated. Again the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett's words are these (page 63, same volume). Referring to the Gold Exchange Standard he said:

"It can hardly be regarded as a final solution since it has to my mind few advantages not possessed by the Sterling Exchange Standard, and *does not offer any prospect of getting rid of the unlimited legal tender character of the silver rupee which is the real stumbling-block in the way of an ideal system.* The Gold Standard system is expensive, and if it involves a large amount of gold in circulation, is not ideal. But this is the only alternative which points the way to an ideal solution. The expense of this alternative can, I think, be justified, if it is likely to lead on fairly quickly to what I regard as the ideal system, an International Exchange Standard on the lines laid down by the Genoa Conference of 1922."

I wish to lay stress on the words in italics. Now, Sir, what is proposed in this Bill now? Instead of achieving a gold standard by removing the unlimited legal tender character of the rupee, what is proposed is that the unlimited legal tender character of the rupee be made permanent and on the other hand the legal tender character of the gold coin be removed by demonetising the same. Quite the reverse of what the Honourable Member laid down as the only remedy for this country has been put into this Bill, and that is the disastrous part of the whole

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of this proposed legislation. Speaking in January 1922, Sir Malcolm Hailey, the then Finance Member, stated in the debate on this particular question :

"Sir, it was a cardinal feature in the policy of the Babington Smith Committee that the Indian Mints should be opened to the free coinage of gold. Indeed one of the intentions of the Committee in fixing the rupee on a gold basis was to permit of the free use of gold currency in India, and the opening of the Mints to the free coinage of gold is an end to such a process, though of course it is not in itself an essential condition. We, Sir, are prepared out here to coin gold as soon as the need for gold currency arises. Sir V. T. Thakersay suggested that the Royal Mint might on technical grounds refuse to allow us to do so. He need have no fear on that score. I can give him a guarantee that as soon as the demand for gold currency arises, the Mint will be ready for it."

That was the assurance given by Sir Malcolm Hailey. The need for it is established, as I have pointed out to the Honourable Members of this House, Sir, by the opinion and the scheme placed by the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett himself before the Commission. Referring to his own scheme the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett said :

"I am of opinion that the time has come when a final choice might well be made between the Sterling Exchange Standard and the Gold Standard, and, if the choice is in favour of the latter, I should prefer to advance to it at once, and believe that it can be introduced without further hesitation, if a reasonable transition period is allowed, and if India is prepared to face the extra cost involved."

Again he said :

"My conclusion is that it is reasonable to hope that the ultimate charge to annual revenues as the result of introducing the Gold Standard would be negligible, though we must be prepared to face a charge up to a maximum of two-thirds of a crore a year."

Now, Sir, I am placing this before the Honourable Members of this House in order to show that the guarantee and the promise made by Sir Malcolm Hailey in 1922 was that they would be ready to open the mints and to have the free coinage of gold here as soon as there is a necessity for it. I have quoted the words of the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett himself to show that the time has arrived to decide which one of these standards should be selected for this country and he did say that the best one is the gold standard and gold currency and removal of the legal tender character of the silver rupee after a particular period. It is now proposed in the amendments of Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya and Mr. Kelkar that after a period of ten years the legal tender character of the rupee shall be limited to a sum of Rs. 100 or Rs. 50. That is to come into operation only 10 years later. That is exactly the proposal of the Finance Department. In the Babington-Smith Committee Report there was a minute of dissent by Mr. Dalal just like that of my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who has done a great service by rousing the people of this country, who have been rather indifferent, to the economic aspect of the currency of this country. Mr. Dalal in his minute of dissent stated these pregnant words. If Mr. Dalal were present here anywhere in India to-day, he would perhaps have been one of the foremost people to have urged the introduction of a gold standard and gold currency, exposing all the defects of the existing system. Referring to the proposed change of Rs. 15 ratio to Rs. 10 ratio he said in his dissenting minute :

"The fact that the maintenance of exchange was so readily abandoned and the sale of rupee bills continued, combined with the persistent flooding of India with silver

token money, give ground for the theory that fixity of exchange was only the ostensible object of the policy, and that the real object was to compel India to take silver in place of gold money. Further it is a policy which is settled and managed in London and which necessarily operates in the markets of London and India. That the interests of London markets have not been without influence in shaping the policy may be gathered from the enormous sums of money or investments belonging to Indian currency which have been accumulated there."

In confirmation of what he said you will find in the Gold Standard Reserve to-day over 52 crores of rupees in England. They are either in Treasury Bills or in cash balances or bearer bonds, exchequer bonds or other bonds. The Paper Currency Reserve consists of two parts, the metallic reserve and the reserve of securities. The securities to-day, you will find, extend to over 55 crores of rupees. It is to these monies and investments that Mr. Dalal was referring when he said that the London market was dictating the currency policy of this country. All these monies are invested in Treasury Bills or rather bonds in the London market. The Currency Commission's Report on page 4 says that, the terms of reference to the Babington Smith Committee precluded that Committee from considering alternative standards of currency. This is wrong. The Babington-Smith Committee laid down in express terms that there should be a gold standard and a gold currency. The last Royal Currency Commission, while criticising the scheme for the introduction of a gold standard and a gold currency, wrote that the terms of reference to the Babington-Smith Committee precluded that Committee from considering alternative standards of currency, thereby meaning that they had had no opportunity to consider the introduction of a gold standard and a gold currency. Now, Sir, as I point out just now, the Committee in paragraph 67 distinctly considered the question of the introduction of a gold standard and a gold currency and the throwing open of the mints to the free coinage of gold, and recorded their verdict in clear terms. This is what they have said:

"In order that gold currency may be available when required it is important to provide facilities in India for the conversion of the gold bullion into legal tender coin. These facilities might be given by the establishment of an Indian gold mint which would mint Indian gold coins such as the gold Mohur or by the re-opening of the Branch of the Royal Mint in Bombay . . ."

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by Mr. M. A. Jinnah, one of the Panel of Chairmen.)

"... After careful consideration we have come to the conclusion that it will be more advantageous to India to continue to use the form of gold currency to which she has become accustomed and which on account of its wide circulation is a universally recognized medium for the settlement of external obligations. We therefore recommend that the Branch of the Royal Mint which was opened in Bombay during the war for the coinage of sovereigns and half sovereigns and has since been temporarily closed, should be re-opened and that arrangements similar to those in force in the United Kingdom should be made for the receipt of gold bullion from the public, whether refined or not, and to issue gold coin in exchange at the rate of one sovereign for 113.0016 grains of fine gold subject to a small coinage charge. This undertaking would not, of course, require the constant operation of the gold mint, if the demand for the coinage of gold did not justify it. The issue of gold coin in exchange for unrefined gold makes a gold refinery necessary. If the need is not met by private enterprise we recommend that facilities should be given to the public by which they may be able to have gold refined at the Government refinery on payment of charges sufficient to cover the cost of the operation."

I have read, Sir, this paragraph which has stated everything in support of the scheme that has been placed before the Honourable Members

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of this House in both the amendments which have been moved by Mr. Vidy Sagar Pandya and Mr. Kelkar. It is for that reason that I troubled you with reading the whole of that paragraph. Not one word is superfluous there with regard to any one of the proposals made here. What are the reasons given in the last Currency Commission's Report for abandoning the gold standard scheme that was placed before them by the Finance Department of the Government of India and for proposing a new standard, calling it a gold bullion standard? They are really extraordinary. What have they stated? They say that in Europe they are just reverting to the pre-war gold standards of their own. They would require gold for that purpose. America is the only country that can supply gold, and the gold which it can supply is sufficient for the European countries only. For these reasons they say we should have a different standard altogether, a gold bullion standard. After this Report was published, commenting on it Sir Felix Schuster, who is one of the premier bankers of Great Britain, and once a member of the India Council, criticised the gold bullion standard scheme. His speech is reported in the *Manchester Guardian*. Referring to the gold bullion standard that is proposed now by the Royal Commission he said :

" A return to a gold bullion standard would be rather a retrograde step than a step in advance."

That is the considered opinion of a gentleman who is as great an expert as any of the members, perhaps, who sat on that Commission. The Honourable Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, as a member of the last Commission while he was examining Mr. Denning as a witness, put the following question, No. 1252 :

Q. Do you think that the Indian public or the popular opinion that you refer to may be based on this, that in view of the experience after the outbreak of war, they feel that if they are on a gold standard in preference to the sterling exchange standard, they may be in better touch with the financial world in case of a serious dislocation and not be tied to what is happening to the pound sterling?

A. Yes, I think I have made it clear that it does more effectively maintain India's standard in the event of sterling being divorced from gold."

I submit that this is a case on which there could be no two opinions in the country and the amendments that we now propose are identical with the amendments that had been embodied in the Indian Coinage Act in 1918. Some Honourable friends have been led to believe by statements which the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett made at the outset that these amendments might be postponed and considered along with the Reserve Bank Bill. I submit to the House that the Reserve Bank Bill relates exclusively to the powers and the duties that would be vesting in a Reserve Bank in the same manner in which certain powers are vested in the Bank of England under the Bank of England Act, 1844. So far as these amendments are concerned, they have to be embodied in the Indian Coinage Act. This is just the time when this Act is sought to be revised that these amendments should be proposed and considered by the House. The Mohur Act of 1918 which I was referring to runs as follows :

" Whereas it is expedient to provide for the coinage of a gold coin at the Mints referred to in the Indian Coinage Act, 1906; It is hereby enacted as follows :

1. (1) This Act may be called the Gold Coinage Act, 1918."

All those provisions with regard to the coining of gold mohurs in the Bombay Mint, their weight, fineness and all other details—all these were embodied in the Coinage Act, by an amending Act. And this is just the time for moving these amendments, and there should be no mistake on that account. The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett has addressed a letter to me and other friends suggesting that these should be postponed to the Reserve Bank Bill. I have considered that matter and my feeling is that if we allow these Acts to be amended in the manner in which the Government proposes to do now and if we take these points to the consideration of the Reserve Bank Bill, legal difficulties might be raised and it could be pointed out that we ought to have raised these questions now, and these amendments ought to have gone into the Coinage Act. It might be said that the Reserve Bank Bill relates solely to the special charter that should be given to the Reserve Bank and these things could not be taken up there.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I should like to give an assurance, if there is any doubt, that nothing whatever will be done or said by Government to prevent these questions being raised and fully discussed at the time when we think they are properly due for discussion, namely, in connection with the Reserve Bank Bill. If there is any doubt as to arguments being used that these matters ought to have been raised here, I should like to tell my Honourable friend at once that the Government will give full opportunities for the discussion of them at the right time in connection with that Bill.

Mr. T. Prakasam: May I ask the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill this question? I was examining the provisions of the Reserve Bank Bill and the Chapters that it contains rather closely. If this stage of legislation is over now, may I know whether all these provisions of the Coinage Act which embody these provisions would be kept open then for debate for introducing these amendments, and whether the Coinage Act would be open for discussion then?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That is the contention of the Government.

Mr. T. Prakasam: So far as I could see, if the legal officers of Government should tell them that the Indian Coinage Act ought to have been dealt with at the last time when it was before the Assembly and they could not go into it then, we would be in a hopeless position. And this has happened sometimes.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: If such a contingency happens, which I cannot imagine, I will undertake personally to see that whatever legal difficulties there might be there would not be any kind of obstruction to prevent the matter being discussed then.

Mr. T. Prakasam: My submission is that there could be no two opinions on the question of our demand for a gold standard. We are not advancing anything new that has not been placed before the country and before the Currency Commission last time by the Honourable Member himself. I therefore support the amendment of my Honourable friends Messrs. Kelkar and Vidya Sagar Pandya.

Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar (Madura and Ramnad cum Tinnevely Non-Muhammadian Rural): I rise to support the amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar. I may at once inform the House that we

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cannot possibly accept the amendment of my Honourable friend, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya. He has got two provisos to clauses 7 and 8 which leave power to Government to put off this measure by at least ten years to come.

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: Let me point out that there is a mistake in the printing of those clauses. If we separate clauses 7 and 8 as 7, 8 and 9, as read out by me, the Honourable Member's objection will be removed.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It does not really matter.

Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar: I take it that the amendment of the Honourable Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya does not contain any provisos giving power to Government to put this off for ten years.

Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya: It gives Government the option to do it within ten years.

Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar: If so I am afraid the amendment does virtually give the power. If the provisos are there I submit that will be a condemnation of that amendment. However, so far as the two amendments are otherwise concerned, they certainly agree in the essential, that we want a gold currency. Now my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar has made out a very strong case for the immediate introduction of gold currency in this country; and the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett and the two members of the Finance Department also put forward before the Currency Commission a plea sketching out the possibility of gold currency in India; and they almost postulated the possibility of it, as we see in page 98 of the Currency Commission Report:

"It may be assumed that about £15 millions of gold would be required at the time of initiation of stage (i), a further £35 millions within a year and the remaining £53 millions over a period of 10 years. The cost of the scheme is estimated by its authors at about Rs. 1½ crores per annum during the first five years and thereafter from two-thirds of a crore to 1.12 crore."

So the scheme was cut and dried. The reasons adduced by the Commissioners for rejecting this proposal are rather interesting. In the first place they made up their minds as we see from paragraph 54 of their Report, that gold must not circulate in India at first and that it need not circulate ever. That is the conclusion which they reached; rather the determination they made. Having premised the conclusion they engaged themselves to find out the possible reasons which might be shown to underlie this conclusion. Since 1898, whenever any temporary or permanent measures of currency reform were introduced in this country, the English people had always exhibited a dread of the so-called hunger of Indians for gold and they also showed always a grim determination at every possible turn not to satisfy the so-called hunger. This is the genesis of the whole trouble. The English people do not perhaps want that the Indians should see this yellow coin as they may get jaundice if they sight this yellow metal. That sentiment seems to be the genesis for their uniformly resenting the idea of introducing a gold currency into India in spite of the persistent demand of the people. The reasons given by the Currency Commission are these. First we turn to an answer given by Mr. Montagu Norman, Governor of the Bank of England, to question No. 13676. He said that gold currency will result in a fall of prices. Now it is not definitely known whether this fall of prices contemplated is to be either in India or in England. If it is to be in India, I may at once say

that only early last week we had a full discourse from the Treasury Benches about the advantages which India may obtain by an appreciating rupee which would result in a fall in prices; so that if there is a fall in prices, it would according to that line of reasoning, so far as the agricultural view point is concerned, be beneficial to the rural population; and I do not see therefore that any great weight can possibly be attached to the fall in prices in India which would follow the introduction of the gold currency. The answer given by the Governor of the Bank of England to question No. 13676 is this:

"A fall in gold prices would, on balance, be, I believe, unfavourable to India but as indicated in my previous answer I think the effect would be mitigated as compared with other countries by India's favourable balance of payments and the advantage she enjoys in the quasi-monopolistic nature of her exports."

It comes to this—that so far as the fall in prices is concerned, that, on the whole, it does not adversely affect India seems to be the considered opinion of the Governor of the Bank of England. Now if that is not the standpoint which would possibly affect India, what then? The fall of prices which other countries may experience would perhaps be a serious block to the introduction of this gold currency. That is the next question. Probably they thought that it might result in a fall of gold prices in England. Now, we have that also in paragraph 87 of the Currency Commission's Report:

"In this connection it is necessary to take account of the requirements of various European and other countries whose financial equilibrium has been disturbed to a greater or less extent in consequence of the war. These countries are now trying to climb back gradually to the gold standard or the gold exchange standard. This aim requires for its fulfilment that there should be a certain amount of free gold available each year. Though signs are not wanting of a spirit of co-operation among the Central Banks towards effecting considerable economies in the international use of gold, there can be no doubt that a large extra demand from India would cause increased competition for gold among the countries of the world and lead to a substantial fall in gold prices and a curtailment of credit would on balance be unfavourable."

Now, why should we concern ourselves about all this if, as I just now pointed out, this thing was not going to affect India at all? Where does the philanthropy come in? We are being taught day after day to look to our own needs first. If the introduction of the gold currency in India is not going to affect adversely the prices in India and the prosperity of India, why should we concern ourselves to see in what way it will affect English prices and English prosperity? I submit, therefore, that the fact that this has been taken to be a ground by the Currency Commissioners shows that they were looking at the whole thing from the English standpoint or at any rate not from the Indian standpoint. Then, again, we have got another answer given by Dr. Sprague of America. In answer to question No. 15313 he said:

"I am opposed surely to a gold currency for India and indeed for any other country because I consider that that is a backward step in monetary practice and I do not believe that there is sufficient gold available in the world to provide a gold currency and maintain something like the present level of prices."

That really lets the cat out of the bag. They are alarmed at the prospect of the introduction of a gold currency into India and think that there would be a general fall of gold prices which might affect adversely England, the United States and other countries of the West. I put it plainly to the Finance Member—Is there any parallel in the world to what has

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happened here? We had a round table conference of world economists to settle an economic issue of a country and to fix the standard of value for India! There was a costly Commission arranged at the cost of this poor country and it was asked to find out what would suit India best. The expert witnesses are themselves naturally patriotic: and they would look at things first from the standpoint of their own countries and then only would turn to India, as being of secondary importance. Looking from their own standpoint and caring only for their own interests, they gave the advice that a gold currency is not suitable to India. Is it not therefore a statement that must be taken at a discount?

We find then that the whole body of Indian opinion is strenuously in favour of the introduction of a gold currency though it did not influence the Commission at all. But because the economists of other countries gave this gratuitous advice against the opinion of India, is that a reason for negating the proposals of the Indian witnesses in this matter? They also took into account whether the required credits could be raised either in the United States or in England, and in paragraph 51 the Commissioners say:

"This is a matter in which Great Britain would not be able to act alone without the co-operation of America. Both parties view the proposal with alarm on the grounds that it would retard the progress of monetary reconstruction in Europe, would upset world prices and would be fundamentally harmful both to India and to the rest of the world."

I submit, Sir, that the fact is this, that when they were applied to to accommodate us in so far as the necessary credits were concerned, England and America were rather slow or unwilling to respond, and that we are told is the primary ground why this proposal ought to be rejected. I suggest to the Honourable the Finance Member that this course ought to be adopted. Where is our Gold Standard Reserve? Where is our Paper Currency Reserve? What were the primary purposes for which they were originally established? Where are they kept now? Is it not legitimate to ask that India's gold ought to be located in India as India's visible possession? Is it not legitimate to say that they should only be used for the purposes they were originally meant to serve? Why were they carried away from India and located in London? Why were they misused from time to time against the interests of India and in defiance of India's wishes? If even to-day they could only be brought over to India and placed here, there would be absolutely no difficulty at all in finding the necessary gold for the purpose of giving effect to our desire for this gold currency. I submit that the arguments of the Commissioners advanced in regard to their rejection of the gold currency in India do not bear examination; and surely India cannot wait any longer for the introduction of a gold standard currency.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member has twice told us during this debate that there will be a full opportunity afforded to Members of this House to discuss the question of the introduction of a gold standard and gold currency when the Gold Bullion Standard and Reserve Bank Bill will come up for discussion. In view of that it may seem strange that the discussion should be continued, but with every desire to respect the suggestion of the Honourable the Finance Member, and if, for no other reason, only to oblige him, I should have liked to accept the

suggestion if I could. I feel, however, that this is the proper occasion when, this is the Bill in connection with which, the amendment which the Honourable Mr. Kelkar has put forward should be considered. It is because of that conviction that I rise to support that amendment. This Bill, Sir, is to amend the Indian Coinage Act. All the sections which relate to the coins current in the country are embodied in this Act. It provides for the coinage of a silver coin, a bronze coin, a nickel coin and so on. I submit with due deference to my Honourable friend that this is the proper place to discuss the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I point out to the Honourable Pandit that exactly the same clause as clause 2 of this Bill is repeated in the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill, and the principle will therefore come up on exactly this same clause.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: It is true, Sir, but the question is when the opportunity first comes ought we not to show that we realise the gravity of the problem that it raises. It is from that point of view that I am addressing myself to this question. Undoubtedly the question can be discussed at a later stage, but what would the country which we have come here to represent, what would our electors, tell us if they found that when the opportunity first arose here we did not put forward the views we entertain on the subject—whatever the value of those views—before the Assembly and the country. It is that which compels me to take up the time of the House at this moment.

Sir, Mr. Kelkar's amendment involves two propositions, the establishment of a gold mohur as our standard coin, and secondly the necessary provision for opening a mint to the coinage of such mohur. Now, Sir, in order that the strength of Indian sentiment on this subject should be fully realised, it is necessary to go back to the history of this question, and I submit there is no question which has a longer history or a sadder history than the question of the introduction of a gold standard with a gold currency in India, under the British Government. In Hindu India gold coins were current, as were also silver coins. During the Muhammadan rule also gold and silver coins were current. Since the time of Akbar a gold mohur and a rupee of the same weight used to be coined. When the English came to India they found both gold coins and silver coins current in the country. The number of these coins was inconveniently large because the country was divided into so many principalities. It is stated that there were as many as 172 gold coins in circulation at the time and 343 silver coins. Sir Richard Temple, once Finance Member of the Government of India, said at a later date:

"It may be said in general terms that on our accession to power in India, we found a gold currency existing conjointly with the silver currency; it was reserved for us to accord silver the dominant and exclusive position which it now holds in the currency."

So that it is indisputable that when the British came to power in India they found both gold and silver coins in use in the country, and it was their action which installed silver in a dominant and exclusive position. The first step towards that end was taken in 1806, when the Court of Directors of the East India Company, in order to introduce a uniform system of coinage, laid down certain propositions in their despatch of the 25th April 1806. As Mr. C. N. Vakil points out in his very valuable book on Currency and Prices, the Directors pointed out the usual difficulty of maintaining a fixed ratio between gold and silver in a bi-metallic system because of the

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market fluctuations in the value of these metals. They therefore declared themselves in favour of mono-metallism as the ideal towards which the authorities in India should work. With reference to the question as to which of the two metals should be adopted for a mono-metallic system in India, they showed preference for silver and laid down that "silver should be the universal money of account" in this country. Now, Sir, that was the first step taken by the East India Company, and that tells us how the interests of vast millions of people in this country were left to be decided by one individual called the Secretary of State, or by a few individuals who constituted the Court of Directors, and how the system has affected the happiness of millions and millions of people in this land. They decided that silver should be the universal money of account, but they did not at that time decide to demonetize gold. They desired that gold coins should remain in circulation. The main object of the despatch of 1806, namely, the introduction of a uniform currency with the silver rupee as a unit, was gradually achieved. After many years, during which period both silver and gold coins continued in circulation, Act XVII of 1835 was passed, by which the various mints which existed in the different Presidencies at the time were abolished and one uniform system of silver coinage was instituted for the whole country. There was nothing, however, in that Act which could lead one to believe that they intended to remove gold coins from the currency of the country altogether. There was no doubt a section in the Act which laid down that "no gold coins shall henceforth be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company"; but another section of the same Act provided that a gold mohur, or 15-rupee piece—it is important to note that—of the weight of 180 grains troy and eleven-twelfths fine was to be coined. The desire of the people to use gold coins could not, however, be suppressed, and in 1841 a notification was issued by the Government of India authorising the receipt of the gold mohur which had been coined under the Act of 1835 at Government treasuries. But when the discoveries of gold in Australia and California led to a fall in the value of gold, the Government felt themselves compelled to issue a notification in 1885 to the effect that no gold coin would be received on account of payment due to the Government at any public treasury. After a few years experience of the evil results of that notification, in 1859, the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, in co-operation with the native shroffs and merchants of Calcutta, made a representation to the Government in which they said "that they feel so satisfied of the benefits that will be sure to result from the admission of gold, even as a subsidiary currency, into India, that they will be thankful if the Governor General in Council will be pleased, as an experiment, to sanction gold as a legal tender to any smaller amount than 20 sovereigns down to two sovereigns as a minimum." About this time, however, the question of the introduction of a paper currency in India was taken up, and the first Finance Member, Mr. James Wilson, wrote in December 1859 a minute on the paper currency and another on a gold currency. Mr. Wilson made it very clear that in his opinion a gold standard and a gold currency would be the best for India. He said:

"No one will be inclined to deny that if we had to begin a system of currency *de novo*, the most convenient of the various systems now in practice would be found to be that used in England where gold is the standard, a gold coin the general money in circulation, and silver tokens of limited tender the subordinate coins."

But Mr. Wilson was opposed to the introduction of such a system at that moment because he thought that the circumstances were not quite favour-

able. The Secretary of State accepted Mr. Wilson's view that it was not advisable "at present" to take measures for the introduction of a gold currency into India, as he thought that the wants of the community would be met by means of a paper currency. Mr. Wilson's successor, Mr. Samuel Laing, was in favour of the introduction of a gold standard and a gold currency. When introducing the Paper Currency Bill, he said:

"I must confess that I feel very reluctant to base a great measure for reforming the circulation of India on the total exclusion for all time to come of that form of the precious metal which is indisputably the most convenient for many purposes, and which is the chief or sole standard of all the principal nations of the civilized world with which we have commercial intercourse."

He felt, however, that owing to the action which had been taken, the decision which had been arrived at, it was difficult to reopen the question of a gold currency at the time, and he therefore provided a loophole in the Paper Currency Act with a view to the introduction of a gold currency on a suitable occasion, which however was not of much effect. In 1864 the commercial communities of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras sent memorials to the Government urging the introduction of a gold currency. In that year, one Mr. Walter Cassells also wrote an important letter to the Governor of Bombay in which he wrote:

"It is likewise important that as much as possible a gold coinage should for the present be built upon the existing silver currency so as to introduce the change with as much regard to private interests as may be. I therefore venture to suggest the issue of gold coins similar to the sovereign and half sovereign, and respectively representing Rs. 10 and Rs. 5, with subsidiary silver token coins of limited tender rated at 7 to 8 per cent. above their real value. The existing silver coin might, for the present, be allowed, to continue legal tender, to the extent even of Rs. 500, and this limit might hereafter be reduced according to the circumstances."

Sir William Mansfield, who was then Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay Army, took a great interest in this question. He wrote a minute on the 8th March 1864 which he concluded with the following recommendations:

"I would propose therefore that the legal tender of gold should be enacted on the basis of equivalents submitted by Act XVII of 1835.

That the gold legal tender should not for the present be in substitution of the silver tender, but in aid of it.

That in accordance with the above, sovereigns should be allowed to run, and to be legal tender at their relative value, including seigniorage charge on the basis of equivalents established by the Act XVII of 1835, viz., at Rs. 10·4. That the issue of notes should take place in exchange for gold and silver bullion alike, without any administrative distinction between the two metals.

That the mints in India should be directed to coin gold in the coins described in Act XVII of 1835, in large quantities, and to invite the public to offer it for the purpose."

Sir Charles Trevelyan was the Finance Member at the time. He reviewed the whole situation in a masterly minute and advocated the introduction of gold as legal tender in addition to silver, at a rate carefully calculated with reference to relative value of the two metals as the first step in the direction of gold currency. Sir Charles Trevelyan pointed out that other countries which were on a double standard had gradually gone over to a gold standard and gold currency, and he explained that by means of his proposals he expected that the currency and reserves of the country would be gradually filled with gold, and it would become possible for the Government to convert the silver coinage into a subsidiary token coinage.

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He therefore proposed that sovereigns and half sovereigns coined in England, Australia, or India should be declared legal tender in India at the rate of Rs. 10 to a sovereign and that Indian mints should be thrown open to the free coinage of gold at a charge merely to cover the cost of manufacture. The Secretary of State objected, however, to the proposed measure, but as an alternative, agreed to (1) gold coins being accepted in payment of public dues at a rate to be fixed and (2) the issue of notes in exchange for gold coin or bullion. The following notification was therefore issued in 1864:

"The Governor General of India in Council, considering it expedient that the circulation of British and Australian sovereigns in all parts of British India and its dependencies should be encouraged and facilitated, is pleased hereby to direct that, from and after the publication of this notification, sovereigns and half sovereigns coined at any authorised Royal Mint in England or Australia of current weight, shall until further notice be received in all the treasuries of British India and its dependencies in payment of sums due to the Government as the equivalents of ten and five rupees, respectively, and that such sovereigns and half sovereigns shall, whenever available at any Government treasury, be paid at the same rates to any person willing to receive them in payment of claims against the Government."

This was in 1864. The public again petitioned the Government in 1866; they asked that the currency question should be fully re-examined, and in response to this request from the public, a Commission was appointed in 1866, with Sir William Mansfield as President.

(At this stage Mr. M. A. Jinnah vacated the Chair which was resumed by Mr President.)

This Commission of 1866 reported that gold coins of various descriptions of *mohurs*, and sovereigns, English and Australian, although not used as money by the State, are generally at par or above par in price, whether in the Presidency towns or in the cities of the mufassil; that the demand for a gold currency is unanimous throughout the country; that they are sought for in the provinces for trading purposes by merchants and bankers and as a medium of reserve of wealth by the people at large; that gold coins of 15, 10 and 5 rupees respectively would find more favour in the eyes of the people than notes of like value; and that the opinion is general, almost unanimous, that the currency should consist of gold, silver and paper. These, Sir, were the recommendations of the Mansfield Commission. It may be noted

1 P.M. that this Commission pointed out that the price of the gold mohur or 15-rupee piece, as fixed by the Act of 1835, was in 1866 as nearly as possible the average market rate of the price of coined gold at the time. The report of this Commission was submitted to the Government on 4th October 1866. It was submitted to the Secretary of State in the beginning of 1867, but the Government of India did not communicate their views on the report to the Secretary of State till March 1868, when in answer to a question in the House of Commons the Secretary of State stated that he was still awaiting the opinion of the Government of India, and no action was taken on the report.

In 1868 Sir Richard Temple, the then Finance Member, took up the question. He pointed out that the notification requiring sovereigns to be accepted at public treasuries at the rate of Rs. 10 had become inoperative and a reconsideration of the standard value of the coin had become necessary. The Government of India consulted Local Governments on the points which were raised, and after such consultation, declared that sovereigns and half sovereigns should be accepted at

Government treasuries at the rates of Rs. 10-4-0 and Rs. 5-2-0 respectively. I wish to draw attention to the opinion of one Local Government, namely, that of Bombay. His Excellency the Governor in Council said:

"He would therefore recommend the introduction of an Indian gold coinage, consisting of pieces of 15, 10 and perhaps 5 rupees respectively, and of the standard value fixed by Act XVII of 1835, and that this coinage be declared, like silver, a legal tender without limitation."

This wise recommendation was unfortunately not accepted. But the Secretary of State decided, as I have submitted, that sovereigns and half-sovereigns should be accepted at Government treasuries at the rates specified. When forwarding their notification to the Secretary of State the Government of India said:

"In conclusion we hope it will be understood that we have steadily kept in view the advantage of ultimately making gold a legal tender. What is now being done is experimental and tentative, in order that we may become sure of the fact as to the relative value of gold and silver in India before we make the attempt to stereotype the results by a law and commit ourselves finally to the legal tender of gold. It is our belief, however, that the time is not far distant when such a law may be passed."

In 1870 the Indian Coinage Act was passed. It provided that certain gold coins shall be coined at the mint. One of these was a Gold Mohur or fifteen-rupee piece.

Sir Richard Temple again took up the question of a gold currency in 1872. He wrote a strong minute on it. He was convinced that a gold currency was needed for India. Referring to the doubt that had been expressed by some people, he said:

"I do not at all share such doubt; on the contrary I share the conviction expressed by my predecessors, Mr. S. Laing and Sir C. Trevelyan and Mr. Massey, to the effect that a gold currency is among the urgent wants of India. With the exception of Mr. Wilson, every Financial Member of the Government of India has advocated this view. In 1866 similar views were advocated by a special Commission in India appointed to examine the whole subject, and have been maintained at one time or other by every Chamber of Commerce in India."

He further pointed out that "in such matters there is such a thing as national prejudice and that the prejudice of the people of India is entirely in favour of gold." He urged that one other reason why the use of gold was desired was "because it tends to steady the price of that silver which is one of the necessities of the national life." Sir Richard Temple concluded as follows:

"On the whole it seems clear that while, in all other branches and departments of administration, we endeavour to give to India the best of everything so far as we can, yet, in respect of metallic currency, we *deliberately* withhold from her the first rate article and afford her a second rate one."

This, Sir, is the language of a former Finance Member of the Government of India.

Mr. President: In what year?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: 1872, Sir. Nations live; they are not concerned with an hour or a day only. The history of the last 120 years forms one long page. And this history, Sir, is full of eloquent lessons for us. It shows to us how many were the efforts made during the last 120 years to give India a gold standard and currency and how those efforts were defeated. Unless the Assembly bears these facts in mind, I submit it cannot realise the full importance of the amendment which my Honourable

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Friends Mr. Kelkar, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya and Mr. Prakasam have put before the House. But to continue that history, Sir Richard Temple recorded another minute dated the 8th July 1873, in which he reiterated his views set forth in his former minute and pressed for the adoption of the measures which he had recommended. Unfortunately, however, Sir Richard Temple resigned in April 1874 and we find that in May 1874 without giving any reasons the Government of India abandoned the proposal for a gold standard and currency. The short notification which gave the quietus to the question for the moment ran as follows:

“The expediency of introducing a gold currency having been considered, the Governor General in Council is not at present prepared to take any step for the recognition of gold as a legal standard of value in India.”

That, Sir, was in 1874. I do not wish to go in detail into the history of the subsequent years. It is very fully given in the book to which I have already referred and to which I am indebted for having obtained all these passages with great ease, I mean Mr. Vakil's book on Currency and Prices. But, Sir, before I come to the period of 1893, let me point out that in the twenty years from 1872 to 1892 the rupee fell from 22·7d. to 14·9d. This exposed the Government of India to the gravest difficulties. They tried their best to persuade England to agree to the introduction of a gold standard in India, and when they failed, they urged the adoption of the bi-metallic system. But England would not agree to that either. Faced with enormous difficulties, in 1892 the Government of India again urged the introduction of the gold standard, and proposed that the rupee should be raised to 1s. 6d. The Herschell Committee was then appointed. That Committee considered the proposal and it recommended that the standard of the rupee should be fixed at 1s. 4d. That was in 1893. So the Herschell Committee also was in favour of the introduction of a gold standard. In fact the whole justification for their recommending the raising of the rupee to 1s. 4d. lay in this that the object was to introduce a gold standard, which was the only remedy that could solve India's currency troubles. In 1898, the Fowler Committee was appointed. The object of that Committee was, as has been pointed out more than once, ‘to recommend what steps should be taken to give effect to ‘the policy which had been initiated in 1893 by the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver and which policy had for its declared object the establishment of a gold standard in India.’ In putting forward the recommendations they made, they made it quite clear that they ‘looked forward . . . to the effective establishment in India of a gold standard and currency based on the principles of the free inflow and outflow of gold.’ The Fowler Committee, Sir, after making a survey of the views which had been expressed on the principle of a gold standard, concluded as follows:

“For these reasons, we conclude that steps should be taken to avoid all possibility of doubt as to the determination not to revert to a silver standard, but to proceed with measures for the effective establishment of a gold standard.”

The Committee pointed out that though the Government of India “did not definitely propose to make gold coins a legal tender, but they did not hesitate to express the opinion that ‘the only state of things which can be called a thoroughly satisfactory attainment of a gold standard, (which was

the aim) was the one in which the gold coins which represent our standard are those also which are good for payments in England." As a matter of principle, therefore, the Government of India favoured the gold standard with a gold currency."

Then, Sir, dealing with the objections which had been raised, and one of which was that people here were in the habit of hoarding gold and that that constituted a difficulty in the way of introducing a gold currency, the Committee said as follows: "Consequently, we are of opinion that the habit of hoarding does not present such practical difficulties as to justify a permanent refusal to allow India to possess the normal accompaniment of a gold standard, namely, a gold currency." In paragraph 54 they said:

"We are in favour of making the British sovereign a legal tender and a current coin in India. We also consider that at the same time, the Indian Mints should be thrown open to the unrestricted coinage of gold on terms and conditions such as govern the three Australian Branches of the Royal Mint. The result would be that, under identical conditions, the sovereign would be coined and would circulate both at home and in India. Looking forward as we do to the effective establishment in India of a gold standard and currency based on the principles of the free inflow and outflow of gold, we recommend these measures for adoption."

Finally, the Committee said:

"In conclusion, we desire to record our opinion that the effective establishment of a gold standard is of paramount importance to the material interests of India."

Could language be clearer, Sir, could language be more emphatic in expressing strong convictions than the words of the Committee which I have just now read out to the House? This was the opinion expressed by the Fowler Committee in 1899.

I will next invite the attention of the House to the recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission which was appointed in 1913. It reported in February 1914. The Honourable the Finance Member was the Secretary of that Commission. Now, Sir, that Commission said as follows:

"From time immemorial India has continually absorbed the precious metals, but in recent years gold has been imported into India in the form of bullion or of sovereign, in greatly increased quantities. Apart from imports of gold bullion, the absorption of sovereigns by the public for all purposes (hoards, circulation and the melting pot) during the 12 years ending the 31st of March, 1913,—that is the excess of the net amount imported over the amount retained in the hands of the Government, somewhat exceeded 60 million pounds, an amount little less in value than the new coinage of rupees during the same period. Between the 1st April 1909 and the 31st of March 1913, the absorption of sovereigns by the public was close on 30 million pounds."

They went on to say:

"To what extent and how widely the sovereign has established itself as an actual medium of circulation, it is difficult to determine with any degree of certainty. On the one hand, it is quite certain that a large portion of these 601,000,000 million sovereigns is not in active circulation, and that in many parts of the country the public have shown a preference in currency uses for rupees (or notes). But there is undoubted evidence that in the last four years there has been a distinct increase in the use of the sovereign for purposes of currency in certain provinces and districts such as parts of the Bombay Presidency and of the United Provinces, the Punjab and Cochin in the Madras Presidency."

That is the opinion which the Commission expressed. Mr. B. F. Madon, who has rendered a distinct service to the motherland in connection with this currency question, for which the whole country will be indebted to him, has

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stated that the value of the sovereigns and half sovereigns which are still in circulation in India may roughly be estimated to be about 200 crores. But whatever the exact figure may be, Sir, it is clear that the Government is aware that there is a very large quantity of gold coins in circulation in the country as the result of the measures which they have adopted. And it is of great importance, Sir, with regard to the recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission to note that they did not think it necessary to discuss the question that the ultimate goal of India was a gold standard. They assumed it, and on that basis, they recommended that "the time has now arrived for a reconsideration of the ultimate goal of the Indian currency system"—ultimate goal being the establishment of a gold standard. "The belief of the Committee of 1898 was that a gold currency in active circulation is an essential condition of the maintenance of the gold standard in India", on which they were unanimous. But in their opinion the history of the 15 years preceding their report showed that the gold standard had been firmly secured without that condition. On that point, Sir, we joined issue with them, but the fact remains that they were unanimous that the establishment of a gold standard was the ultimate goal. They also recommended, Sir, holding the view that they did, that it would not be to India's advantage to encourage an increased use of gold in internal circulation. But they were not opposed to the use of gold in internal circulation. They only recommended that there should be no special encouragement to the increased use of gold in internal circulation. They also said,—and this is important, Sir,—that in their view, which we contest, "the people of India neither desire nor need any considerable amount of gold for circulation as currency, and the currency most suitable consists of rupees and notes", and that in their opinion "a Mint for the coinage of gold is not needed for purposes of currency and exchange", "but if the Indian sentiment genuinely demands it and the Government of India are prepared to incur the expense, there is no objection in principle to its establishment either from the Indian or from the Imperial standpoint, provided that the coin minted is the sovereign or half sovereign, and it is pre-eminently a question in which Indian sentiment should prevail." In another recommendation they said:

"the Government should continue to aim at giving the people the form of currency which they demand, whether rupees, notes or gold, but the use of notes should be encouraged."

These, Sir, were the recommendations of the Chamberlain Commission made early in 1914. We know, Sir, what happened a few years later when the Babington-Smith Committee was appointed. That Committee made its recommendations, and attention has been drawn to them before. They were also in favour of a gold standard for India and of the re-opening of a branch of the Royal Mint at Bombay for the coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns and for giving facilities to the public for the coinage of gold bullion. Mr. Dadiba Dalal also urged in his minute of dissent that a gold mohur of the value of 15 rupees should be coined and that the Mint should be thrown open to the free coinage of gold. That, Sir, was in 1919.

We then come to the period when the rupee began to rise and went up from 1s. 4d. to 2s. 4d., when the Government established the rupee, on the recommendation of the Babington Smith Committee, at 2 shillings and that the sovereign should be of the value of Rs. 10. Legislation to this effect was undertaken in 1920, and the rupee was installed at 2 shillings in the Act of 1920. But we know the sad history of that legislation. Like the

Rowlatt Bill it proved ineffectual from the beginning to the end. While the Government endeavoured to keep up the rupee, the rupee went down below 1s. 4d., in fact below 1s. 8d., and the Government had to adopt measures to bring the rupee up to the standard of 1s. 4d. By the measures which the Government adopted, the rupee was brought to the rate of 1s. 4d. in January, 1928. About that time, i.e., in 1924, our Honourable friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas recommended that legislation should be passed to establish the rupee at 1s. 4d., and we know the subsequent history. His Excellency the Viceroy cabled to the Secretary of State that pressure was thus being brought to bear upon the Government of India, and it was time they defined for themselves the policy which they would adopt. The policy which they recommended was of having the rupee stabilised at 1s. 6d., but even at that time it was not said that the Government had abandoned its pledge of establishing a gold standard in India. The Currency Commission was appointed so that in appearance a matter of such great importance should not be decided on the basis merely of the decision arrived at by the Finance Member of the Government of India, first by himself and then with the concurrence of his colleagues in the Executive Council. The Viceroy suggested that there should be a formal inquiry by some kind of Committee, and we have had that formal inquiry. When we come to that stage, what do we find? When the Commission was appointed, the Government of India prepared themselves to lay their views on the questions which it had to discuss. The Government of India, as represented by the Honourable the Finance Member and experienced officers of the Finance Department prepared a very carefully considered memorandum and submitted it to the Commission. That memorandum, prepared by three of the most important officials of the Government of India, the Finance Member, Mr. Denning and Mr. McWatters, was placed before the Royal Commission. The Honourable the Finance Member himself put in a memorandum of his own. In that memorandum, the Finance Member said:

"The gold standard system is expensive and, if it involves a large amount of gold in circulation, is not ideal . . ."

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I remind the Honourable Member that that has already been read out twice in the course of this debate? It might save us some time.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I read, Sir, in Fielding that some Englishmen are very dense. When they hear a thing for the first time . . .

Mr. President: That does not matter. The quotation bears repetition and the Honourable Member will please proceed.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: But perhaps my friend will feel less hurt if I remind him of what Fielding said. He said: If you say a thing for the first time to an Englishman, he doesn't care for it. If you repeat it to him a second time, he looks at you but is not convinced. But if you repeat it to him for the third time, he begins to think that there is something in it. And I hope by this being repeated for the third time, my Honourable friend will begin to think that what is being repeated is something worth considering. The Honourable the Finance Member, Sir, said—I don't mean to hurt his feelings. It is a matter of very great importance to my country and my people, and it is my duty to use the utmost power that God has given me to place the facts before the Assembly in the hope that may be the Government will yet rise to the occasion and do their

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by the people who have been entrusted to their care. The Honourable the Finance Member said, Sir:

"The Gold Standard system is expensive, and if it involves a large amount of gold in circulation, is not ideal. But this is the only alternative which points the way to an ideal solution. The expense of this alternative can, I think, be justified, if it is likely to lead on fairly quickly to what I regard as the ideal system, an International Exchange Standard on the lines laid down by the Genoa Conference of 1922."

And speaking under the head the gold standard the Honourable the Finance Member said further:—

"My personal view is that the cost involved in an immediate advance to the Gold Standard is worth incurring on two conditions. The first is that the extent of that cost is fully realised in advance and the decision that it is worth facing is arrived at with reasonable unanimity by the Government and the people of India, and the Government are not put in the position of appearing to force India to incur the charge without due consideration of such public opinion as exists on so technical a subject."

Then, after saying that the scheme involved the possibility of a recurring cost of about Rs. 165 lakhs a year during the first five years and about Rs. 112 lakhs a year thereafter, he said:

"It is, however, important to stress the fact that these figures represent maxima. The assumptions throughout have been deliberately made to err on the side of safety. There are reasons for thinking that the actual charges would be considerably less, and there are various possible methods, some of which are mentioned or indicated in the memorandum, of reducing the liabilities."

Then, Sir, in the end the Finance Member said:

"My conclusion is that it is reasonable to hope that the ultimate charge to annual revenue as the result of introducing the Gold Standard would be negligible, though we must be prepared to face a charge up to a maximum of two-thirds of a crore a year."

There was only one consideration which weighed against the scheme in the mind of the Finance Member as is shown by the following question and answer:

"Can the transition be effected without such a disturbance in the gold and silver markets of the world as will threaten or destroy the utility of gold as a standard of value? If the effect of a decision to attempt the change to gold in India is going to be to upset the gold standard in the United States of America or in Europe, India has clearly nothing to gain by making the attempt."

Now, I submit, Sir, this last is a consideration which should not have been given the weight which it was given by my Honourable friend the Finance Member. India's interest should not be subordinated to those of Europe or America.

Now, Sir, the scheme which had been prepared by the Finance Member, Mr. Denning, and Mr. McWatters was submitted to the Commission. They examined the scheme. They pointed out in paragraph 93 of the Report, that under the scheme, the silver rupee would cease to be legal tender, except for small amounts, after a period during which it would have been convertible into gold currency. It would involve also the attraction to India of a large additional amount of gold, required for currency and the conversion of hoards. And they went on to give their reasons why the scheme should not be accepted.

Now, Sir, I regret to think that the Government of India were not able to persuade the Commission to give up their objections. They were not

able to satisfy the Commission that there were alternative proposals by reasons of which the losses, the risks, the dangers which they apprehended, could be avoided. Now, Sir, there were two points which they were much concerned about. One was that £103 million of gold would be required for carrying out the scheme. The second was that certain countries outside India might be adversely affected by it. I submit, Sir, that the 103 millions was not to be required all at once. It is distinctly stated in the scheme of the Finance Department that

“it may be assumed that about £15 millions of gold would be required at the time of initiation of stage (i), a further £35 millions within a year, and the remaining £13 millions over a period of 10 years.”

Now, Sir, this was a matter in which the difficulties which the Commission felt could easily have been removed, but unfortunately they did not do so. Many of us feel that if we accept the recommendations, a true gold standard with a gold currency will not be introduced in India. We think that that will be the result of the recommendations. And yet the Commission have expressed themselves in favour of the introduction of a true gold standard! That being the situation, the question before this House is what this House ought to do. The history of 120 years tells us that except for a short period the Government of India have been committed to a policy of a gold standard and a gold currency, that from 1854 Finance Member after Finance Member of India with the exception of Mr. James Wilson recommended the adoption of a gold standard and a gold currency as the right solution of the currency troubles of this country. We find, Sir, a very distressing state of things in connection with this question. The Government of India make their recommendation for the adoption of a gold standard and a gold currency. It goes to the Secretary of State. He turns it down. The Government of India appointed a Committee in 1866. It made recommendations for the adoption of a gold standard and the introduction of a gold currency. They sent the Report up to the Secretary of State, but they did not send their own recommendations to him. We find that a Finance Member of the Government of India, Sir Richard Temple, proposes measures for the introduction of a gold currency and a gold standard and almost gets them accepted. He resigns in April 1874, and in May 1874, his successor turns down the proposition and declares that the Government of India have abandoned the policy of having a gold standard for India. We find that between 1874 and 1892 the Government of India urge the adoption of a gold standard and alternatively of a system of bi-metallism. But they are not heard. Then, Sir, we come on to 1892, and we find that the Government of India still urge that a gold standard and a gold currency are the right solution of India's currency troubles. They take a very important step. They close the mints to the free coinage of silver and under the scheme they adopted, they put aside all the coinage charges, amounting to six annas in the rupee, with the deliberate object of building up a gold reserve to introduce a gold currency into India. This goes on for 20 years and after 20 years the exchange difficulty still endures. During all this period, Sir, India has suffered between 200 to 300 crores of loss, roughly speaking, over this exchange trouble.

Mr. President: The question is very important and the Honourable Pandit may take his own time after the recess. The House stands adjourned till a Quarter to Three.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till a Quarter to Three, of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at a Quarter to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, I referred to the report of the Chamberlain Commission. I should like to go back to a little earlier period, with reference both to an opinion expressed by the Chamberlain Commission which I have quoted and also to an opinion expressed before the Commission the report of which we are discussing. I would invite the attention of the House to the situation, the predicament in which India is placed. So long as a question of this importance, such as the one before us, is considered and decided solely with an eye to India's interests, there is less danger of an error being committed than there is when interests other than those of India are given prominence. We know that the action taken by France, Germany and many other countries of Europe in the seventies of the last century created a situation from which the Government of India suffered enormously. During the years after 1872 up to 1893 they struggled with many proposals and put forward many suggestions and schemes for the consideration of the Secretary of State. But unfortunately the matter did not receive that attention which it deserved. Sir Louis Mallet and Lord Reay, who were delegates for India to the conference of 1881, observed in their report:

"A common standard of value, at least between India and England, appears to be the only complete and permanent remedy for the inconveniences caused to India by the present state of things. The adoption of a silver standard being impossible, this, in theory, can only be attained by the introduction of the gold standard in India. The practical objections to this course are of a very serious kind, but it is worthy of remark that they derive their force rather from the interests of England and other gold using countries than from those of India itself."

Similar was the complaint made by Sir David Barbour in the note which he attached to the report of the Gold and Silver Commission which reported in 1888. Sir David Barbour referred to the financial difficulties of the Government of India and made the following important observations:

"Nor can Great Britain divest herself of her responsibility in this matter by allowing the Indian Government to act as it may think best. The Government of India is only another name for the agency whereby the administration of the Indian Empire is carried on by this country; the gold obligations which now constitute the difficulty of the Indian Government were incurred with the knowledge and approval of the English Government, and are very largely due to the connection between the two countries; the original impulse towards the mono-metallic gold standard from which have sprung the existing currency difficulties, was given by England in 1816; it was strengthened by her suggestion, in connection with the International Monetary Conference of 1867, that France should adopt the single gold standard; and the interests of England and India are now so intimately connected that they cannot be separated in a question of this kind."

"If Great Britain cannot, with reference to her own position and interests, take such steps as will relieve India from the existing currency difficulties, justice requires that in deciding on any measure which India may be in a position to adopt in connection with the settlement of the question the interests of India alone should be considered, but this course will neither relieve Great Britain from her responsibility in the matter, nor protect her from the consequences, direct and indirect, of further currency changes, or of changes in policy on the part of the Indian Government rendered necessary by existing financial difficulties."

They therefore pleaded, but pleaded in vain, that the Government of India should let them introduce a gold standard and a gold currency. In a despatch of 1892 Sir David Barbour, who was then the Finance Member, reviewed the whole currency situation and said:

"It may, then, be taken for granted that with a gold standard the great bulk of the Indian currency must continue to be silver rupees, and that, for monetary purposes, there would ordinarily be no considerable demand for gold coins in exchange for silver. On the contrary, the demand for monetary purposes would rather be for silver coins in exchange for gold coins. Gold coins would only, as a rule, be required in exchange for silver coins, when gold was required for hoarding, for export, or to be melted down for ornaments."

The practical measures proposed by him were:

"(1) The first measure would be the stoppage of the free coinage of silver:

(2) The next measure would be to open the mints to the free coinage of gold. Any man bringing gold to the mints would be entitled to have it coined into gold coins, which would be legal tender to any amount. It would be desirable to stop the free coinage of silver some time before opening the mints to the free coinage of gold."

The new gold coins might be a 10-rupee piece and a 20-rupee piece."

I submit, the words of the despatch in which the Government of India concluded their presentation of the case on the 2nd August 1892 are worth reproducing here:

"It would, we submit, be wholly unreasonable if, in face of the calamities which are likely to come upon us in the future, and of the fact that our difficulties must continue until England and India have the same standard of value, Her Majesty's Government were to prevent the Government of India from making an attempt to introduce a gold standard into this country on the ground of the actual or possible appreciation of gold, and were at the same time to refuse to support the proposal for a general system of double legal tender, on the ground that there had been no appreciation of gold in the past and that there was no likelihood of any such appreciation in the future. If Her Majesty's Government are not prepared to accept the proposals which we have advocated for more than ten years as the best remedy for our difficulties, we consider that they ought not now to refuse to let us adopt the only other remedy open to us, namely, the adoption of the same monetary standard as that of the country with which we have our most intimate financial and commercial relations, that standard being, as we understand, considered by Her Majesty's Government to have worked so satisfactorily in England that they are not prepared to encourage any hope of a departure from its being approved by them."

This was the attitude of the Government of India in 1892, and having considered the whole of their representation the Government in England decided in 1893 that the mints should be closed to the free coinage of silver and that their aim should be to introduce a gold standard with a gold currency in India. I have stated that the Government of India have from time to time consistently advocated the adoption of such a scheme, namely, a gold standard with a gold currency, and I submit that the objections which were pointed out to that scheme were such that they could be got over. Those objections I have partly dealt with but I shall now place before the House the definite concrete proposals which were put forward by some witnesses before the Royal Commission in this connection. Two of these witnesses, Professors Wadia and G. N. Joshi, both of Bombay, suggested an alternative scheme and that scheme would have obviated the objection which has been raised against this scheme by the Commission and to the scheme proposed by the Government of India. They advocated that there should be no further additions made in rupees or rupee notes. They advocated that—

"No fresh additions to the currency to be made in rupees or rupee notes; all such additions to be in the form of gold notes or gold certificates. Thus no immediate

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addition to the currency in the shape of gold coins will be necessary nor will it be necessary to convert the existing stock of rupees into gold.

So long as this country has not built up adequate gold reserves though we have already substantial reserves to which additions can be made from year to year with the balance of trade in our favour—it is not necessary to make the existing token currency convertible into gold for internal purposes.

A gold coin to be called the Mohur of the same fineness and weight as the sovereign be made the sole standard coin of this country and a mint for the free coinage of gold to be established immediately.

The relation of the rupee to the standard coin to be defined by law, preferably as 15 to 1."

Now, these very definite proposals got rid of the objections which were raised by the Commission and they were proposals which have received wide support in this country. Professors Shaw, Wadia, Joshi and Mr. Vakil have all laboured to press this upon the attention of the public and of the Government and of the Honourable Member. The Indian Currency League organised in Bombay has also definitely put forward the same suggestions and it seems to me that the volume of evidence given before the Royal Commission in support of this scheme is considerable. In view of these facts it seems to me to be a matter of very great regret that the Government have not seen their way to adopt the proposal of a gold standard and gold currency. We are now face to face with this situation. As Sir Richard Temple pointed out, every Finance Member from the fifties except the first Finance Member, Mr. James, has been in favour of a gold standard and gold currency. The Government of India have several times advocated this scheme and even put this forward before the last Royal Commission. They put forward a definite scheme for the introduction of a gold standard and gold currency. As against that we have the opinions of the members of the Commission whose report we are discussing. I submit that however able some of these members may be, their qualifications were not such that their opinions should be given preference over the opinions of so many of the Finance Members of the Government of India and of so many other eminent members of the Government who have written or spoken during the last 60 or 70 years on this question. I do not wish to discuss personalities but I only wish to point out with due respect that the members of the Royal Commission are not entitled to greater weight than the Finance Members of the Government of India extending over 6 to 7 decades. I submit when this matter comes up before the Assembly the Government ought to take that fact into account. The expressions of opinion of previous Finance Members up to the present Finance Member ought to have greater weight. Alongside of this we ought also to remember that the expressions of opinion of the Indian Currency League and the numerous petitions that have come before the Assembly also express the deep desire of the people to have a gold standard and a gold currency. Many members of the Government have said that in the matter of currency it is the duty of the Government to carry public opinion along with them, particularly commercial public opinion. The Government ought therefore to agree to introduce a gold standard with a gold currency in India.

Now, Sir, I hope that the matter will still receive the consideration of the Honourable the Finance Member and his colleagues on 3 P.M. the Executive Council. It has been said by the Honourable Finance Member that a more suitable opportunity for discussing this would be the other Bill which has to come before the House in August.

Because of the importance of the question and because of the seriousness with which the proposal has been made, I beg to point out that we are dealing with the Indian Coinage Act and that the question of what the coin should be and whether a new coin should be framed should find its proper place in the Coinage Act. I wish here to draw attention to the provision of the Coinage Acts which have been passed in this country. Act XXIII of 1870 is the Indian Coinage Act. We find this provision there :

" The undermentioned gold coins only shall be coined at the Mint :

- (1) A gold mohur or fifteen-rupee piece
- (2) A five-rupee piece equal to a third of a gold mohur
- (3) A ten-rupee piece equal to two-thirds of a gold mohur
- (4) A thirty-rupee piece or a double gold Mohur.

The standard weight of the said gold mohur shall be one hundred and eighty grains - Troy, and its standard fineness shall be as follows : Eleven-twelfths, or one hundred and sixty-five grains, of fine gold, and one-twelfth, or fifteen grains, of alloy.

The other gold coins shall be of proportionate weight and of the same fineness :

Provided that, in the making of gold coins a remedy shall be allowed of an amount not exceeding two thousandths in weight and two thousandths in fineness."

That was in 1870. In the subsequent Act, the Act of 1906, I find that provisions relating to gold coin are embodied there and we come to the Act of 1918 and we find that the provision for coining gold mohurs was introduced again in the Indian Coinage Act. We come next to the Indian Coinage Act of 1920, No. XXXVI of 1920, where we find that the word 10 was to be substituted for 15. The gold ordinance was also repealed by that Act. I therefore submit that the present Act is the proper Act in which the amendments which have been moved by my friend Mr. Kelkar, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya and Mr. Prakasam should be considered. I hope the Honourable the Finance Member will be good enough to accept this view or to reconcile himself to it and help us in placing on the Statute-book a provision for the coining of a gold mohur and for the opening of a gold mint. Only one other remark I wish to make in this connection. I have referred to the provisions in various enactments for the acceptance of sovereigns and half-sovereigns at Government treasuries in payment of public dues. That makes it clear that the Government of India has by numerous of its Acts invited the people and encouraged them to adopt sovereigns and half-sovereigns as legal tender in the currency of the country. I have mentioned, Sir, that it is calculated that coins of the value of 200 crores—I am open to correction—are still in the possession of the people of this country. Now I ask, Sir, whether it is at all fair, whether it is just, whether it is honourable, on the part of the Government to propose to demonetize sovereigns and half-sovereigns after they have, by their policy, pursued for at least 60 or 70 years, if not longer, invited the people and encouraged them to accept gold sovereigns and half-sovereigns in the country. I submit it is not. I therefore say that the honourable course for the Government to pursue is to adhere by what they have done, to stand firmly by what their predecessors have done, to stand by the pledges, which their predecessors have given, to stand by the pledge which they gave to the people when they attempted to put aside the charges on the coinage of rupees in 1898 with the view definitely to introduce a gold standard with a gold currency. For these reasons, I support the amendment which my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar has placed before this House.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I hope the House after the hours and hours of long speeches that we have had will come to a conclusion on this matter quickly. I desire to make it perfectly plain at the outset that it is entirely impossible at this stage for the Government to accept any of these amendments. In the second place, the rejection of them at this stage will not be and cannot be taken as an expression of the view of this House that it does not want or ought not to have a gold currency. Full opportunity will arise for the discussion of that important question in connection with the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. Full opportunity will be given for the discussion of the question then and a decision not to incorporate these amendments in this Bill now will simply be a decision that the House does not desire to wreck this Bill by the incorporation of amendments which cannot find a place in it. There is a common feature in all these amendments and that is that the mints in India are thrown open to the coinage of gold, that is a mint has to coin any gold that is brought to it by the people. Now, I cannot understand how anybody in his senses can think that the putting of a clause of this sort on the Statute-book can hasten the securing by India of a gold currency. The Finance Department of the Government of India put before the Currency Commission a very carefully thought out scheme for the introduction by stages with full precautions at each stage of a gold standard, with eventually a gold currency. That scheme received the fullest examination at the hands of the Currency Commission, and the Currency Commission have unanimously expressed the view that the risks involved in that scheme are so great that it would not be in India's interest to adopt it at the moment. In the place of that scheme the Currency Commission have recommended a gold bullion standard and I believe that I have already said more than once in this House, but can say again, that if this House wants to proceed to the goal of a gold currency in circulation in India the quickest method of arriving at that goal is to adopt the gold bullion standard. However, that question will come up for consideration on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. Let us just see what would be involved in the adoption of this half-baked scheme before us to-day. The Bill before us imposes on the Government the obligation to give sterling exchange in return for any rupees or any currency notes that may be presented to it in order that the stability of exchange at the fixed ratio of 1s. 6d. may be maintained. Now these amendments propose that anybody who has gold may bring it to the Indian mint and have it coined into gold mohurs; that is to say, that anybody who likes to do so can present currency notes or rupees to the Government of India and get sterling in exchange; with that sterling gold will be bought and brought to India and coined into gold mohurs. The Government, that is to say, undertake the liability to convert an unlimited amount of the existing currency notes and rupees in India into gold at the fixed ratio of 1s. 6d. Any attempt to adopt that system without the most careful preparation and without some agreement for credits in case of necessity in England and America would immediately lead to a complete breakdown of the Indian currency system altogether, and within a year or more after wasting a great deal of money we should find ourselves back on the mono-metallic silver standard. If it is possible to arrive at a gold currency for India it is obviously only possible by the most carefully graduated stages with enormous precautions taken at each stage that the Government shall not be saddled with an obligation

so great as to smash the Indian currency system altogether. And yet, in spite of the unanimous Report of the Currency Commission, we are asked to adopt in this Bill at this stage an amendment which will impose on the Government all these obligations, in one case within one year and in another case within, I think, 8 years, but without any of the precautions necessary to secure that the effort shall be a success. The result could only be a further disaster to Indian currency and a great loss of money for the time being. If we are to consider the question of the introduction of a gold currency, I submit to this House that it must be considered carefully in connection with the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill, when full opportunities will arise for considering that question. To press the matter to a decision now is merely another method of wrecking this Bill and nothing else. So far from hastening the adoption of a gold standard, with or without a gold currency, in this country, it jeopardises the progress of the very carefully thought out schemes for the reform of the currency system which have been put before us by the Currency Commission which are already under the consideration of this House in the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. I submit, therefore, that to press these amendments at this moment cannot possibly be in the interests of the currency system of India and is a sure method of postponing even further the day on which the possibility of introducing a gold currency will arise in this country. Now, last Friday, before Mr. Kelkar or Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya or Mr. Prakasam moved these amendments, I wrote to them all a letter which I will read:

"I write to you with reference to your amendments which raise the question of the coinage of a gold mohur and the introduction of gold currency in circulation. The Bill as it stands is intended to be a purely interim measure. The sovereign is at present nominally legal tender at two shillings but it has not in fact been in effective circulation since 1920. Clause 2 of the Bill proposes that it should be demonetised. The only alternative would be to monetise it at the new ratio. If this is done now, the whole question of the introduction of a gold bullion standard as proposed in the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill is prejudiced. It would obviously be undesirable to monetise the sovereign at the new ratio now and then to demonetise it a few months hence in order to enable the gold bullion standard to be introduced. The Government propose therefore to demonetise the sovereign. This does not in any way prejudice the question whether the future currency system of India should contain the gold sovereign or a gold mohur as part of the legal tender circulation of the country either as an element in the circulation, as it was before the war, or as a major factor in the circulation as is desired by those who want to see a gold currency introduced at once. All these questions will come up for consideration on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. The proposals of the Currency Commission and of the Government do not, it is true, contemplate a gold coin in circulation at present. But it is the desire of the Government that all the possible alternatives should be fully discussed in the Committee on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill and by the Legislature when the Committee has reported."

I then went on to ask them, in order to shorten the debate, whether they would not agree not to press those amendments, with the result that the House has listened to or not listened to. I do submit to the House that we should understand where we are. This Bill is meant to be a purely interim measure. (Mr. T. Prakasam: "Will the Honourable Member read the reply given?") The reply, the one I got from Mr. Prakasam, was to the effect that he did not feel able to agree to my proposal. The Bill is a purely interim measure. It is so drafted that it shall not in any way prejudice any of the questions that will come up for discussion on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. Our object is to leave a perfectly clear field for discussion of those proposals on that Bill. The

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main features of this Bill are one to fix the ratio, as has already been done in clause 4, and the other is to provide for the receipt of gold by the Government in the interim period. Clause 2 deals with the sovereign. As I have said, since the sovereign was made legal tender at two shillings in 1920, it has not been effectively in circulation as coin, though no doubt there are a large number of sovereigns in India held as bullion. If we were to make the sovereign legal tender now at 1s. 6d., we should prejudice the discussion of the gold bullion standard, because the Commission say quite definitely that if the gold bullion standard is to be introduced, the sovereign cannot be in circulation during the period of introduction. My friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, has told us that while he does not altogether appreciate the reasons why the sovereign should be demonetised in order to introduce a gold bullion standard, he is prepared to defer to the views of his colleagues. I do not ask that we should at this moment decide that question at all: what we propose is that, for the moment, the sovereign should be demonetised. The question will arise later whether it should be monetised or not at 1s. 6d., or whether we should have a gold mohur, which after all would be a more convenient gold coin at 1s. 6d.; a gold mohur slightly differing from the sovereign equal to say Rs. 15 or Rs. 20 or thereabouts would be a more convenient coin than the sovereign at Rs. 13-5-4. Any question whether that gold coin should or should not be introduced is one which can come up for discussion on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. If we make it legal tender at 1s. 6d. now, we definitely prejudice the discussion of a gold bullion standard on that Bill. I was prepared, in order to assist debate, to adopt another alternative, and that is simply to omit clause 2 altogether at this stage and leave the sovereign still nominally legal tender at Rs. 10. The position would be rather absurd, considering that the rupee is worth 1s. 6d., but I was given to understand that the view of Members of this House was that the demonetisation of the sovereign now was prejudicing the issue. If we left it exactly as it stands, the issue would from that point of view not be prejudiced at all, but I now understand that the proposal to leave out clause 2 is not entirely acceptable. If that is so, I should much prefer to see the clause adopted as it stands, because it will actually have the advantage that the Currency Offices will be able to accept the sovereign as bullion at the equivalent of 1s. 6d. If the offer is not accepted, therefore, we must get back to the clause: and as I say, the object of this Bill as it stands, the whole Bill is to provide for the interim period pending the discussion and carrying into effect of the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. Nothing in the Bill as it stands to-day prejudices that discussion. These amendments which are actually under consideration at the moment would simply wreck the Bill. (*An Honourable Member*: "How?") I have already explained; I cannot give the Honourable Member the intelligence to understand; I have already explained that the effect would be to destroy the whole of our currency system altogether.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh (Chota Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): I protest against those remarks, Sir.

Mr. President: I think it is not right for one Member of this House to suggest that any other Member has no intelligence.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I readily withdraw, if I have given any offence. I did not know which Honourable Member it was that made the remark at the time. But I have already explained fully that

we cannot accept these amendments at the present stage without completely destroying this Bill. The Currency Commission have, after carefully considering a very carefully thought out scheme of introducing a gold currency with safeguards at every stage, come to the conclusion that the risks involved are too great to make it desirable for India to adopt that scheme. We can discuss whether or not that is the case when we come to the Gold Standard Bill. But if at this stage we adopted a scheme for a gold currency with no safeguards, after the Report of the Currency Commission, we should, I venture to suggest, be doing a thing which is not intelligent. I do appeal to the House to shorten the discussion on this matter and to allow the questions that do arise in this very important matter of the reform of our currency system to arise at a moment when they can be effectively discussed. We have had a long controversy over a particular question in connection with the reform of our currency. I have always regretted that controversy because it obscured the issues—and in this I entirely agree with Mr. Kelkar—the more important issues, in connection with the reform of the Indian currency system. If we are to succeed in arriving at a reform of the Indian currency system that will be for the benefit of India all round, good will is required, and I do ask that, now that our major controversy is finished, we should set ourselves now to work together to arrive at that reform of the currency system which will best save India's interests: and I do submit that an attempt to force on the Government a clause adopting a gold currency at this stage cannot assist the reform of Indian currency. Sir, I oppose these amendments.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member (Mr. Kelkar) wish to say anything?

Mr. N. O. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I wish to make a personal explanation, Sir. I am one of the three persons to whom the letter just read out to the House was addressed. I did not directly reply to that letter then, but since then I have been discussing this question and even receiving enlightenment

Mr. President: I am afraid I cannot allow the Honourable Member to make another speech.

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: I am going to read the answer. Is that not an explanation, Sir?

Mr. President: The Finance Member made no suggestion against the Honourable Member.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have not made any charge against anybody at all.

Mr. J. M. Dunnott (Home Department: Nominated Official): I move that the question be now put.

Mr. O. Duraismay Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, whatever may be the authority of the Honourable the Finance Member on financial questions, I certainly can not accept him as an authority as to which question is relevant to which Bill. Sir, in the form in which the present Bill has been framed, I do consider that the amendment which has been brought before this House by my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar and similar amendments which are also tabled by my Honourable friends Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya and Mr. Prakasam are sufficiently relevant to this Bill and less relevant to the other Bill which he

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proposes. Sir, it will be arguing in a vicious circle if he were to say that this provision will not be in place so far as the present Bill is concerned and it may be considered better with reference to the Reserve Bank Bill; and when we come to that, he could very easily say that the Preamble that is made to that Bill would not permit of any such motion being put forward for minting of coins. I do therefore consider, Sir, that the amendment which has now been placed before this House by my Honourable friend is certainly in order and we are bound to consider it only on this occasion.

Mr. President: Is that the Honourable Member's ruling?

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I am stating my opinion, Sir. A ruling has been given by you. The Honourable the Finance Member tried to raise this question even in the beginning and the Chair itself has given a ruling, but the Finance Member was trying now to question that ruling, and I am therefore submitting to you

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has suggested nothing of the kind.

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Then, Sir, I proceed only to place before this House a little message which I, on behalf of the laymen in this country, a man in the street, has to place before this House. The Honourable the Finance Member can certainly keep away from this House at present because he will not be troubled with any technical questions to which, he will have to devote any part of his mind and therefore he is justly absent from this House.

Sir, in this country, as ancient history and the still surviving relics prove, gold currency was the normal feature under the Indian rulers. We are told that under the Indian rulers there were no less than 172 kinds of gold coins. Relics of them are now valued not by the gold contents thereof but by many times the same by numismatologists. The Rawatanki—the genuine type of it is worshipped in many a Hindu house and its sanctity is so great that its counterfeits have become very numerous. Shavar Kasi is valued for the purity of its gold contents. About fifty years ago, in the temple of Sri Balaji, of my place, coins known as Umamaheswara Mada, of the value of three lakhs, were discovered underneath a very ancient building when a repair of it was taken up. The gold coin of Akbar is still valued as a charm. It is needless to multiply instances. With all this tradition of a gold currency, it was reserved for the East India Company in 1806 to declare that India was fit only for a mono-metallic silver currency. The Company evidently discovered that when civilization was dawning upon their motherland, the ancient civilization of India must be driven into a stage of senility and ought to put on silvery hairs. Conquest is after all a slow and deceptive process. So the Court of Directors said in their Despatch of 1806:

"Although we are fully satisfied of the propriety of the silver rupee being the principal measure of value and the money of account, yet we are by no means desirous of checking the circulation of gold, but of establishing a gold coin on a principle fitted for general use."

But this sympathy for the gold currency contemporaneously with their pet child the silver mono-metallic currency was so enthusiastically and honestly translated into action that it became quite easy in 1885 to introduce a statutory provision to the effect:

"No gold coin shall henceforth be a legal tender of payment in any of the territories of the East India Company."

Still there was some lingering life in the obstinate gold coins until in 1852 a proclamation was issued for the total suppression of this species of currency in this country. There ended the last chapter of India's ancient history. But the ghost of gold coins continued to haunt the commercial world as we find that in 1859 the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and the "Native shroffs and merchants of Calcutta" desired to have the gold coin being admitted at least as a subsidiary coin. But between James Wilson, the then Finance Member, the then ancestor of Sir Basil Blackett and the Secretary of State, the matter was easily disposed of with a few words of praise to gold in appreciation of its past services to India and the then services to England. Leaving alone the various stages of the struggle, we find that after the advocacy of Sir Charles Trevelyan, we had a recruitment of sovereigns from England and Australia by the notifications of 1864. In spite of the successive recommendations of the Finance Members, the currents and cross-currents between India and Great Britain gave a death-blow to gold currency in 1874. Thereafter we find that gold was found to be a good tonic to all other countries except India.

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was taken by Mr. Deputy President, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.)

It is profitless to pursue the currency policy of the Government any further. It may be relegated to the sphere of professors and students of colleges. There was no ghost of a chance for the gold coin to raise its head against the rupee in this country. Professor Shirras says:

"India is a land of surprises, specially in the domain of finance. With the best intention in the world no Government could have carried out the Fowler Committee's recommendations in view of the invaluable experience of 1900. The rupee could not be dethroned by gold: it had been coined for 380 years, and had been looked on not only as a suitable circulating medium but also an excellent store of value."

Our foreign trade has all been with gold using countries. Still India had to take goods and for the balance silver in return for her exports. Naturally the ratio war has become a normal feature in the subsequent history of India. Leaving aside the various struggles which the Rupee has had to undergo in its trade relations with the happy countries of India's foreign markets, let us consider the present attempt at the resurrection of India's gold coin by its protagonists and the opposition they have to encounter. If the desire and power to settle a suitable form of currency were both centred in those whose sole interest is the welfare of this country the problem will not be beset with serious difficulties. The best minds of the country can sit together and decide one way or the other. But unfortunately for this country the power is in the hands of those whose interests are wedded to a far distant land and the manipulation of that power is so dexterously effected as to entrap those whose interests ought otherwise to be solely guided by the welfare of this country. The legal will of India submerges the moral will and still passes for its real will as we have seen in the fate of the ratio question. With the aid of the "ancient household troops" and their "new recruits," as Edmund Burke would call the official and nominated votes of the House, the voice of the people through their elected representatives is drowned to death. If one studies the currency policy of the British in India alongside of their tariff policy it will be clear how the silver came to be pinned to this country and all the gold was transported to Great Britain. The vigour with which the manufactured articles were forced on this country and the import of Indian

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goods into Great Britain was penalised and prohibited too in certain cases from the year 1802 when the currency of India began to be tampered with, accounts for all the calamities of our gold currency. During those stages when the balance of trade was in favour of Britain, India had to pay in gold over and above the raw materials she contributed. British Mercantilism more than Imperialism has always been ruling our country. Thus in 1800, the import of merchandise from Great Britain to India was £1,428,659 which rapidly rose to £6,028,192 within a period of forty years (1800—1840). In 1854-59 the exports to the United Kingdom came to Rs. 8,78,23,998 whereas the imports from the United Kingdom amounted to:

Up to 1844, the balance was in favour of India ... Rs. 12,09,06,518

In 1844-49—Trade was at par 8,78,23,998

Excess in favour of the United Kingdom . . . 8,30,82,515

Thereafter it turned against India from 1852, until the raw products had their demand.

Note, it was in 1852 that the proclamation against the acceptance of gold coins was promulgated and that it was in 1859 the Bengal Chamber of Commerce and other merchants alarmed at the transportation of gold to United Kingdom clamoured for the gold coins being retained for subsidiary purposes at least. All that clamour was of no avail. Although, therefore, there has been year after year a large net import of gold partly in the shape of bullion and partly in the shape of foreign coins as trade returns, India could not use them for conversion into currency. Then, what follows? The imported gold is absorbed by the Government in a large measure and what goes into the country's absorption is all in the shape of gold bullion in the hands of the bullion-broker and if such gold is used for non-monetary purposes, it is the Government that forces it and is the chief abettor of the much condemned hoarding habit.

Let us now turn to our present situation. The Royal Commission on Currency recommends to us what is known as the gold bullion standard which is in their view an *effective gold standard* without gold currency. In rejecting the scheme for a gold currency presented to them by the Finance Department of the Government of India, the Commissioners are obsessed by a super-ethical ultra-altruistic standard when they refer to the disastrous effects on other countries by India's absorption of gold. Charity begins abroad—not at home. Other countries have to recoup their pre-war gold conditions and let us not compete with them. This is their argument.

Then they begin to discredit the estimate of requirements carefully prepared by the Finance Department and anticipate untold fears even to the extent of expecting very bad years for Indian exports. It is said that there will be a sudden rush for gold coins to replace both the rupees and the notes. The Commissioners apprehend the danger of reducing the due proportion of gold and sterling securities in the Reserve to gross note circulation during the transitional period. They cannot reconcile themselves to the view that the gold in currency might promote greater confidence in the people, might bring out even the hoarded gold into a system

of banking and investment. Their next attention is towards the patronage of silver and the avoidance of the depreciation of silver and would not trust to the safeguards provided against it by the scheme itself. Here comes their plea for the poorer classes who hoard silver in the shape of jewels. Then a plea for China and her international trade, then a word for the silver market of the United States and so on dispose of the scheme for the gold currency with a fatal blow. But the greatest crime of India is supposed to be in the habit of hoarding and non-monetary use of gold—an argument which applies equally to silver. Say the Royal Commissioners:

“The habit of hoarding the precious metals became ingrained in India through centuries of war and rapine, and has persisted under British rule in spite of security of property and the introduction of improved currency and banking facilities.”

They finish the theme by the emphatic sentence:

“It *must* not circulate at first and it *need* not circulate ever.”

Considering the vicissitudes through which India has been passing for over a century and a half and more particularly under the very British domination on whose behalf a claim is made for improved currency and banking facilities. I feel that the habit of hoarding has far from being a crime been an act of prudence. A country which passed through a rapid succession of foreign conquests, a country which has been subjected to foreign domination which has for over a century not been able either to entertain or create a trust, but which on the other hand has in all its phases, civil and military alike, been propping up feeling of continuous distrust cannot be expected to do otherwise than hoard up a part of its wealth, such part as cannot be invested in immovable property. Under the revenue system of this Government there is no sense of security created even in an investment in lands. What with the never-to-be-forgotten-and-ever-to-be-remembered scandal of the Arbutnot fraud in the Madras Presidency, what with the frauds and failures of several Banks, everything has been contributing only to demonstrate the wisdom of the hoarding habit. The eccentricities and the frivolities of the currency policy, the location of and the tampering with the gold reserve have only added to the stability of the habit. After all the known and unknown, visible and invisible processes of depletion of India's wealth, if India can still boast of some wealth the credit must be laid only at the door of the hoarding habit. The gold in jewels has been the domestic reserve of families which came to rescue when the families came to ruins. What is known in Hindu Law as “the Stridhanam jewels” has been the saving angel of many a ruined family. The almost forced custom of presenting protected jewels or mohur to the bride helped her to protect her children when the husband died in an impoverished condition. This domestic reserve has also helped the enhanced efforts of the male members of a family to make further earnings to keep the family going without touching the reserve. Even this habit is now dying out in relation to gold, as in the richer families the precious stones and pearls which promote circulation of coins are superseding the large portion of domestic gold reserve as I call it and bringing gold to its irreducible minimum requisite for keeping the stones or pearls together in some shape.

But let us take leave of the Indian women and their partiality for jewels and ask of the wide world which is the country that does not hoard

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

some fraction of its coinage or precious metal in some shape or other inclusive of jewels. What is the value of gold locked up in the Crown Jewels to start at the tops?

Then, again, are not European ladies running after jewels in forms even cruder than those adopted by the Indian women?

Mr. P. B. Haigh (Bombay: Nominated Official): Sir, is the Honourable Member in order in discussing this extremely interesting question about jewels?

Mr. Deputy President: Well, of course he is in order.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: The making and remaking of jewels have been employing the goldsmiths of this country. But what about the freely discharged crores of India which have left our shores leaving huge buildings on our heritage, as in this New City?

I have it from the authority of my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar that in some quarters we are accused of the grave crime of using gold for medicinal purposes. I am not aware if it is seriously urged by any one with his head on his shoulders. I know that gold plays an important part as the best tonic in the Ayurvedic system. But the quality absorbed by the medicine is so small both as to its requirements as well as to its inaccessibility to the common folk that no serious argument can be built on it. But to the extent that the medicinal requirements do demand a quantum of gold that cannot be denied to a country whose medical science has proved its efficacy and has not been impeached even by those who consider it their sacred duty to supply opium for medicinal and scientific purposes.

I maintain that the Royal Commissioners erred egregiously in arrogating to themselves a superior wisdom when they condemn the witnesses before them in the following terms:

"The widespread desire for it which was expressed to us by so many witnesses in India appeared to be induced to some extent by the idea that gold was the most advanced form of currency and that other nations had long denied to India a privilege which they enjoyed and highly valued themselves."

The establishment of a gold standard in Great Britain commenced a few years after the demonetization of gold coin in this country and for over a century, right up to the War, the other countries have been indulging in gold currency and if after the ravages of war they have not gone back to the old order of things, it is certainly not because of any change in the angle of their monetary vision but because the recoupment has not fully taken place yet. The Royal Commissioners after citing the examples of Great Britain and the United States as they are to-day proceed to remark:

"Some high authorities have expressed the view that the circulation of gold is beginning to be regarded as a sign of a backward civilization."

It is evidently some fox of Great Britain which after losing its tail has come out to preach the bliss of being without a tail. But let me make it a text for a crude theory which I sometimes try to formulate in

my own mind in moments of inanition. Let me make my proposals on this text:

(1) The League of Nations must take up the question of establishing a flat system of currency for all the countries that make up the League;

(2) The size, the fineness, and the value of the coins must be the same in all countries distinguished only by the name of the country and the insignia of its sovereign;

(3) The metal chosen must be the basest metal with safeguards against counterfeit—say cupro-nickel alloy;

(4) Let both the precious metals, gold and silver, be released from currency and grouped under the commercial commodities for non-monetary purposes like diamonds, rubies, emeralds, etc.

Will this system satisfy the advanced civilization? I hope it will, rather, it must.

Sir, let me return to the main road and not proceed further on this by-path. Is it correct to say, I ask, that after the War at least the United Kingdom has abandoned its love for gold in circulation as the Royal Commissioners assert? The Cunliffe Committee on Currency and Foreign Exchanges says:

"While the obligation to pay both Bank of England notes and currency notes in gold on demand should, in our judgment, be maintained, it is not necessary for the maintenance of an effective gold standard, nor do we think it desirable, that there should be an early resumption of the internal circulation of gold coin."

Mark the word "resumption." Is it the mentality of that advanced civilization which will spurn the gold coin in circulation?

Yet, our Royal Commissioners dictate to us: "It must not circulate at first and it *need not circulate ever*."

To add to this the Commission says:

"The termination of the anomalous provision by which one form of note, the paper note, is convertible by law into another form, the silver note, is an essential step in Indian currency reform which must be taken sooner or later."

Compare with this the recommendation of the Cunliffe Committee:

"If necessary, however, the circulation of gold coin could be prevented by making the notes convertible at the discretion of the Bank of England *either into such coin or into bar gold*, though for our own part we should prefer to maintain the right of the noteholder to receive payment *in gold coin* and to trust to the informal steps suggested above to prevent gold from flowing into internal circulation."

What then is the weakness in our currency that necessitates a provision for non-convertibility of notes into rupees? Let me quote the words of the Commission:

"It entails keeping in the currency reserve for purposes of internal convertibility a large stock of silver which for external purposes is of little value".

For the rest I consider paragraph 69 of the Report to be a bundle of inconsistencies or unstable views—I hope my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas will pardon me for saying it—as to what form of currency is best suited for this country. A careful perusal of the Report must lead to but one conclusion, namely, that gold currency is quite as suited to India as to any other country. Writing in 1921 Professor Shah said:

"It is more than a year since this chapter was written. The author still keeps to his main contention that the only true and effective remedy is to introduce a full, free, honest gold standard and gold currency and place it—by legislative sanction—beyond the tinkering of all amateur financiers".

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

Another question that arises in a *de novo* introduction of gold currency is the one of resources of gold supply. That is a question which will arise not exactly under the scheme suggested by the present motion but under the scheme submitted to and rejected by the Royal Commission. Even there the Commission was not justified in rejecting the proposal on the ground of cost and resources. The annual output of gold from the hitherto discovered mines of India has been 2½ per cent. of the world's production. Even that enterprise was purely a foreign private concern and was confined to the Mysore territory—the Kolar Gold fields—and all that gold was transported to the London Mint:

"In 1902 the Government of India informed the Secretary of State that the Chief Mining Companies had made arrangements to sell their gold in London and they were doubtful whether any terms that could be offered, with a due regard to the interests of Government, would induce them at an early date to alter those arrangements and to bring their gold to the Bombay Mint."

'What a plausible plea for not getting Indian gold to an Indian Mint!

Has this Government made any research into the gold yielding mines of India? The Government of India has been a mere drone exploiting the surface gold of India and not the gold imbedded deep under the earth. In the pre-British days when gold currency prevailed in this country where was all the gold coming from?

On the whole, Sir, the objections of the Currency Commission to the introduction of gold currency are not convincing, at any rate to a layman like myself. It is to be regretted that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in his anxiety to run up to the ratio question made but a summary disposal of the gold currency in his minute of dissent. . . .

Mr. Deputy President: Order, order. We are not discussing the Report of the Currency Commission. The Honourable Member should confine himself to the issue.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I am only placing before this House the high authorities which prescribed a gold currency as the best standard in this country and how the Commissioners were not justified in throwing away that suggestion.

I am therefore unable to appreciate his agreement with the conclusion of the majority while disagreeing with their reasons. He says:

"In the first place I do not believe that the introduction of a gold currency can jeopardise the note circulation, except perhaps at the outset, when popular curiosity may create a certain amount of demand for gold currency, such curiosity, however, would be only small in extent and temporary in duration. Instead of the replacement of notes by gold currency, as apprehended, the ready convertibility of notes into gold will, if anything, increase the confidence of the people in paper currency and to that extent promote its circulation further. In the second place, I cannot agree with the observation that the mere act of putting gold into circulation would not develop the banking and investment habit in India. I agree with Sir Basil Blackett when he said 'the introduction of gold into circulation, although it is a wasteful and expensive system, is necessary in Indian conditions to inspire confidence in the people and provide the stimulus which is badly needed for investment and the banking habit in India'."

After these observations on the main objections, it is difficult to understand how one can agree with the decision of the majority. If not *Indian conditions*, what other country's conditions are we concerned with? If the

gold currency will promote the faith in the paper currency, will promote the banking and investment habits of the people, why is it discarded unless you do not want these benefits to accrue?

Sir, the Royal Commission has recommended in place of the gold currency a gold bullion standard with the virtues of which they are immensely enamoured. Let us see what that scheme means to the common man whatever it may convey to experts. There may be imposed a statutory obligation on the currency authority to buy and sell gold without limit and without regard to purposes in quantities of not less than 400 fine ounces. In other words the Currency Authority will be the wholesale marketwallah of gold bullion and the retail dealers will still be the shroff who with his middleman's profits will sell gold to those who want to purchase lesser quantities. To the shroff the value of one tola will be Rs. 21-3-10 but to the retail purchaser it is Rs. 23 odd. If a retail purchaser gets gold at an enhanced value and then finds no use for it, he will have to reconvert the same into current coins at a considerable loss as he will have to sell at Rs. 21-3-10 per tola what he purchased at Rs. 23 odd. This is the sense of security that the scheme of the Currency Commission creates in the value of silver or paper rupees under its blessed scheme. They add:

"It is essential, therefore, that the conditions which are to govern the sale of gold should be so framed as to free it in normal circumstances from the task of supplying gold for non-monetary purposes."

Paragraph 64 of the Report begins with the defunction of a sound gold standard and ends with a half-sound doctrine for India:

"A sound gold standard postulates a statutory obligation upon the currency authority to buy and sell gold at a price equivalent to the par value of the monetary unit. This obligation constitutes the cardinal condition and compelling force for the maintenance of monetary stability in relation to gold and through gold, in relation to all monetary systems similarly linked to gold or gold exchanges."

A half-sound doctrine of buying gold and selling gold exchange is applicable to India because India's demand for gold is not confined to monetary purposes. I wish I were armed with the authority to search the houses of the Members of the Commission and bring out all the gold hoarded for non-monetary purposes. There is no denying the fact that if only the people are guaranteed a free gold in currency the coins will not be absorbed, in any reckonable measure, by non-monetary uses. Experience even in this country shows how the people were freely passing from hand to hand the sovereigns in the place of fifteen rupees. Even in my own limited sphere I can bear personal testimony to having received my fees from clients in the shape of sovereigns.

(1) Gold currency will create greater confidence in the currency policy of the Government.

(2) Gold currency will create greater trading facilities both internally and externally.

(3) Gold currency will certainly improve the banking and investment habits of the people.

(4) Even if it be sentimental, gold currency will raise India in the estimate of the world's great nations.

(5) Gold currency will induce even the foreigners in India to retain their earnings of exploitation much longer in this country than at present.

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

Sir, I am not a believer in the doctrine of popularity of currency so far as this country is concerned. It is all idle talk that one form of currency is popular and another is unpopular. The Indian currency system has been nothing but a show of a cinema film. A rupee note to-day and that disappears; A two and a half rupee note to-morrow and that goes out; Eight anna nickel and that retires; the 10 rupee sovereign; the 15 rupee sovereign—ever so many scenes come and pass. My countrymen, Sir, have become quite tame and docile. Anything is popular. Put a lion in a cage, starve it for a week, then it relishes grass. Grass then becomes popular with the lion, though its craving for its own appropriate food may still lurk. So also, Sir, your notes, your nickel are all popular though we have still a lurking desire for the restoration of our gold coins. Popularity in its true sense implies the existence of a free volition. A free will and a capacity to act up to it in a nation are necessary ingredients in the connotation of the term "popularity". Do we possess these? No, why then speak of popularity? Force anything on us and we are bound to take it. Take the case of our old friend, the one rupee note who is shortly to revisit us: Did not even a rural oil-monger receive it, tie it in his cloth, soak it in the oil and still love it? Did not a road repairing coolie receive it for his wages and besmear it with mud to make it fire-proof? Necessity or inevitability is the mother of popularity.

Sir, the motion of my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar relieves the Government of the necessity of any programme expenditure for the introduction of gold currency as he aims at a gradual realization of gold currency which will keep good company with the gradual attainment of responsible self-government. He makes it the duty of the people to provide their own gold and wants only a little christening or *namakaranam* in a Royal Mint in Bombay, not even Poona. I will ask for a branch in Madras as Honourable Members may be informed that just as in Delhi there is a Parliament Street without a Parliament, there is a Mint Street in Madras without a Mint. People will take their gold to these mints, get them coined and these coins will flow into circulation. This scheme is in no way inconsistent with the sale and purchase of gold exchange and gold bullion and will be even a complement to it. Shall we then have a Mohur? Sir Basil Blackett says "No, not now." He says:

"The place for gold in this system is in the reserves. When and if the time comes for the introduction of a gold currency in India and the conversion of the gold bullion standard into a gold currency standard, it will in any case probably prove preferable to mint a special gold coin, say, a gold mohur of twenty rupees rather than to retain as legal tender a coin which represents a very inconvenient fraction in terms of rupees."

The inconvenient fraction is his own creation. However he will ask to depend on "when and if." Sir, let us try and have a "now" by supporting Mr. Kelkar.

(Several Honourable Members: "Let the question be now put.")

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants Chamber: Indian Commerce): I did not expect to take part in this discussion, but the Honourable the Finance Member has referred to my opinion in the Commission's Report so far as demonetisation of the sovereign is concerned. In order to make it clear I will read the paragraph in which I recorded

my views regarding the demonetisation of the sovereign in my minute of dissent,—which is a fairly short paragraph, and I hope in fairness to my view you will allow me to read out that paragraph to the House.

“ My colleagues regard the demonetisation of the sovereign and the half sovereign as a necessary part of that standard (that is, the bullion standard). The sovereign and the half sovereign are the only gold coins legally current in India since 1893. I regret that I am unable to appreciate the necessity of this recommendation. I am not aware that any other countries, with a gold standard and a central bank as the currency authority, have found it necessary to demonetise their gold coin. Indeed, several witnesses in London have expressed doubts whether either England or America would be prepared even to consider the adoption of such a course. But, as nine of my colleagues are convinced of the necessity of demonetising the sovereign and the half sovereign as essential to the establishment of a gold bullion standard, I am prepared to view with diffidence my inability to see eye to eye with them, and do not press my objection beyond recording my own opinion.”

I do not think I need say anything more. ‘I still stick to this opinion that I cannot appreciate the necessity of demonetization of the sovereign. And the way in which the Government have carried on their operations as regards the currency policy since I signed my minute of dissent makes me confirmed in my apprehension that the demonetisation of the sovereign is not only not necessary but that the Assembly would be badly advised if they agreed to the demonetisation of it.

The Honourable the Finance Member quoted, or rather read out to the House a letter addressed by him to three Members of this House. My Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar has put in my hands copy of a letter which he sent to the Finance Department, or rather to Mr. A. Ayyangar of the Finance Department. It is pertinent to the question before the House and I hope that as the Honourable the Finance Member has read his letter to these three Members, in fairness to Mr. Kelkar you will allow me to read the reply of Mr. Kelkar.

Mr. Deputy President: I am afraid I cannot allow the Honourable Member to read a letter written by another Member especially when the Honourable Member who wrote that letter is himself present in the House.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I fully see that, Sir. But as my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar has no right of reply . . .

Mr. Deputy President: I have already expressed my opinion on the point.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: The result, of course, would be that my Honourable friend Mr. Kelkar cannot have his reply on record, because the Honourable the Finance Member read his letter to Mr. Kelkar after Mr. Kelkar had spoken. But I bow to your decision. The Honourable the Finance Member said that he thought that the strength with which the question of a gold standard and gold currency was being pressed before the House betrayed an effort in the direction of wrecking the Bill. I do not know if this remark is justified and I do not wish to speak for any other Members in this House,—but I can assure the Finance Member and all the other Members on the Treasury Benches that there is nothing more remote from my mind than any question of wrecking the Bill. If the Finance Member wishes to pass it, I am sure that even my Honourable friends on this side of the House will agree with me that, if he submits the Bill with the ratio at 1s. 6d., he will not find any objection except that we are bound to record our own dissent.

But I cannot help being surprised at the way in which the Honourable the Finance Member has offered a compromise, as he put it, as far as

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

the demonetisation of the sovereign is concerned. He suggests that he would be prepared to withdraw clause 2 of the Bill which provides for demonetisation of the sovereign which would be considered at the Simla Session. The withdrawing of clause 2 of the Bill would mean this. In the Indian Coinage Act of 1906, section 11, the rate for the sovereign is Rs. 10 per sovereign. When the exchange is fixed or approved of by this House at 1s. 6d. to the rupee, if you leave Rs. 10 to the sovereign in the Statute, would it not mean that this Assembly for all practical purposes puts itself in an absolutely illogical position and approves of the practical demonetisation of the sovereign, because at the exchange rate of 1s. 6d. the value of the sovereign according to law must be Rs. 13-5-4? I feel that in offering such a compromise to the House the Honourable the Finance Member may be said to be trying to give the House an extraordinarily bad lead. Let him frankly say that he wants this House either directly or indirectly to approve of demonetisation, if not by Statute, at least in practice. But to say that here is a compromise which anybody who understands the subject could agree to, is something that I am very much surprised to hear.

(Several Honourable Members: "Let the question be now put.")

Mr. Deputy President: The question is that the question be now put.

The Assembly divided:

(While the Division was proceeding, Mr. Deputy President vacated the Chair, which was resumed by Mr. President).

AYES—60.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada
Ahmed, Mr. K.
Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
A. M. M.
Allison, Mr. F. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
Nawabzada Savid.
Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
Gopalaswami.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad.
Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhani, Mr.
W. M. P.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Graham, Mr. L.
Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hazlett, Mr. J.
Howell, Mr. E. B.
Hussain Shah. Sayyed.
Hyder, Dr. I. K.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Ismail Khan, Mr.

Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
and Honorary Captain.
Keane, Mr. M.
Kikabhai Premchand, Mr.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
Alexander.
Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-
Sardar.
Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
Neogy, Mr. K. O.
Paddison, Sir George.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
Makhdum Syed.
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Mr. K. O.
Roy, Sir Ganen.
Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
Sykes, Mr. W. F.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Willson, Sir Walter.
Young, Mr. G. M.

NOES—50.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sessa.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varshagiri Venkata.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
 Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dhirendra
 Kanta
 Lajpat Rai, Lala.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.

Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
 Prakasam, Mr. T.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Rananajaya Singh, Kumar.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Tok Kvi, U.
 Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The original question was :

“ That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill.”

Since which an amendment* has been moved by Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, with such alterations embodied therein as are necessitated by the decision of

*“ That after clause 1 of the Bill the following new clause be inserted and the subsequent clauses be renumbered accordingly :

‘ 2. (1) In the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, after section 3 the following new section be inserted and the subsequent sections be renumbered accordingly :

‘ Gold Coinage.

4. (1) The following gold coins shall be coined at the Mint for issue under the authority of the Governor General in Council, namely :

(a) a gold mohur to be called the ‘ Sircar Mohur ’.

(b) a half-mohur.

(2) The standard weight of ‘ Sircar Mohurs ’ shall be 123·27447 grains Troy and its standard fineness shall be as follows, namely, eleven-twelfths or 113·0016 grains of fine gold and one-twelfth or 10·27287 grains of alloy.

(3) The other gold coins shall be of proportionate weight of the same fineness :

Provided that in the making of gold coins, a remedy shall be allowed of an amount not exceeding the following, namely :

	Remedy in weight.	Remedy in fineness.
Sircar Mohur	Five- thousandths.	Two- thousandths.
Half-Mohur		

[Mr. President.]

the Assembly on the ratio question. The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

Dimensions and Designs.

(4) The Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India,

(a) direct the coining and issuing of all coins referred to in this section, and

(b) determine the dimensions of, and design for, such gold coins.

(5) Provisions regarding Diminished, Defaced and Counterfeit Coins referred to and contained in any of the sections numbers 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 and supplemental Provisions referred to or contained in any of the sections 21, 22 and 23 for the silver or nickel coins shall apply in the same way to the Sircar Gold Mohurs and to the same extent as applicable to the coins referred to in those several and respective sections.

(6) Any person who tenders at any time to the Governor General in Council, at the office of the Master of the Mint or at the Imperial Bank of India at their Head Offices at Madras, Bombay and Calcutta or at any other place notified in this behalf by the Governor General in Council in the Gazette of India, fine gold and pays seigniorage to cover minting charges, according to a scale to be notified in the Government Gazette, shall be entitled to receive :

Sircar Mohurs or half-Mohurs proportionate to the gold tendered at the rate of 113·0016 grains of fine gold per Mohur and at the rate of 56·5008 grains of fine gold per half-Mohur respectively.

(7) The Sircar Mohur and half-Mohur shall be a full legal tender in payment or on account :

Provided that the coin—

(a) has not lost in weight so as to be more than ·05 per cent. below standard weight, and

(b) has not been defaced.

(8) The silver rupee specified in section 4 shall be a legal tender in payment or on accounts for any sum not exceeding one hundred rupees at the rate of (three-fortieths) of a Sircar Mohur :

Provided that the above provisions shall not come into operation until such date as the Governor General in Council may direct in this behalf :

Provided also that such date shall not be later than 1st July, 1935.

(9) Notwithstanding anything contained in section 12 in the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, the Governor General in Council may, by notification in the Gazette of India, call in with effect from such date as may be specified in the notification, any silver coin of whatever date or denomination referred to in any of the sections 12 or sub-sections (a) and (b) of section 15 (1) of the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, including the rupee and half-rupee referred to in sub-section (1) of section 12, and on and from the date so specified such coin shall cease to be a legal tender save at a Government currency office :

Provided that such date shall not be later than 1st July, 1935 :

Provided also that such coin shall continue to be a legal tender also at Government treasuries until the expiring of such further period, not less than 24 months, as the Governor General in Council may fix by the notification."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—50.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sessa.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dhirendra Kanta.
Laipat Rai. Lala.
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.

Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi Sayyid.
Naidu, Mr. B. P.
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
Prakasam, Mr. T.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
Rananjaya Singh, Kumar.
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan Bahadur.
Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Tok Kyi, U.
Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.

NOES—60.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian
Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada
Ahmed, Mr. K.
Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince A. M. M.
Allison, Mr. F. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Ariff, Mr. Yacoub C.
Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Sayid.
Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha Gopalaswami.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr. W. M. P.
Gidnev, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Graham, Mr. L.
Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hezlett, Mr. J.
Howell, Mr. E. B.
Hussain Shah, Sayyid.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.

Ismail Khan, Mr.
Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar.
Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major and Honorary Captain.
Keane, Mr. M.
Khin Maung, U.
Kikabhai Premchand, Mr.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath.
Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir Alexander.
Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-Sardar.
Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
Paddison, Sir George.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur Makhdum Syed.
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Mr. K. O.
Roy, Sir Ganen.
Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Willson, Sir Walter.
Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: Order, order. The original question was:

"That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill."

Since which an amendment* has been moved by Mr. N. C. Kelkar, which stands as amendment No. 14 on the paper with alterations embodying the decision of the Assembly on the ratio question.

The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The Assembly divided:

AYES—49.

Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sessa.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra Kanta.
Lajpat Rai, Lala.
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.

Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi Sayyid.
Naidu, Mr. B. P.
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Pandya, Mr. Vidya Sagar.
Prakasam, Mr. T.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
Rananjaya Singh, Kumar.
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Sarda, Rai Sahib Herbilas.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khao Bahadur.
Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
Shervani, Mr. T. A. K.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Tok Kvi, U.
Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.

*"That after clause 1 of the Bill the following new clause be inserted and the subsequent clauses be renumbered accordingly:

'2. In the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, after section 3 the following new section shall be inserted and the subsequent sections shall be renumbered accordingly:

'Gold Coinage.

- (1) The mint shall coin a gold Mohur containing 123·27447 grains troy of gold 11·12ths fine.
- (2) Any person who tenders at any time to the Governor General in Council, at the Office of the Master of the Mint or at any Government Treasury or the Imperial Bank or any of its branches or at any other place notified in this behalf by the Governor General in Council in the Gazette of India, fine gold and pays seigniorage to cover minting charges, according to a scale to be notified in the Government Gazette, shall be entitled to receive gold Mohurs proportionate to the amount of gold tendered, at the rate of $13\cdot22 \times 8\cdot47512 = 113\cdot0016$ grains of fine gold per Mohur.

(3) The gold Mohur shall be a full legal tender in payment or on account, provided that the coin (a) has not lost in weight so as to be more than ·05 per cent. below the standard weight and has not been defaced.

(4) In the making of the gold Mohur, a remedy shall be allowed of an amount not exceeding 5,000ths in weight and 2,000ths in fineness:

Provided that the above provisions shall not come into operation until such date as the Governor General in Council may direct in this behalf.

Provided also that such date shall not be later than 1st March, 1928."

NOES—60.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhoze, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 E'jaz Rasul Khan, Raja Muhammad.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
 W. M. P.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Hussain Shah, Sayyed
 Hyder, Dr. L. K.
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
 Ismail Khan, Mr.

Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Kikabhai Premchand, Mr.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-
 Sardar.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
 Natique, Maulvi A. H.
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
 Makhdum Syed.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
 Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was negatived.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, may I make a request in connection with the meeting of the Assembly on Saturday. As you know, Sir, there are two holidays for the Holi . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Pandit might make the suggestion when the Chair is about to adjourn the House.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Thank you, Sir.

Mr. President: The next amendment that I propose to take up is amendment No. 17 on the paper, which is the same as amendments Nos. 18, 19, 20 and 21.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadian Rural): Sir, I move:

"That for clause 2 of the Bill, the following be substituted, namely:

'2. In the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, section 11, for the word 'ten' the word 'fifteen' be substituted'."

Mr. President: The Honourable Member cannot substitute the word "fifteen".

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: I beg your pardon, Sir—"that the words 'Rupees thirteen, annas five, pies four' be substituted."

Clause 2 of the Bill seeks to amend clause 11 of the Indian Coinage Act. Under clause 11 of the Indian Coinage Act sovereigns and half

[Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty.]

sovereigns are legal tender at the rate of Rs. 10 per sovereign. Now that we have changed the ratio to 1s. 6d. per rupee, the logical sequence of that would be that sovereigns and half sovereigns will be legal tender at the rate of Rs. 18-5-4 per sovereign. Having reduced the value of the sovereign from Rs. 15 to Rs. 18-5-4, Government want to demonetise this coin altogether and enact that the sovereigns and half sovereigns cannot circulate as legal tender money. The provision of the Bill is based upon the recommendation of the Royal Commission contained in paragraph 65 of their Report. The Report contains many bald, dogmatic statements (Hear, hear), and the baldest and the most dogmatic of all the statements is contained in paragraph 65 of the Report. The Commissioners observe:

"The obligation to sell gold bars for all purposes makes it impossible to have any gold coin as legal tender."

This statement is not substantiated by any arguments. The position of the Currency Authority will no doubt be jeopardised if they are asked to give gold coins or if the mints are asked to coin the gold that the public might bring. But I cannot understand how the position of the Currency Authority will be jeopardised if the gold coins which the people have got already in their hands are allowed to circulate as legal tender money. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons appended to the Bill, Sir Basil Blackett says:

"These gold coins must be demonetised in order to enable a real gold bullion standard to be established."

There again you search in vain for any argument to substantiate the statement. "These gold coins," he says, "must be demonetised in order to enable a real gold bullion standard to be established." How the circulation of these coins as legal tender money in the hands of the public will jeopardise the gold bullion standard has not been mentioned in support of the statement that has been made. I maintain that to allow the gold coins which are already in the hands of the public to circulate as legal tender will not in the least jeopardise the gold bullion standard. If an obligation is imposed upon the Currency Authority to give gold coins in exchange for currency or if there is an obligation imposed upon the mint to coin the gold bullion that might be taken to the mint, then certainly the gold bullion standard will be jeopardised. The gold bullion standard that we are seeking to establish in our country is in effect a copy of the gold bullion standard which had been established in England in 1925. I carefully read the Gold Standard Act of 1925 which brought into existence this new system in England, and I do not find in that Act any provision to demonetise the sovereigns and half-sovereigns in England. Sir, if the circulation of sovereigns as legal tender money would jeopardise the gold bullion standard, may I ask why England when it went over to a gold bullion standard did not demonetise the sovereign and half-sovereigns circulating in that country?

I know the argument that might possibly be advanced from the other side. It might be something like this. When the gold bullion standard is established and when the obligation is imposed upon the Currency Authority to sell gold in exchange for currency, then to the extent that sovereigns might come out and circulate as legal tender money, other currency might go to the Treasury and there may be a demand for gold bullion. Even conceding for a moment that there is some force in this

argument, I cannot see, how this difficulty would arise at the present moment. In the Bill that is now before the House there is no obligation imposed upon the Currency Authority to sell gold at all; there is only the obligation to sell gold exchange. Even if the difficulty that is apprehended by the Government is real, the difficulty would arise only when the obligation to sell gold is imposed upon the Currency Authority. I therefore maintain that at this stage it is not necessary to demonetise the sovereigns. When the Reserve Bank Bill comes up, in which the obligation is imposed upon the Currency Authority to sell gold in exchange for currency, then it would be time enough for us to consider whether the existence of sovereigns as legal tender money will jeopardise the obligation imposed upon the Reserve Bank to sell gold. Until then I maintain, this question and this difficulty do not arise. Sir, the real object that underlies this proposal seems to me to be the desire on the part of the Government to make the people forget that the gold sovereigns in their hands which were worth Rs. 15 per sovereign have to-day been converted to a coin worth Rs. 13-5-4. By right given by Statute any person can tender the sovereign in payment of his debts. Having reduced the value of the sovereign in his hands, Government want now to take a further step and enact that even this sovereign in his hand cannot circulate as legal tender money. I maintain it is a most unwarranted and an unjust step. I would be told that this would not inflict any real hardship upon those who have got sovereigns in their hands, because sovereigns would under any circumstances be taken at their bullion value by the treasuries. But coins which must necessarily have lost a certain percentage of their weight while in circulation, may not as bullion fetch the same price as their legal tender value. It would be unjust and unfair to subject the holders of the sovereigns to this loss. It is estimated that about 200 crores worth of sovereigns are in this country at the present and it will be a great hardship on those who have these 200 crores worth of sovereigns to say that no more will these coins be legal tender and that they will have only their bullion value. Sir, I do not know whether the Honourable the Finance Member will again get up and confuse the issue and confuse the House by trotting out that this proposal will jeopardise the whole Bill, that it will wreck the whole Bill. I know that it is this threat that he gave that influenced some at least in the voting that took place in the last two divisions. I do appeal to Honourable Members not to be misled by this threat. I challenge the Honourable Member to prove intelligently, not by making any dogmatic statements, how demonetising sovereigns is an essential part of the Bill that is now before the House. When we attempted to introduce a gold standard and a gold currency, the Honourable Member got up in his place and said that the proper time to consider these proposals would be when the Reserve Bank Bill is considered. Now I put it to him, that the proper time to consider this proposal of his would be when the Reserve Bank Bill is taken into consideration. The present Bill attempts to fix the rupee ratio and it also contains provisions to enable the Government to maintain the ratio at 1s. 6d., and I ask him to convince us how demonetisation of the sovereign and half-sovereign is an essential step in that direction. I maintain that it is not, and I appeal to Honourable Members not to be led away by these dogmatic statements, but to realise that it is a most unwarranted and unjust step to tell the people who have got sovereigns in their hands that these coins will circulate no more as legal tender and that they would have only their bullion value. I do hope, Sir, that Honourable Members will realise the justice of my amendment and support the same.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, we have already to a large extent anticipated the discussion on this amendment. I explained to the House that the object of the Bill now before us is to cover the interim period before the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill comes into operation. The sovereign is at present legal tender at Rs. 10 to the sovereign. That is at the 2-shilling ratio. Mr. Chetty's proposal is that we should now make it legal tender at 1s. 6d. at Rs. 13-5-4. The effect of that would be not only to risk this Bill but to make it very doubtful if it was worth the while of the Government to go on with the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill because it would definitely prejudice an issue which comes up again on the Reserve Bank Bill. (*An Honourable Member:* "How?") This actual clause reappears in the Reserve Bank Bill and that will be the time to decide finally whether or not is desirable that the sovereign should circulate as legal tender as part of our currency system. Mr. Chetty says: Why not make it legal tender now and decide on the Gold Standard Bill whether or not it is to remain legal tender? I put it to Mr. Chetty that that is an impossible proposal. If the House is to make all these sovereigns—the number that he speaks of—legal tender at the present moment at the new ratio, it is quite impossible that the House should after that suddenly take away the legal tender character from them. It is quite a different thing to take away the legal tender character from a coin which is not in fact in actual circulation at all, which has not circulated for seven years. It is quite another thing, after having given it a legal tender character now, to take away that legal tender character 5 or 6 months hence. The matter is perfectly open to the House to decide in connection with the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. If they leave it for decision then, the whole question is then open to them. If they pass this amendment now, they prejudice the whole discussion of that Gold Standard Bill. I shall be perfectly prepared to argue on the Gold Standard Bill the reasons for demonetisation of the sovereign. They are many, and Mr. Chetty, I observed, accused the Commission of not giving them, but they devoted a whole long paragraph to them. I do not however at present desire in any way to prejudice this question even by expressing an opinion on it, but I desire to keep the matter open for discussion and decision in connection with the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill, and there are only two means of doing that. One is to accept the Government's proposal. The other is the suggestion that I put before that, if the House really thinks that it is prejudicing the issue by accepting the Government proposal, it should leave the clause in the Coinage Act as it stands at present. As I said, it is a compromise that I dislike because it makes the whole thing an absurdity, because it leaves the sovereign at two shillings when the effective value of the sovereign will be at the rate of 1s. 6d. to the rupee. I explained at the time that it is a compromise. I have no desire for it. I merely desire to show the House that my object was not to prejudice any discussion that may ensue on the Gold Standard Bill. I have no desire to suggest that compromise again. I should prefer the Government's proposal which has this great advantage that the House and the Government are both anxious that the Currency Authority should get as much gold into its possession as it can with a view to progress in our currency reform. And if the sovereign is still legal tender at two shillings it would be rather difficult for the Currency Authority to accept it. Under this proposal, sovereigns can be accepted by the Currency Authority and can be added to the gold reserve. I ask the House, in Mr. Chetty's words, not to be misled by his suggestion that this proposal of his will not damage the Government's Bill and I desire

to point out what is still worse, that it will seriously jeopardise the reform of the Currency system which we all have at heart.

Mr. President: Mr. Kelkar. Is the Honourable Member going to take long?

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: No, about ten minutes. Sir, I will not repeat the arguments that have already been adduced by my friend, Mr. Chetty. The first argument that I wish to adduce on this point is this, that off and on the sovereign has been legal tender, that is, for the space of a century, and we are now out according to this proposal to demonetise it and, as I guess, permanently and for ever. To show that the sovereign has been, with us for the space of a century, I will just quote a few dates. In 1835, the first attempt was made to demonetise the sovereign but that remained inoperative. The sovereign still abided. In 1841 treasuries were again ordered to receive gold coins at Rs. 15. The sovereign and gold mohur were of the same weight, fineness, etc., and they remained two parallel coins. In 1855, gold coin was again demonetised as there were large discoveries of gold about that time. In 1864, treasuries were again allowed to receive gold sovereigns at Rs. 10-4 as. per sovereign. And now was the turn of silver to be cheap. In 1878, the Government of India proposed to make sovereigns legal tender, but the Secretary of State for India refused to do so. In 1893 the Government of India after the Herschell Commission made the sovereign legal tender at Rs. 15 for the limited purpose of payments to be made to Government. In 1898 the Fowler Commission recommended sovereigns to be made legal tender. From 1898 to 1920 the sovereign was at Rs. 15. From 1920 to 1926, the sovereign was legal tender, but only at Rs. 10. Of course, there was no obligation upon Government to sell sovereigns. And now for the first time there is a proposal to demonetise the sovereign. Then we are on the other hand asking for a gold standard and gold currency. This, I say, is to all appearances blasting the very hopes which we have been entertaining in our minds. I must make it clear that if I got my mohur, an Indian coin for India, then I would not necessarily have sovereigns; and even when we put different amendments, it should be observed, and it must have been observed, that the different amendments were put for both the gold mohur and the sovereign only for this purpose that, if one was lost, the other might be won. There was no intention at least on my part to ask Government to keep two parallel gold coins in India. But I would certainly insist, I would never cease to insist, that at least one gold coin do remain in India as a current coin and legal tender. Therefore, as I said, these hopes are being blasted; and if there is progress it is progress in the direction of the tail. It is reaction, not progress. The sovereigns have remained with us for the space of a century at least, in one of the three conditions, either as full legal tender, or as legal tender so far as payments due to Government were concerned, or at any rate at its bullion value. Now, the advantages of having a sovereign are these. In the first place it is a very popular coin. It is more convenient to export and import sovereigns than gold and to settle payments in sovereigns. Sovereigns again are cheaper to bring from Australia because India happens to be on the way from Australia to England, and therefore we can always depend upon the full supply of sovereigns for India. And again, the sovereign is—I say this on good authority—fast becoming an international gold coin *par excellence* far beyond the bounds of the British Empire; and we are here being deprived

[Mr. N. C. Kelkar.]

of a coin which a great Bombay merchant once described as the cement of the Empire. You are taking away the cement of the Empire.

Now, let us for a moment briefly consider the reasons that have been adduced by the Commission in their Report for demonetising the sovereign. What the Commission suggested was this. Obligation was to be imposed on Government to sell gold bars for all purposes internally or externally. That was the intention of the Commission. That was the argument. When the Commission proposed to demonetise the sovereign it should be remembered, and it is of great importance, that the Commission had in its mind this provision, namely, the obligation upon Government to sell gold both for external as well as internal purposes. What does the Bill do? It cuts at one of the options given by the Commission.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I interrupt the Honourable Member? The Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill exactly fulfils the suggestion of the Currency Commission. If the Honourable Member is referring to the absence of the word "gold"—"gold or currency"—in clause 5, I may inform him here and now that if he desires to re-insert that, I should have no objection.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: When we come to that.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Quite

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: We are coming to that clause now. My point was that there has been a departure from the original conditions and the Finance Member was, in my opinion, not justified in cutting out the sovereign. Taking the gold bullion and sovereign together, I think it is obvious that from the point of view of convenience, gold coin is much better than gold bullion, I cannot really see how odds and ends of gold or chips that may be given to us by Government, say to-morrow or at the period of maturity, for gold certificates—will be very helpful to the people. People will certainly prefer coins in the place of these bits of gold. The Commission say that there is no inconvenience as the sovereign has been practically already demonetised as the legal value of the sovereign was only Rs. 10. We have raised it to Rs. 13-5-4. If its lower value was an argument against demonetisation that argument has now ceased. Then again, when it was at Rs. 10, you never demonetised it. Why did not do it? You saw for yourself that it was a useless coin. Nobody would do any transactions with the coin. That was obvious. That was apparent. And yet Government did not take any steps to demonetise the gold coin then. Now that it has risen in value from Rs. 10 to Rs. 13-5-4, you are proceeding to demonetise it. If it remained legal tender at a certain value when the exchange was 2s., certainly there is greater reason that it should be allowed to remain a legal tender when it has risen in value. It has been said again by the Commission that the sovereign is a mere shadow. What is the substance? The gold bullion standard and the gold standard that is coming. When gold convertibility, absolute and even for internal purposes, will be established, then only will the Indian people begin to realise the true basis of the stability of their currency. There is no stability at all for the present. In the meanwhile, the sovereign should be allowed to remain as it is. It will help and not hinder the possibility any more than before of the Indian people realising the true basis of the stability of currency. This basis is gold by admission. Admittedly it is gold. The sovereign whenever seen or handled will be a reminder of the idea of this basis. Why lose it then? When you want

to remind people of the basis of the stability namely, gold, then you had better give them greater opportunities of handling a coin which will remind them now and then of the gold basis of our currency. I have already stated that the sovereign is regarded as something that will bind together the Empire. Also, it has a recognised place in the currency for a long time both in England and in India, and I might say this also, that we on this side, we in India, have tried to appreciate the sovereign while Government have tried to depreciate the sovereign. And now when they try to demonetise it, I warn them that it would be economic treason to eliminate the sovereign from the currency constitution.

(Several Honourable Members then moved that the question be put, and several other Honourable Members rose to speak.)

Mr. President: I think I had better adjourn the House if other Honourable Members wish to speak.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do appeal to you, Sir, to finish this clause this evening.

Mr. President: I am willing to sit long.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): I may say, Sir, that the Mussalmans who are now observing Ramzan cannot sit any longer after 5 P.M.

Mr. President: The Chair is in a very difficult position. There is the Finance Member on the one hand wanting to get through this clause. On the other hand, there are other Honourable Members who desire to speak, and there is also the closure moved.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Only two gentlemen have spoken till now. I would suggest that we should sit late.

Mr. President: If the House has no objection I am prepared to sit late.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would suggest, Sir, that you should accept closure. This matter has been fully discussed.

Mr. President: I am afraid I cannot accept closure at this stage on an important question like this.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): If the Chair is not prepared to accept closure I think there is nothing else to do but to adjourn now.

Mr. President: I am prepared to adjourn the meeting now.

(Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya then rose to speak.)

Mr. President: I understand the Honourable Member wants to make a suggestion that there should be no sitting on Saturday. I should like to have the views of the Government

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I should be very glad to speak on the matter. I thank you for giving me an opportunity to do so. The position is well known to the House. I myself notoriously do not like a sitting on Saturday. I may say I have a great antipathy to it. But I must confess that I feel some surprise that the suggestions should be made that this House should not sit on Saturday. We are now at least two days behind our time even with this Bill. Government business is in an extremely congested condition and I can see no prospect of this Session being brought to a close unless we sit continuously and steadily on Government business on all available days including Saturday. There are at least two days' Government business which are already behind time. This House has now been dealing with this Bill for 3 days. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: 4 days.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Four days and has not quite done two clauses. I therefore very earnestly request you, Sir, to order a sitting on Saturday.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, it is very unusual for any of us on this side to suggest that the Assembly should not sit on a particular day. As you are aware, Sir, the Assembly very seldom sits on Saturdays. This time it happens that there are two days, Holi holidays, and people have to go to their homes. It is a very special occasion with many people and they want to go to their homes. Therefore they have made engagements, partly of a religious character and partly of a social character

Mr. President: Which Members?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am speaking of the Hindu Members. This is a special occasion which occurs after a very long time and in view of the fact that we are willing to sit even during the night, if need be, I hope that you will kindly consider this as a very special occasion and I hope that my Honourable friend the Home Member will also very kindly agree to this request for the special reasons made on a special occasion.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I regret I cannot take the view of my Honourable friend. He refers to the fact that there are two gazetted holidays. I may point out to him that the House is not already sitting for two days. I believe I am correct in saying that the festival in question is one which carries only one holiday in the Punjab. This House is not sitting on two days already and in view of the state of Government business, very reluctantly I am unable to agree with my Honourable friend. It would give me great pleasure to agree with him. Though I have no religious duties, I should be very glad to have some rest from continuous attendance in this House which is a trial equally to official Members as it is to non-official Members. If I oppose this request it is merely in the interests of the disposal of public business.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: May I be allowed to make a statement? There is a general desire amongst the Hindu Members in my Party that there should be no sitting on Saturday on this important occasion. Whatever the gazetted holidays may be, Saturday having never been considered as a day on which this House sits, people have committed themselves to engagements and they will find it very inconvenient to cancel those engagements. Therefore I support my Honourable friend, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, in his request that you may be pleased to have no sitting on Saturday next. (*Some Honourable Members:* "We can sit on Sunday.")

Mr. President: Honourable Members must be prepared to sit the whole of the next week, all the six days. (*Several Honourable Members:* "Yes.") And they must also be prepared to sit a day or two in the week after next (*Several Honourable Members:* "Yes"), if necessary. It is on that understanding that I adjourn this House till Monday morning, at 11 o'clock.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 21st March, 1927.

ERRATA.

In L. A. Debates, Vol. IX, No. 88, p. 2010, last line but two, *for* the word "jurisdiction" *read* "justification" and on p. 2011, line 89, *after* the word "that" *insert* the words "notices of".

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 21st March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CREATION OF SEPARATE DIVISIONAL AND SESSIONS COURTS IN HAZARA AND THE MARDAN SUB-DIVISION OF THE PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

985. *Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) If the North-West Frontier Province administration have been appointing for some time past additional officers to help the Sessions and Divisional Judge of Peshawar and Hazara in the disposal of his heavy judicial work and, if so, since when and how many additional officers there are at present?
- (b) What is the number of civil appeals now pending in that court for disposal?
- (c) What is the average disposal per month of each officer of these appeals and what is the average number of appeals admitted in this court each month?
- (d) Have Government made any inquiries as to whether that officer will ever be able to cope with his heavy civil and criminal work without additional help—if not, do they propose to do so and if necessary to establish separate Sessions and Divisional Courts in Hazara and the Mardan sub-division of the Peshawar District?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) An additional Divisional and Sessions Judge has been appointed permanently since December 1918. A third Judge is appointed from time to time when the state of the pending cause list renders it necessary. The appointment of such third Judge has now been sanctioned as a temporary measure until 31st March 1927.

(b) 366.

(c) The average disposals are 26 per mensem by each officer and the average institutions in Court, 58 per mensem.

(d) The two judges should be able to cope with the work with occasional help. Separate Courts in the Hazara District and Mardan sub-division of the Peshawar District are not considered necessary.

CREATION OF A SECOND DIVISIONAL AND SESSIONS COURT FOR THE
KOHAT, BANNU AND DERA ISMAIL KHAN DISTRICTS.

986. *Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) If an Additional Sessions and Divisional Judge has been appointed to help in clearing the arrears of judicial work pending in the Court of the Sessions and Divisional Judge, Dera Ismail Khan, and, if so, are the Government in a position to state how long it will take him to clear the arrears?
- (b) Have Government satisfied themselves that the permanent officer can cope with the ordinary work?
- (c) If the reply to the above is in the negative, do Government propose to create a second Sessions and Divisional Court for the Kohat, Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan Districts?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) An Additional Divisional and Sessions Judge was appointed and he cleared off the arrears by 28th February 1927.

(b) Yes, Sir—with occasional assistance.

(c) Therefore does not arise.

CREATION OF SEPARATE DISTRICT AND SESSIONS COURTS FOR THE VARIOUS
DISTRICTS OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

987. *Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons which deprive the various districts of the North-West Frontier Province from enjoying the facilities of separate District and Sessions Courts?

(b) If the chief reason for it has been the want of funds then do Government propose to consider the matter in the light of the improved financial condition of the Government of India?

Mr. E. B. Howell: Each District has not a separate Divisional and Sessions Court, because the amount of work emanating from Districts other than Peshawar does not justify the appointment. The same is the case in the Punjab where several District and Sessions Judges hold charge of more than one Revenue District.

It is not a question of funds, Sir, but of the proper adjustment of judicial machinery.

POPULATION, LAND REVENUE, ETC., OF THE MARDAN SUB-DIVISION OF
THE PESHAWAR DISTRICT AND THE KOHAT DISTRICT.

988. *Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: (a) Will Government be pleased to furnish the following information with respect to (1) the Mardan sub-division of the Peshawar District, and (2) the Kohat District of the North-West Frontier Province:

- (i) Population,
- (ii) Land revenue including ' Abiana ' (water tax),
- (iii) The total number of judicial cases (criminal, civil and revenue) instituted in the law courts of the sub-division and the district separately, in the year 1926,
- (iv) The number of gazetted officers posted at each place?

(b) Are Government aware that the judicial and executive work of the sub-division has considerably increased as the result of the opening of the new canal and the revision of settlement now in progress in the sub-division?

(c) Is it a fact that the Assistant Commissioner, Mardan, exercises full judicial and revenue powers in the sub-division as a District Magistrate, Collector, etc.?

(d) Is the post of Assistant Commissioner a senior post on the higher cadre of the North-West Frontier Province carrying a special allowance?

(e) Was there a proposal to constitute this sub-division into a separate District and will Government please state if that proposal is still under the consideration of the Government of India?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) (i) to (iv). I lay on the table a statement containing the information asked for.

(b), (c) and (d). Yes, Sir.

(e) Such a proposal was I believe considered by the Local Administration at one time. But, it is not now before the Government of India.

Statement.

	Mardan Sub-Division.	Kohat District..
(a) (i) Population	3,30,884	2,14,123
(ii) Land revenue including "Abiana" (water tax)	11,62,299	2,52,194

(iii) Total number of judicial cases instituted in the Law Courts in 1926:

	Criminal.	Civil.	Revenue.
Mardan Sub-Division	3,318	2,162	1,765
Kohat District	1,928	2,346	1,955

(iv) Number of gazetted officers:

	Mardan Sub-Division.	Kohat District.
Political Department	1	3
Provincial Civil Service	5	4

CONVERSION OF THE SUB-DIVISION OF MARDAN INTO A SEPARATE DISTRICT.

989. *Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: (a) Will Government be pleased to state:-

(i) If the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar is always considered to be an overworked official and is given personal assistants from time to time?

- (ii) Is it also a fact that his 'Mulaqat' and office work is very very heavy and that he cannot get sufficient time to attend to his judicial and touring work and that the sub-divisional officers of Mardan, Charsadda and Nowshera are consequently given full judicial powers?

(b) If the replies to the above are in the affirmative, will Government please state if they propose to give relief to the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar by constituting the most important sub-division of Mardan into a separate District?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) (i). Yes, Sir.

(ii) The 'Mulaqat' and office work of the Deputy Commissioner, Peshawar, is very heavy, but he has sufficient time to attend to his judicial and touring work. The Sub-Divisional Officers of Mardan, Charsadda and Nowshera have full judicial powers.

(b) The question is not at present under consideration.

FORMATION OF THE SWABI TAHSIL OF THE PESHAWAR DISTRICT INTO
A SEPARATE SUB-DIVISION.

990. *Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: (a) Will Government be pleased to state if they are considering the question of forming the Swabi Tahsil of the Peshawar District, North-West Frontier Province, into a separate sub-division?

(b) Are Government aware that some of the villages are more than 50 miles from the Headquarters of the sub-division and that the inhabitants of these villages have to travel that distance for attending to their petty civil cases at Mardan?

(c) Are Government aware that there are no proper roads and conveyances such as railway, etc., in several parts of this area and that the people are enduring great hardships and expenditure on that account?

(d) Are Government prepared to consider the advisability of ordering the location of a first class Magistrate and Munsif's court at Swabi until such time as the Tahsil can be formed into a separate sub-division?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) No, Sir.

(b) The most distant parts of the Tahsil are 40 miles from Mardan, but most of the villages are within easy reach of a main road.

(c) As regards roads "No". There is no railway at present in the Swabi Tahsil.

(d) It is not considered necessary to incur the expense of making this change at present.

TRANSFER TO GOVERNMENT OF ROADS ADMINISTERED BY THE DISTRICT
BOARD OF PESHAWAR.

991. *Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) If it is a fact that the District Board of Peshawar, North-West Frontier Province, has charge of such a large number of roads that they cannot keep them in proper order?

- (b) Was there a provincial contribution to the District Board for the repairs of these roads, and if so, how much?
- (c) Has that contribution been stopped, and, if so, since when?
- (d) Is it a fact that some of these roads are more of a provincial nature than local?
- (e) If so, do Government propose to take over some of these roads and relieve the District Board of this unbearable burden?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) The Peshawar District Board control $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles of metalled roads and 4,582 miles of unmetalled roads.

(b) Before 1921 Government gave occasional grants for road repairs, viz., Rs. 25,000 in 1918-19 and Rs. 50,000 in 1919-20.

(c) No contribution has been made since 1920

(d) and (e). No roads are considered to be of a provincial nature. Some are acquiring increased district importance and an extension of the road system is urgently required. No programme, however, is possible until the Board agrees to authorise additional taxation.

CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY FROM CHARSADDA TO SWABI IN THE PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

992 ***Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if a deputation of some respectable land owners of the Peshawar District waited on the Honourable the Chief Commissioner towards the end of the last year and requested him, along with other matters, for the improvement of communications in the District to enable them to export their grain and other produce to the nearest railway stations and markets and make it easier for them to pay the land revenue enhanced in the new settlement?

(b) If so, do Government propose to take action on the representation by opening the long expected railway line from Charsadda to Swabi?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The Charsadda-Swabi Railway project is being investigated.

CONFERMENT OF HONORARY POWERS ON PRIVATE INDIVIDUALS IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

993. ***Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what principles are followed in conferring honorary powers on private individuals in the North-West Frontier Province?

(b) Are these powers conferred with a view to assist the judiciary by utilising the services of experienced retired officers or for keeping up the position or even for reviving the prestige of certain families in the Province, somewhat on the lines of the old feudal system?

(c) Are these powers conferred spontaneously by Government or by selection from among those who approach the authorities with a request for the grant of these powers?

(d) Is it a fact that higher powers of Additional District Magistrate are occasionally conferred on persons having no modern education or experience of judicial work?

(e) Are Government aware that the conferment of these powers on inexperienced and inadequately educated people is unpopular with the public and that protests have been made against the exercise of these powers?

(f) Do Government propose to restrict these powers to experienced and well educated persons in future?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) Such powers are conferred on well-to-do gentlemen of social status much as in England and in other countries.

(b) The powers are conferred with a view to assisting the judicial administration.

(c) Powers are granted on the recommendation of District Officers after approval by Sessions Judges and the Judicial Commissioner.

(d) Government are not aware of any instance in which this has been done.

(e) Therefore does not arise.

(f) The restriction already exists.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Is the Honourable Member not aware that protests have been made against the grant of the powers of Additional District Magistrates to some of the Honorary Magistrates?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I was not aware of that, Sir.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Is Government aware that it is found some times inconvenient by the police to take their chalans to these village courts, and also inconvenient to lawyers who have to attend these private courts, and that in some cases the parties are made to pay the cost of conveyance of the accused and the police guard to the place where the Court sits, and do Government propose to fix some educational standard of qualifications for these men?

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it not derogatory to the principles of justice that in this country it (justice) should be administered by these private individuals who are not educated familiar with judicial work and up-to-date rulings on points of law?

Mr. E. B. Howell: It must be a matter of opinion.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it also a matter of opinion as regards justice?

GRIEVANCES OF SECOND DIVISION CLERKS OF THE ARMY DEPARTMENT AND THE ARMY HEADQUARTERS.

994. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that a third division has been created in the Government of India Secretariats and the Army Headquarters, and, if so, when has it been created?

(b) Is it a fact that previous to the creation of the third division there were only two divisions, namely, the first division or upper division and second division or lower division?

(c) Is it a fact that since the creation of the Staff Selection Board each recruit to the second division had to pass the qualifying examination of the Board for that division before he could be recruited in the Government of India Secretariats or the Army Headquarters?

(d) Is it a fact that the Establishment Officer of the Army Department compelled some of the second Division men of the Army Department and the Army Headquarters who passed the Staff Selection Board examination before the creation of the third division to appear for the second division examination held by the Public Service Commission recently? If so, how many?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state whether each of such candidates was declared by the late Staff Selection Board to have passed the examination for the second division? If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons why and under what authority the Establishment Officer compelled them to appear for the second division examination again, recently held under the auspices of the Public Service Commission?

(f) Will Government be pleased to state whether men of the Civil Secretariats placed under the same circumstances were compelled to re-appear at the recent examination?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes; the third division was created in June 1924 in the Government Secretariat and in the Master General of Supply Branch of Army Headquarters.

(b) and (c). Yes.

(d) No, Sir. The Establishment Officer could not have done this, even if he had wanted to.

(e) Does not arise.

(f) Not so far as I am aware.

NUMBER OF INDIANS IN THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

995. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government be pleased to state the number of Indians employed in the Political Department in each of the last five years, showing in each case the class of service from which such Indians were recruited, and the names of each such officer?

Mr. E. B. Howell: A statement furnishing the information required is laid on the table.

No. of Indian officers employed in the Political Department.	Names of such officers.	Services from which they were recruited.	Remarks.
4 or 5 in 1922 .	Nawab Sir Mir Shams Shah . K. B. Hamidullah Khan . K. B. Mir Sharbat Khan . R. B. Diwan Gyan Nath . K. B. Sadullah Khan .	Provincial Civil Service. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.	Retired from service in June, 1922.
6 in 1923 .	K. B. Hamidullah Khan . K. B. Mir Sharbat Khan . R. B. Diwan Gyan Nath . K. B. Sadullah Khan . B. B. Bhai Lehna Singh . K. B. Nawab Muzaffar Khan .	Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto. Ditto.	

No. of Indian officers employed in the Political Department.	Names of such officers.	Services from which they were recruited.	Remarks.
5 or 6 in 1924 .	K. B. Hamidullah Khan .	Provincial Civil Services.	Retired from service in August, 1924.
	K. B. Mir Sharbat Khan .	Ditto.	<i>No recruitment of Indians was made in 1924 owing to the lack of suitable candidates.</i>
	R. B. Diwan Gyan Nath .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Sadullah Khan .	Ditto.	
	R. B. Bhai Lehna Singh .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Nawab Muzaffar Khan .	Ditto.	
9 in 1925 .	K. B. Mir Sharbat Khan .	Ditto.	The post of Attaché; Foreign and Political Department, from which K. B. Muhammad Inam-ul-Huk was promoted to the Political Department is regarded as a Provincial Civil Service post for the purposes of recruitment.
	R. B. Diwan Gyan Nath .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Sadullah Khan .	Ditto.	
	R. B. Bhai Lehna Singh .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Nawab Muzaffar Khan .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Muhd. Inam-ul-Huk .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Maulvi Ahmad Din .	Ditto.	
	Mr. K. P. S. Menon .	Indian Civil Service.	
	Lt. Abdur Rahim Khan .	Indian Army.	
10 or 11 in 1926 .	K. B. Mir Sharbat Khan .	Provincial Civil Service.	Retired from service in May, 1926.
	R. B. Diwan Gyan Nath .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Sadullah Khan .	Ditto.	
	R. B. Bhai Lehna Singh .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Nawab Muzaffar Khan .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Muhd. Inam-ul-Huk .	Ditto.	
	K. B. Maulvi Ahmad Din .	Ditto.	
	Mr. K. P. S. Menon .	Indian Civil Service.	
	Lt. Abdur Rahim Khan .	Indian Army.	
	Lt. Sahibzada Syed Iskander Ali Mirza .	Ditto.	
	Lt. Kunwar Visheshwar Nauth Singh .	Ditto.	

**DATE OF THE DESPATCH OF THE VIEWS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE ON THE REPORT OF THE AUXILIARY AND
TERRITORIAL FORCES COMMITTEE.**

996. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Will Government be pleased to state when their views on the Auxiliary and the Territorial Forces Committee were sent to the Secretary of State?

Mr. G. M. Young: On the 24th June, 1926.

TELEGRAPH TRAINING CLASSES IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

997. ***Khan Bahadur Saifuraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that there are telegraph training classes in certain approved schools and colleges?

(b) If so, how many schools and colleges have got telegraph training classes, and what are their names?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Yes.

(b) Six. Their names are as follows:

- (i) Barnes High School, Devlali
- (ii) Lawrence Memorial School, Lovedale.
- (iii) St. Joseph's College, Coonoor.
- (iv) St. Fidelis' High School and Orphanage, Mussoorie.
- (v) Scottish Churches College, Calcutta.
- (vi) Ashutosh College, Bhawanipur (Calcutta).

DISPOSAL OF THE FOREIGN PARCEL MAIL IN THE CALCUTTA GENERAL POST OFFICE.

998. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that the Government of India have sanctioned overtime allowance to cope with the extra work in connection with the disposal of foreign parcel mail articles in the Calcutta General Post Office? If so, what are the conditions and the rates of such overtime allowance?

(b) Is it a fact that the Presidency Postmaster, Calcutta, is drafting auxiliaries from the various departments in the Calcutta General Post Office to cope with the work without paying the overtime allowance?

(c) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government please state whether arrangements for the work of the auxiliaries in their respective departments are made by the Presidency Postmaster?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes. The conditions and rates of overtime pay are as follows:

						Rs.	a.	p.
Up to 600 parcels.	{	1 Assistant Postmaster at	10	0	0	per mail.		
		1 Head Clerk at	5	0	0	"		
		9 Clerks	2	0	0	"		
		9 Coolies	0	4	0	"		
		1 Carpenter	0	8	0	"		

with one extra clerk for every 60 additional parcels and one extra cooly for every 120 additional parcels.

(b) and (c). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the replies given to parts (a) and (b) of his starred question No. 1145 on the 9th March 1926.

PROCEDURE FOLLOWED IN THE BOMBAY GENERAL POST OFFICE IN
CONNECTION WITH THE DISPOSAL OF THE INWARD FOREIGN
PARCEL MAIL.

999. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Will Government please state what procedure is followed in the Bombay General Post Office for the disposal of inward foreign parcel mail articles and whether the system of drafting auxiliaries is in vogue there?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to part (c) of his starred question No. 1145 on the 9th March 1926.

GRANT OF OVERTIME ALLOWANCE FOR WORK IN CONNECTION WITH THE
DISPOSAL OF INWARD FOREIGN PARCEL MAIL IN THE CALCUTTA
GENERAL POST OFFICE.

1000. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that Government have sanctioned overtime allowance for work in connection with the disposal of the inward foreign mail articles in Calcutta?

(b) Will Government please say whether the same procedure will be adopted in the Calcutta General Post Office to dispose of the inward foreign parcel mail? If not, why?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes.

(b) Government do not propose to adopt the same procedure. Overtime pay is granted for the disposal of inward foreign mails in the Calcutta General Post Office because this work has to be done when the staff required for the purpose are off duty. The disposal of the inward foreign parcel mails in the Calcutta General Post Office does not involve the employment of staff on overtime duty except on occasions of pressure, when overtime pay is granted.

INCREASE IN LOSSES OF PARCEL BAGS AND INSURED ARTICLES DURING
THE REGIME OF MR. C. D. RAE, PRESIDENCY
POSTMASTER, CALCUTTA.

1001. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Will Government please lay on the table a comparative statement showing the number of parcel bags and insured articles lost and the amount of Government loss involved therein (1) during the regime of Mr. C. D. Rae, the present Presidency Postmaster, Calcutta, and (2) during the regime of his predecessor?

(b) Is it a fact that there has been an increase in cases of loss of parcel bags and insured articles during Mr. Rae's regime compared with such cases during his predecessor's time? If so, are Government prepared to institute an inquiry to ascertain the reasons for the increase?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) It is not possible for Government to supply the Honourable Member with the information asked for owing to the destruction of old records in accordance with the rules.

(b) Does not arise.

Mr. K. Ahmed: (Inaudible) Is it not a fact, Sir, that the reasons for such increase are best known to each and every member of the party of my Honourable friend the questioner, and in spite of the virulent character of the movement all the credit is due to Mr. Rae for the sagacious steps he has taken to put a stop to the loss of these parcels and insured letters?

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Perhaps the Honourable Member is in the confidence of the Department.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But is it not a fact that during the last communal riot in Calcutta great credit was due to Mr. Rae who took such precautionary steps in the case of insured parcels and valuables?

Mr. President: Mr. Amar Nath Dutt.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: I have nothing to do with the communal riots.

Mr. President: Mr. Amar Nath Dutt. Question No. 1002.

EMPLOYMENT OF LEAVE RESERVES IN THE REGISTRATION AND PARCEL DEPARTMENTS OF THE CALCUTTA GENERAL POST OFFICE.

1002. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Are Government aware that leave reserves are not promptly sent by Mr. C. D. Rae, Presidency Postmaster, Calcutta, to work in the places of officials on leave, specially in the Registration and Parcel Departments of the Calcutta General Post Office and some of the town sub-offices and that the remaining staff are compelled to manage the work of the absentees in addition to their own work?

(b) If the answer to the above be in the affirmative, do Government propose to adopt effective measures to ensure prompt relief as soon as any official goes on leave? If so, what measures do Government propose to adopt?

Sir Ganen Roy: Government have no information on the subject, but are making enquiries.

INCREASE OF LEAVE RESERVES FOR THE POST OFFICE AND THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

1003. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that the All-India Postal and Railway Mail Service Union has represented that the 17 per cent. leave reserve sanctioned by the Government is entirely inadequate and that the leave reserves should be increased by 25 per cent. for the Post Office and 30 per cent. for the Railway Mail Service?

(b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government please state if they propose to increase the percentage of leave reserves; and if so, when?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The All-India (including Burma) Postal and Railway Mail Service Union represented that a leave reserve of 25 per cent. should be sanctioned for Post Office clerks in India and 30 per cent. in Burma and for sorters in the Railway Mail Service.

(b) The leave reserve for sorters in the Railway Mail Service has been increased to 20 per cent. in India and 25 per cent. in Burma. A general arrangement has also been introduced permitting of the grant of leave on medical certificate even if the total number of absentees be in excess of the sanctioned leave reserve. In the circumstances Government do not think it necessary to increase the leave reserves for the Post Office or further to increase them for the Railway Mail Service.

**CONTRACT WITH MESSRS. GARAGE AND COMPANY, MADRAS, FOR THE
CONVEYANCE OF MAILS IN CALCUTTA.**

1004. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that Government have entered into a contract with Messrs. Garage and Company, Madras, under the terms of which the contractors have taken over charge of the conveyance of mails and the motor fleet formerly under the control of the Calcutta General Post Office?

(b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to lay on the table a comparative statement showing the cost of mail conveyance in Calcutta before and after the contract?

(c) Is it a fact that the old motor vans were sold to the contractors? If so, will Government please lay on the table a statement showing (1) the number of cars sold, (2) the dates of purchase of each, (3) the original cost of each, and (4) the price at which each of them was sold to the contractors?

(d) Will Government please state the reason why the cars were not sold by public auction?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a), (b) and (c) (1), (2) and (3). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the replies given to parts (a), (b) and (c) of the starred question No. 1150 asked on his behalf by Mr. S. C. Ghose on the 9th March 1926.

(c) (4). The information in respect of each vehicle is not available. The sale price of the fleet as a whole was fixed by the Tribunal of Arbitration of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.

(d) It was presumed that these second hand cars, many of which had done a considerable mileage, would fetch a better price by sale to the contractors as the result of an impartial valuation than by sale at a public auction.

**SAVINGS EFFECTED BY THE CONTRACT SYSTEM OF CONVEYANCE OF MAILS
IN CALCUTTA.**

1005. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Will Government be pleased to state if the contract system of conveyance of mails in Calcutta has resulted in any saving of expenditure? If so, what is the amount of annual savings? If not, why was the contract system introduced?

Sir Ganen Roy: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to part (d) of the starred question No. 1150 asked on his behalf by Mr. S. C. Ghose on the 9th March 1926.

**GRANT OF COMPENSATION TO THE MOTOR DRIVERS OF THE CALCUTTA
GENERAL POST OFFICE DISCHARGED AFTER THE INTRODUCTION
OF THE CONTRACT SYSTEM OF MAIL CONVEYANCE.**

1006. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that the services of all motor drivers who were attached to the Calcutta General Post Office motor fleet were dispensed with after the introduction of the contract system of mail conveyance?

(b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the number of drivers whose services were dispensed with and the length of service of each in the department?

(c) Is it a fact that the motor drivers of the Madras General Post Office whose services were dispensed with under similar circumstances were paid by the Government a gratuity according to the rules in force in consideration of their past service in the department?

(d) Was compensation paid to the motor drivers of the Calcutta General Post Office in the same manner? If not, why?

Sir Ganen Roy: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the replies given to parts (e), (g) and (h) of the starred question No. 1150 asked on his behalf by Mr. S. C. Ghose on the 9th March 1926.

**RETENTION OF THE SERVICES OF MR. R. H. LEGGE AS TRAFFIC
SUPERVISOR, CALCUTTA GENERAL POST OFFICE, AFTER THE
ABOLITION OF THE MOTOR FLEET.**

1007. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that Mr. R. H. Legge, who was recruited direct for the appointment of Traffic Supervisor, Calcutta General Post Office, on Rs. 250—350, was served with a notice and his services dispensed with along with the motor drivers due to the abolition of the motor fleet?

(b) Was Mr. R. H. Legge subsequently appointed as Traffic Supervisor on Rs. 250—350? If so, when?

(c) Is it a fact that the appointment of the Traffic Supervisor was created when the motor fleet was under the control of the Calcutta General Post Office?

(d) Will Government please state the reason for the retention of the said appointment even after the abolition of the motor fleet?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) No.

(b) No. Mr. Legge continued as Traffic Supervisor under the new arrangements.

(c) Yes, in 1919.

(d) The services of an experienced and responsible Government official were and are required *inter alia* to regulate the running of the Contractors' vans for the prompt and proper despatch of Government mails, to keep an account of the daily mileage run and to check the bills presented by the Contractors.

**APPOINTMENT OF MR. O. C. JACOB AS A SANITARY SUPERINTENDENT
OF THE CALCUTTA GENERAL POST OFFICE.**

1008. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that Mr. O. C. Jacob, who was recruited direct for the appointment of Assistant Traffic Supervisor on Rs. 145—170 was served with a notice and his services dispensed with along with the motor drivers due to the abolition of the motor fleet in Calcutta?

(b) Was Mr. O. C. Jacob subsequently appointed as Head Clerk, Mail Department, Calcutta General Post Office, on Rs. 145—170? If so, when?

(c) Is it a fact that the Honorary Secretary of the Bengal and Assam Provincial Postal and Railway Mail Service Association protested against

the appointment of Mr. Jacob as Head Clerk of the Mail Department superseding the claims of the officials in the general line and the Postmaster-General wrote to the Secretary that Mr. Jacob had been removed from that appointment?

(d) Is it not a fact that Mr. O. C. Jacob was again appointed by the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam, as a Sanitary Superintendent of the Calcutta General Post Office on Rs. 250—350 after his removal from the Head Clerkship of the Mail Department?

(e) Is it a fact that the Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, had ordered that the appointment of the Sanitary Superintendent of the Calcutta General Post Office should be abolished as soon as Mr. Leeming, the then Superintendent of Stables who was appointed as Sanitary Superintendent after the abolition of the horse conveyance, retired from the service?

(f) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state why the appointment of the Sanitary Superintendent was not abolished after the retirement of Mr. Leeming?

(g) If the retention of the appointment of the Sanitary Superintendent was necessary, will Government please state why the appointment was not filled up from amongst the officials of the general line?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes. On the 1st September 1925.

(c) Yes.

(d) Yes.

(e) No.

(f) Does not arise.

(g) The appointment is a special miscellaneous one not ordinarily filled by promotion from the general line. The existing incumbent of this post is not eligible for promotion in the general line.

INCLUSION OF THE NAME OF MR. R. H. LEGGE AS HEAD OF THE
MAIL DEPARTMENT IN THE MEMORANDUM OF DISTRIBUTION
OF WORK IN THE CALCUTTA GENERAL POST OFFICE.

1009. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that Mr. C. D. Rae, the Presidency Postmaster, Calcutta, has shown Mr. Legge, Traffic Supervisor as the Head of the Mail Department in the Calcutta General Post Office in the memorandum of distribution of work of that Department and has authorised him to supervise the work of the Mail Department?

(b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if Mr. C. D. Rae was authorised to do so? If not, do the Government propose to direct the removal of Mr. Legge's name from the memorandum of distribution of work?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Yes.

(b) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative. The second part does not arise.

GRANT OF OVERTIME ALLOWANCE TO MR. R. H. LEGGE FOR WORK
IN CONNECTION WITH THE DISPOSAL OF THE INWARD FOREIGN
LETTER MAIL.

1010. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that Mr. C. D. Rae, the Presidency Postmaster, Calcutta, allowed Mr. Legge to draw overtime allowance sanctioned for one of the supervisors appointed in connection with the disposal of the inward foreign letter mail articles though Mr. Legge is not an official of the general line?

(b) Was the Presidency Postmaster authorised by the rules to do so? If not, what steps do Government propose to take against the Presidency Postmaster?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes. The fact that Mr. Legge is not an official of the general line does not debar him from drawing overtime pay for overtime duty performed by him.. The second part of the question does not arise.

EMPLOYMENT OF VAN PEONS FOR ALL THE SECTIONS OF THE RAILWAY
MAIL SERVICE.

1011. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Are Government aware that van-peons are not sanctioned for all the sections of the Railway Mail Service and that consequently the sorters are also required to perform the duties of the van peons in addition to their own duties?

(b) Is menial work a part of the sorter's duties? If not, do Government propose to take immediate steps to provide vanpeons for all the sections?

Sir Ganen Roy: A reference is invited to the reply given by Mr. H. A. Sams to the Honourable Member's starred question No. 1149 on the 9th March 1926.

GRANT OF LOCAL ALLOWANCES TO POSTAL EMPLOYEES IN ASSAM.

1012. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** With reference to the reply to question No. 1050, dated the 3rd March, 1925, regarding local allowances in Assam will Government be pleased to state if their examination of the case has been completed, and, if so, with what result? If not, when do they expect to complete their examination?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Honourable Member presumably refers to the reply to question No. 1059, not 1050, of the 3rd March, 1925. His attention is invited to paragraphs 2 and 3 of the reply given to starred question No. 1154 asked on his behalf by Mr. S. C. Ghose on the 9th March 1926.

HARDSHIPS OF THE INSPECTORS OF POST OFFICES IN THE
BENGAL AND ASSAM CIRCLE.

1013. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Has any representation been received by the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam Circle from the Secretary, Provincial Postal Union, detailing the hardships of the Inspectors of Post Offices in that circle? And if so, what action has been taken thereon?

Sir Ganen Roy: The Postmaster-General reports that no such representation is traceable as having been received in his office.

TIME-TEST OF THE WORK OF DEAD LETTER OFFICES.

1014. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Hill was appointed to fix the time-test of the work of the Dead Letter Offices in India?

(b) Was there any representative of the Dead Letter Office workers on that Committee?

(c) Is it a fact that the standard of work proposed by the said committee was declared by the Manager, Dead Letter Office, Bengal, as unsuitable?

(d) Have the recommendations of that committee been accepted by the Government?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) The fact is not as stated. The committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Hill was appointed by the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam, to examine the methods of work of the Dead Letter Office, Calcutta.

(b) No.

(c) The Manager, Dead Letter Office, Calcutta, represented that the time-test suggested by the committee for certain items of the work was unsuitable.

(d) Yes, but the time-test is under revision.

DELAY IN THE PAYMENT OF ARREARS OF PAY TO THE OFFICIALS OF THE
DEAD LETTER OFFICE, BENGAL.

1015. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state when the orders sanctioning the revised scales of pay for the Calcutta General Post Office, Calcutta Sorting and Bengal Dead Letter Offices were issued?

(b) Is it a fact that the officials of the Calcutta General Post Office and Calcutta Sorting Division have been paid the arrears of pay due to that revision and that the officials of the Dead Letter Office have not yet been paid?

(c) What is the reason for the delay in the payment of the arrears to Dead Letter Office officials and who is responsible for the same?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) On the 17th September 1926.

(b) The reply to the first part is in the affirmative and to the second part in the negative. The officials of the Dead Letter Office were paid the arrears in February 1927.

(c) The full facts are not to hand. An enquiry has been ordered into the cause of the delay.

SUPERSESSION OF MESSRS. ABU IMAM FAZLUR RAHIM, AND S. AHMED
MIAN CHOWDHURY, POSTAL OFFICIALS, FOR PROMOTION TO THE
GRADE OF RS. 350—650.

1016. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the position of (1) Mr Abu Imam Fazlur Rahim, (2) Mr. S. Ahmed Mian Chowdhury, (3) Mr. E. S. Kelly, (4) Mr. E. B. Stout, and (5) Mr. E. M. Ricketts in the general gradation list of postal officials in the grade of Rs. 250—350?

(b) What is the principle followed in promoting officials on Rs. 250—350 to the grade of Rs. 350—650?

(c) Is it a fact that Messrs. Kelly, Stout and Ricketts have been promoted to the grade of Rs. 350—650 superseding the claims of Messrs. Rahim and Chowdhury? If so, what is the reason for such supersession?

(d) Are there any adverse remarks against Messrs. Rahim and Chowdhury and were they communicated to the officials? If not, why?

(e) Were Messrs. Rahim and Chowdhury considered unfit for promotion to the grade of Rs. 350—650? And, if so, why?

(f) Is it a fact that Mr. Ahmed Mian Chowdhury was instrumental in the seizure in the Calcutta General Post Office of a number of parcels containing opium and *charas* aggregating over 2 maunds in all?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Before the promotion of Mr. E. S. Kelly in April 1926, the positions were Nos. 2, 7, 8, 11 and 12, respectively.

(b) By seniority, subject to suitability.

(c) Yes, but as Mr. Kelly was senior to Mr. Chowdhury, the latter was superseded only by Messrs. Stout and Ricketts. The officials superseded were not considered at the time suitable for further promotion.

(d) Yes. The remarks were communicated.

(e) Yes, for reasons given in (c) above.

(f) Yes. Last month the Head of the Circle reported favourably on Mr. Ahmed Mian Chowdhury, and he has now been promoted on probation.

LATE DELIVERY IN CALCUTTA OF ARTICLES POSTED IN THE VILLAGES SERVED BY THE CHOTKHAND POST OFFICE.

1017. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Are Government aware that postal articles posted in the villages served by the Chotkhand Post Office are delivered in Calcutta on the third day? If not, are they prepared to call for information and take steps to see that the articles are delivered in Calcutta on the day following their posting in the villages served by Chotkhand?

Sir Ganen Roy: It appears that owing to a change in the time table on the East Indian Railway with effect from the 1st March 1927, articles posted in villages under the Chotkhand Post Office are being delivered in Calcutta on the third day. I am having the matter looked into.

APPOINTMENT OF MESSRS. B. GANGULY AND A. R. CHATTERJEE TO ACT AS SUPERINTENDENTS OF POST OFFICES IN THE BENGAL AND ASSAM CIRCLE.

1018. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that Messrs. B. Ganguly and A. R. Chatterjee and others who have passed the departmental examination for Superintendents have not been allowed to act as Superintendents in the vacancies that occurred in the Bengal and Assam Circle? If so, why?

Sir Ganen Roy: No. The available officiating vacancies for Superintendents were filled by qualified officials who are senior to the officials mentioned.

IMPORTATION OF OUTSIDERS TO ACT AS SUPERINTENDENTS OF
POST OFFICES IN THE BENGAL AND ASSAM CIRCLE.

1019. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that orders have been issued that the vacancies in the grade of Superintendent of Post Offices in a circle, caused by leave or deputation should be filled up by qualified candidates attached to that circle? If so, will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a copy of that order?

(b) Is it a fact that two officers of the Bihar and Orissa Circle have been brought to fill up the acting vacancies in the grade of Superintendents in the Bengal and Assam Circle? If so, what is the reason for their importation?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state the total number of qualified officials who are in the Bengal Circle and how many of them were acting as Superintendents at the time of the importation of the two officers from the Bihar and Orissa Circle?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Yes. Copies will be furnished to the Honourable Member.

(b) Yes. One Superintendent from Bihar was temporarily posted to Bengal in February 1926 as a special case and a qualified official from Bengal was given the resultant officiating vacancy of Superintendent in Bihar. Another Superintendent was transferred temporarily in February 1927 because no suitable officer was reported to be readily available to act as Personal Assistant to the Postmaster-General, Bengal and Assam.

(c) 20. In February 1926 the number was 17 of whom 12 were acting. In February 1927 out of 20 qualified officials 11 were acting and 4 were under training or on leave.

ACCOMMODATION FOR MAIL BAGS AT BANKURA RAILWAY STATION.

1020. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that there is want of sufficient accommodation for keeping the mail bags in the Bankura railway station? If so, do Government propose to provide the necessary accommodation?

Sir Ganen Roy: The information has been called for and will be supplied to the Honourable Member as soon as it is received.

DISCONTINUANCE OF THE PRACTICE OF POSTMEN ACTING AS GUARDS
IN THE BANKURA POST OFFICE.

1021. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Is it a fact that postmen have to act as guards in the Bankura Post Office? If so, do Government propose to consider the desirability of discontinuing the practice?

Sir Ganen Roy: Since the beginning of the present month a separate night guard has been employed.

MOTOR SERVICE BETWEEN BURDWAN AND SEHARA BAZAR.

1022. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** Has any representation been made by the merchants of Bankura to the Agent, East Indian Railway, and the Managing Agent, B. D. R. Railway, to start a motor service between Burdwan and Sehara Bazar? If so, will the Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken in the matter?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I do not know, but a representation to this effect was received by the Railway Board and the reply given was that the matter was within the competence of the Agent.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE PEOPLE OF AJMER-MERWARA IN THE PROVINCIAL SERVICES OF THE GOVERNORS' PROVINCES.

1023. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** Are Government aware that the rules for admission into provincial services of the Governors' Provinces are such that the people of Ajmer-Merwara cannot get into those services while the people of other provinces, particularly the Punjab and the United Provinces, are freely taken in service in the higher branches of administration in Ajmer-Merwara? Are Government prepared to have such restrictions removed and the people of Ajmer-Merwara made eligible for entry into the services of those provinces? Have Government any programme for training the people of Ajmer-Merwara so as to make them fit for occupying high appointments as they fall vacant, to the exclusion of the people from the provinces where restrictions exist for the exclusion of outsiders from the services? If not, do they propose to consider the question of drawing up one?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The Government of India have no definite information as to the exclusion of the people of Ajmer-Merwara from admission into provincial services in Governors' Provinces as the latter have full power to regulate recruitment to their own Provincial Civil Services. In Ajmer-Merwara officers for higher branches of administration requiring technical knowledge, such as the Police, Forests, Public Works and Co-operative Societies, are obtained from other Provinces because suitable candidates with sufficient experience are not available locally. It has been explained that Provincial Governments have full power to regulate recruitment to their own provincial services, and the Government of India do not expect them to allot vacancies to candidates from Ajmer-Merwara in their services to the exclusion of their own men. No definite programme exists and it is hardly possible to provide facilities for technical training in Ajmer-Merwara but candidates are from time to time sent to other Provinces for training to qualify them for promotion to higher posts in special Departments, such as the Police, Forests and Co-operative Credit.

CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY FROM AJMER TO KOTAH JUNCTION.

1024. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** Has the question of opening a railway line from Ajmer to Kotah Junction through Deoli and Bundi been considered? If so, at what stage does the proposal stand now?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The construction of a railway from Nasirabad to Kotah, via Deoli and Bundi, is under consideration. But, before a decision can be reached, it is necessary that a traffic survey of the route should be carried out to enable the financial prospects of the proposed railway to be judged. The estimate of the cost of the traffic survey is under preparation and it is hoped that it will be taken in hand shortly.

OPENING OF A NARROW GAUGE RAILWAY FROM AJMER TO PUSHKAR.

1025. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** Has the question of opening up a narrow gauge line to Pushkar as also to improve transport and trade in Ajmer-Merwara been considered? If not, do Government propose to do so now? Are Government aware that Ajmer is one of the most important places of pilgrimage for Muslims and that Hindu pilgrims to Pushkar go to Ajmer in large numbers?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The project of linking Ajmer and Pushkar by rail, either by the line of the existing road or by Makerwali or Kharekri was exhaustively examined in the years 1902 and 1914 and finally abandoned as commercially unprofitable. Government do not at present propose to re-examine it.

Government are aware of the importance of the places mentioned to pilgrims of the Hindu and Moslem communities.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A REPRESENTATIVE COMMITTEE TO MANAGE MUNICIPAL AFFAIRS IN PUSHKAR, AJMER-MERWARA.

1026. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Are Government aware that there is no Municipal Committee or other representative organisation of a like nature at Pushkar which is one of the most important places of pilgrimage for the Hindus and where thousands of people collect every year?

(b) Are Government aware of the fact that the Shamlat Committee at Pushkar represents only the Jagirholders of Pushkar and is neither representative of the entire body of Pandas of Pushkar nor of the public at large?

(c) Will Government state how far the Shamlat income is being utilised by the said committee for public purposes and what steps are being taken by the said committee to improve the sanitation, roads, etc., of the town?

(d) Is it a fact that two men P. Sohanlal and Gopikishen were twice elected members of the Shamlat Committee but were not allowed by Government to take their seats on the Shamlat Committee? If so, will Government state the reasons for thus overriding the right of the electors?

(e) Is it a fact that an amount of about Rs. 50,000 was collected from the public in the name of the "Pushkar Jiwan Uddhar Committee"? Will Government be pleased to state how much of this amount has been expended, and on what, and what is the balance in hand?

(f) Are Government prepared to move the local Government of Ajmer-Merwara to take into consideration the question of establishing a representative Committee for the management of Pushkar municipal affairs?

Mr. E. B. Howell: The information is being collected and will be communicated to the Honourable Member in due course.

INTRODUCTION OF A TIME SCALE OF PAY IN THE ANGLO-VERNACULAR AND HIGH SCHOOLS OF AJMER-MERWARA.

1027. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Has the question of the introduction of a time scale of pay in the Anglo-Vernacular and High Schools of Ajmer-Merwara, as it obtains in the Government College, Ajmer, been considered?

(b) If so, is it proposed to introduce such a time scale?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The Honourable Member is referred to the information communicated to him by letter on the 17th March 1927 in reply to parts (d) and (e) of his question No. 878.

EMPLOYMENT OF APPRENTICES IN THE CENTRAL WORKSHOPS, AJMER.

1028. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** Will Government kindly state the terms on which (1) Europeans, (2) Anglo-Indians, and (3) Indians are admitted in the Railway Workshops at Ajmer for training in higher railway work? Do Government make uniform terms for all? If not, will Government please state the reasons for such distinctions?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I will send the Honourable Member, if he desires, a copy of the rules for the employment of apprentices in the Central Workshops, Ajmer; but the terms are uniform for apprentices of all nationalities.

REGISTRAR, CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES, AJMER-MERWARA.

1029. ***Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Are Government aware that the present Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Ajmer-Merwara, is reverting to the Punjab Provincial Service?

(b) Are Government also aware that there are available in Ajmer people of that province who were trained in England in Co-operative Credit work?

(c) Do Government propose to take their cases into consideration when filling up the vacancies?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Yes.

(b) Government understand that two young men belonging to Ajmer-Merwara have been to England for nine months to study co-operative credit. One is now employed in the Co-operative Bank in Bihar and Orissa. It is proposed to send the other to the Punjab for further practical training.

(c) The claims of local candidates will be duly considered.

SUPPLY OF FANS IN INTERMEDIATE AND THIRD CLASS COMPARTMENTS ON STATE RAILWAYS.

1030. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Will Government be pleased to state if they are considering any scheme for the supply of fans in intermediate and third class compartments of Railways controlled by Government?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The reply is in the negative.

REPORT OF THE ECONOMIC INQUIRY COMMITTEE.

1031. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Will Government be pleased to state what action has been taken on the Report of the Economic Inquiry Committee?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by me to Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan's question on this subject on the 11th March, 1927.

RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ROYAL INDIAN MARINE.

1032. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Will Government be pleased to state if the scheme for the reconstruction of the Royal Indian Marine is yet ready? If not, how long will it take to be ready?

Mr. G. M. Young: The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to His Excellency the Viceroy's speech at the opening of the Legislative Assembly on the 24th January last.

AGRICULTURAL COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

1033. ***Raja Raghunandan Prasad Singh:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the number of Agricultural Colleges and Schools, Province by Province, which are financed by Government and the actual amount that is paid to such institutions by Government every year?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The latest information the Government of India have on the subject is contained in the "Review of Agricultural Operations in India, 1924-25"—Appendix V, a copy of which is available in the Members' Library.

RESOLUTION REGARDING THE RELEASE OF SARDAR KHARAK SINGH.

1034. ***Sardar Gulab Singh:** (a) Are Government aware that the second Assembly adopted unanimously the Resolution regarding the release of Sardar Kharak Singh on the 26th February, 1924?

(b) Are they also aware that the second Assembly passed the Resolution regarding the release of political prisoners on the 26th January, 1926?

(c) What practical measures were taken to give effect to the said Resolutions?

(d) When will the terms of imprisonment expire in the case of Sardar Kharak Singh?

(e) Has he earned any term of remission in his long imprisonment?

(f) Do Government intend to show any clemency in his case?

(g) Are Government also aware that the said prisoner did not defend himself?

(h) Are Government also aware that other culprits of similar offences of manufacturing kirpans were acquitted?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) and (b). Yes.

(c) I would refer the Honourable Member to the answer that I gave him on the 3rd September 1924, and to the answer that I gave to Lala Duni Chand on the 27th August 1926.

(d) and (e). Government have no information.

(f) Government are not aware of any such proposal, but the matter is primarily one for the Government of the Punjab.

(g) Yes.

(h) Government have no information; but the Honourable Member should be aware that Sardar Kharak Singh was also convicted under section 124-A of the Indian Penal Code.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: May I know whether this sort of references to answers given in 1924 and 1926 is intended to prevent Members of this Assembly from putting supplementary questions?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, but I suggest that Honourable Members who put questions might examine some of the previous questions put and the answers given.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: May I know whether Members are supposed to go through all the proceedings of 1924 and 1926 in putting questions?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: In this case my Honourable friend was a Member of the House and I gave him the answer to which I have referred him.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Are the Government aware that there is no chance of carrying such a Resolution regarding the release of Sardar Kharak Singh if that Resolution is moved to-day? Is not that a fact, Sir? (Laughter.)

TIME TABLES OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1035. ***Sardar Gulab Singh:** (a) Are Government aware that the present Time Table of the North-Western Railway between Lahore and Lyallpur causes great inconvenience to the travelling public?

(b) Are Government also aware that on the main lines the speed of trains has been accelerated?

(c) Will the Government please state the reasons of slackening the speed and making unnecessarily long stoppages at the intermediate stations?

(d) How long will the present Time Table last?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) No.

(b) Government are aware that some trains in the main lines have been accelerated.

(c) Government have no information and it is quite impossible for them to take any part in the arrangement of Time Tables.

(d) The Time Tables are usually issued half-yearly and ordinarily the next Time Table will be issued in September next.

APPLICATION OF THE SIKH GURDWARA ACT TO SIKH GURDWARAS IN DELHI.

1036. ***Sardar Gulab Singh:** (a) Are Government aware that the Sikh Gurdwara Act has come into force in the Punjab?

(b) Are they also aware that there are a good many historical Sikh Gurdwaras in Delhi?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of applying the same Act to such Gurdwaras?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) Yes.

(b) Government are aware that Gurdwaras exist in Delhi.

(c) Government are not aware that any difficulties are being experienced in the administration of these Gurdwaras.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A CENTRAL ART INSTITUTE AT DELHI.

1037. *Sir Hari Singh Gour: (a) Will Government be pleased to state what action they have taken or propose to take to give effect to the Resolution passed by the Council of State to encourage the growth and development of Indian art by establishing a Central Art Institute at Delhi?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the effect they intend to give to the proposal to establish a "Prize of Delhi"?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) and (b). The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the replies given by me to unstarred question No. 92 by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and to starred question No. 816 by Mr. M. R. Jayakar on the 2nd February, 1926, and 9th March, 1927, respectively.

NUMBER OF MARRIAGES REGISTERED UNDER ACT XXX OF 1923.

1038. *Sir Hari Singh Gour: Will Government be pleased to state the number of marriages registered in the several provinces under Act XXX of 1923, giving as far as possible the castes and religion of those married thereunder?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The Government of India have no information. Registration of marriages is under the Devolution Rules a provincial transferred subject.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Will the Government be pleased to collect the statistics and lay them on the table?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, Sir, I think no useful purpose will be served by asking Local Governments to collect statistics of that character.

REPLIES TO STARRED QUESTIONS.

1039. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons why they do not intend to follow the procedure of the Madras and the Punjab Legislative Councils in the matter of placing the replies to starred questions in the hands of the Honourable Members of the Indian Legislatures, sometime before the replies are actually read out in the House by the Government Members concerned?

(b) Do Government propose so to amend the Indian Legislative Rules as to give this facility to the non-official Members for putting supplementary questions? If not, why not? (*vide* starred question No. 451 of the 16th February, 1927.)

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) The present practice gives all reasonable facilities.

(b) For the reason just given Government have no such intention.

RESEARCHES CONDUCTED BY THE IMPERIAL DAIRY EXPERT AT BANGALORE.

1040. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Will Government be pleased to state when the Dairy Expert in Bangalore was appointed and what research work he has in hand and whether he has finished any

research since his appointment? Will Government place on the table a statement of his researches since the appointment was created?

(b) Are Government in a position to state whether any business ancillary to the Dairy business has developed in the country as a result of the researches carried on by the Dairy Expert at Bangalore? (*Vide* starred question No. 452 of the 16th February 1927.)

Mr. J. W. Shore: (a) and (b). The Imperial Dairy Expert since his appointment on May 1st, 1920, has conducted varied and valuable researches into many problems affecting Animal Husbandry and Dairying. A brief statement of his work will be supplied to the Honourable Member and placed in the Library of the House.

CLAIMS OF INDIANS IN TANGANYIKA AGAINST THE EX-GERMAN COLONY.

1041. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the proposed inquiry into the correctness of the statement referred to in the *African Comrade*, Dares-Salaam, dated the 17th November last, has been made, and, if so, will they be pleased to lay the result of the inquiry on the table of this House? If no inquiry has as yet been made, will they please state why?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken or are being taken for re-imbursing the Indians in Tanganyika? (*Vide* starred question No. 64 of the 31st January, 1927.)

Mr. L. Graham: (a) Enquiry has been made and it has been ascertained that, so far as Tanganyika is concerned, the statement made by the *African Comrade* is incorrect. It has already been decided by the Mixed Arbitral Tribunal that claims in respect of that territory are admissible under Article 297 (e) of the Treaty of Versailles read with Article 121 of the same Treaty.

(b) It is understood that offers are being made by the German authorities for the settlement of a large number of the claims in question but, as negotiations are still in progress, it is not possible to make a detailed statement.

RUNNING OF A SHUTTLE TRAIN FROM BUXAR TO MOKAMEH ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1042. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to the paragraph under the caption "East Indian Railway timings" published in the *Searchlight* of the 4th March, 1927?

(b) If so, is the statement made therein correct?

(c) If so, do they propose to direct the railway authorities concerned to arrange the running of a shuttle train from Buxar to Mokameh or even to Patna as suggested in the paragraph referred to above?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) No.

(b) Government have no information on the subject.

(c) It is quite impossible for Government to take any part in the arrangement of Time Tables. Copies of the question and answer are being sent to the Agent of the East Indian Railway.

REPRESENTATION OF MUSLIMS IN THE CIVIL SERVICES IN MADRAS.

1043. *Maulvi Sayyid Murtaza Sahab Bahadur: (a) Do Government propose giving adequate representation to Muslims in the ensuing appointments in the Civil Services?

(b) Is it a fact that there is only one Muslim in the services in the Madras Presidency?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the claims of the Muslims wherever there is no adequate representation?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) and (c). I refer the Honourable Member to my announcement of the 2nd March 1925 in another place and to the answer that I gave to Maulvi Muhammad Yakub on the 24th March 1925 in this Assembly. The claims of Muslims are always considered along with those of other minority communities.

(b) No.

APPOINTMENT OF A MUSSALMAN AS A JUDGE OF THE PATNA HIGH COURT.

1044. *Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: (a) Is it a fact that the total strength of the Patna High Court is seven permanent and two additional Judges? Is it also a fact that out of the nine four are Indians including two Bengalis and two Bihari Hindus and none of them is a Mussalman?

(b) Are Government aware that there is a strong feeling amongst the Mussalmans of Bihar on account of there not being even a single Mussalman Judge on the Bench of their High Court?

(c) Are Government aware that notice of a Resolution on the above subject was given by a Mussalman Member of the Bihar Provincial Council which was disallowed? If not, are Government prepared to inquire and obtain the necessary information?

(d) Are Government prepared to consider the claims of the Mussalmans of Bihar when the next vacancy occurs on the Bench of the High Court of that Province?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) Yes.

(b) I am unable to say.

(c) The answer to the first part is in the negative. Government do not propose to take the action suggested in the second part.

(d) The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to part (a) of question No. 471 asked by Khan Bahadur Saiyid Muhammad Ismail in the Legislative Assembly on the 6th March 1923 (Assembly Debates, Volume III, page 8021).

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I know whether of the two Bengali Judges of the Patna High Court, one is not a Member of the Indian Civil Service belonging to the Bihar cadre?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The Honourable Member is probably better informed than I am. If he would give me his name, I could give him an answer.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I know whether the Muhammadan population in that province is less than 10 per cent., and if the same proportion were claimed by Muhammadans out of the Indian Judges at Patna, it would work out to less than half a Judge?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I must point out to the Honourable Member that High Courts are not representative institutions in which percentages of population should be represented.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is the Honourable Member further aware that two eminent Muhammadan Barristers who were appointed to the Bench of the Patna High Court found it profitable to resign and revert to the Bar?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I am aware there were two distinguished Muhammadan Judges, but why they left the Bench I cannot say.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is it a fact that cent. per cent. of the Government Advocate of the Patna High Court, Mr. Sultan Ahmed, is Muhammadan?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I should think so from his name: it sounds likely. (Laughter.)

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Are there not other Mussalman Barristers available in Bihar who are competent to become Judges of the High Court besides those whom the Honourable Member just mentioned and who refused the offer?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: My Honourable friend will pardon me if I decline, in answer to a question, to enter into a consideration of the qualifications of the Patna Bar.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I know whether the Government has made any departure from the policy referred to in the answer to question No. 26 of the 15th February 1921, in which the Government of India disowned any share of responsibility in regard to these permanent appointments to the provincial High Court Benches?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, there has been no departure of policy.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I draw the attention of the Honourable Member to the fact that on that occasion the Government of India declined to make any detailed statement in reply to a similar question in regard to the Madras High Court?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: It may have been so. The present Leader of the House is more amiable.

EMPLOYMENT OF MUSSALMANS IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES.

1045. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) How many clerks have been recruited in the Office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, since 1925?

(b) How many of these permanent posts are held by the Mussal-
mans?

- (c) Have any probationers for the Subordinate Accounts Service been taken in the same office, and if so, how many? Was any Mussalman taken as a probationer in the Subordinate Accounts Service? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes on the 27th January to his unstarred question No. 8, and to my reply on the 14th instant to similar questions by Mr. Abdul Haya.

PERCENTAGE OF MUSSALMAN CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE AUDIT OFFICER, INDIAN STORES DEPARTMENT.

1046. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** What is the percentage of the Mussalman clerks in the office of the Audit Officer, Indian Stores Department?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The percentage is about 1·7.

NUMBER OF MUSSALMANS EMPLOYED IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, DELHI.

1047. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the total strength and the number of the Mussalmans in the Correspondence, Computing, Accounts and Books Branches of the Government of India Press, Delhi, stating the grades and the pay of the Mussalmans separately?

(b) What is the total strength of the men working in the Reading Branch of the Delhi Press and how many of them are Mussalmans and what are their grades and monthly salary?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The total strength of the branches is 29: 6 posts are held by Mussalmans

(b) The total strength of the branch is 54: 13 posts are held by Mussalmans.

A statement showing the grade and present pay of each of the Mussalmans in the branches in question will be sent to the Honourable Member.

GRANT OF GRATUITIES TO THE FAMILIES OF TWO EMPLOYEES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA PRESS, DELHI, KILLED IN A RECENT ACCIDENT IN THE PRESS.

1048. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government be pleased to state what gratuities, or pensions have been granted to the families of the two employees of the Government of India Press, Delhi, who were killed by the falling of a portion of the wall of the Press building on the 4th November, 1926, in the discharge of their duty?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Sums amounting to Rs. 1,650 in one case and Rs. 1,387-8 in the other case have been deposited with the Commissioner for Workmen's Compensation for distribution to the dependants of the deceased employees.

PROPOSITION STATEMENT OF THE DELHI PRESS.

1049. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government be pleased to state whether the proposition statement of the Delhi Press submitted by the Controller of Printing, Stationery and Stamps, has been accepted by Government or whether any changes to the proposed scale of pay have been made? If any changes have been made, what are they?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Modifications were made by Government in the Controller's proposals. Government do not intend to publish the latter and I regret therefore that I cannot supply the information asked for in the last part of the question.

SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES AT THE EXAMINATION FOR THE SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE.

1050. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** (a) How many candidates appeared at the last examination for the selection of Subordinate Accounts Service held in November last and how many of them came out successful?

(b) From how many and which Postal Audit Offices were these candidates selected?

(c) Out of the successful candidates how many were Madras-Brahmins how many Madras non-Brahmins and how many belonging to other Provinces? Was any Mussalman amongst those who were selected?

(d) Who were the examiners for the above examination?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) 53 appeared and 13 were deemed to have reached the requisite standard.

(b) From two Postal Audit Offices, viz., Nagpur and Madras, and the Telegraph Audit Office, Calcutta.

(c) Out of the candidates, who were deemed to have reached the requisite standard, 12 were Madras Brahmins and one belonged to another province.

(d) As already explained in reply to question No. 213 asked on the 18th March 1924, an index number alone is shown on the papers sent to the examiners who are thus unaware of the race or nationality of each candidate. There is therefore no reason to give this information.

EXPENDITURE ON THE DEMOLITION AND RECONSTRUCTION OF THE DOMES OF THE NORTHERN BLOCK IN THE NEW DELHI SECRETARIAT.

1051. ***Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Jogiah:** (a) Why were the domes of the Northern Block in the New Delhi Secretariat constructed in 1926, during the time of the Chief Engineer, Mr. Sale, demolished?

(b) Is it because of the wrong plan given for their construction by Mr. Corrigan, the Technical Assistant?

(c) If so, was any action taken by the authorities for this negligence on his part?

(d) What was the loss sustained by the demolition and reconstruction of these domes?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Presumably the Honourable Member refers to the Chattris on the North Block which were erected in 1925. They were demolished as they were not approved and it was decided to modify the design and reduce the numbers.

(b) No.

(c) Does not arise.

(d) A saving has been effected by modifying the design and reducing the numbers it was proposed to build.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May we know what has happened to the smaller dome up here?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Sir, I submit that that question does not arise.

RETENTION OF THE SERVICES OF MR. CORRIGAN IN THE PUBLIC WORKS DEPARTMENT, NEW DELHI.

1052. ***Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Jogiah:** (a) Is not Mr. Corrigan an officer retired from service before 1920?

(b) Was he re-entertained in the Public Works Department of New Delhi at the age of 60 in 1920?

(c) Was an extension of service granted to him last year?

(d) If so, was the question of his negligence in giving a wrong plan for the domes and the loss which he caused to Government considered? If so, why was the extension of service sanctioned?

(e) Is it a fact that, when his extension or re-appointment came up for consideration the Accounts Officer objected to his appointment on the ground that there were no funds available for continuing the post?

(f) Is it a fact that a number of draftsmen who had put in service ranging from 6 to 14 years were discharged on the ground of reduction of establishment and funds were made available for continuing the services of Mr. Corrigan? If so, will Government be pleased to state why this was done?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes.

(d) Government have no knowledge of any incident such as that referred to.

(e) The Accounts Officer pointed out that there was no budget provision for this particular appointment.

(f) A number of draftsmen have been or are being brought under reduction owing to the reorganisation of the drawing office. This reorganisation and reduction had no reference to the provision of funds for the retention of Mr. Corrigan.

CLASSIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINISTERIAL OFFICERS OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

1053. ***Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (1) Will Government be pleased to say if the classification of administrative and ministerial officers was revised for the Postal Department in 1918?

(2) If so, will Government please give reasons for putting the entire non-gazetted officers under ministerial irrespective of the class of work on which they are employed?

(8) Does not article 36 of the Civil Service Regulations require that classification of officers "Administrative" and "Ministerial" should be based on the nature of the work on which an officer is employed and is it not according to this rule that the subordinates in the Telegraph Branch are classified?

(4) Are not telegraphists and telegraph masters who are non-gazetted officers classed as administrative officers?

(5) Are Government prepared to reconsider the question pertaining to the Postal Department and declare all officers in selection grades as "Administrative officers"?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (1) Yes.

(2) As the non-gazetted officials of the Post Office do not perform administrative duties they were classed as ministerial.

(3) The Classification of subordinates in the Telegraph Branch is made under Fundamental Rule Number 9, Section (17), which has replaced Article Number 36, Civil Service Regulations.

(4) Telegraphists and telegraph masters are classed as non-ministerial.

(5) The question is under examination.

GRANT OF LICENCES TO VENDORS ON RAILWAY PLATFORMS.

1054. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the rules under which the vendors are given licences to sell articles on the railway platforms?

(b) Are the rules in this connection uniform on all the railways?

(c) Are the vendors charged any licensing fees? If so, how much?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (c). The usual practice is to allow only authorised vendors to sell articles on station platforms, and they have to pay a small license fee to the railway authorities. The amount of the fee is left to Agents to decide.

(b) I cannot say if the practice I have just mentioned is uniform on all railways, but it is certainly followed on most.

CONTRACTS FOR THE SALE OF ARTICLES ON RAILWAY PLATFORMS ON THE BOMBAY, BARODA AND CENTRAL INDIA RAILWAY.

1055. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Is it a fact that on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India and East Indian Railways in some of the divisions the contracts are given for the sale of articles on the railway platforms by charging a licensing fee from the contractors? If so, will Government be pleased to state the divisions wherein this practice prevails and will the Government be further pleased to state the amount charged from the contractors for giving such contracts?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The answer to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The fees charged for stall-keepers on the Bombay,

Baroda and Central India Railway vary from Rs. 60 to Rs. 120 per annum, except in the Bombay District where the fees range from Rs. 100 to 1,000. Itinerant vendors on station platforms pay Rs. 12 to 60. Similar information as regards the East Indian Railway is not available.

RECRUITMENT OF COOLIES ON THE DIFFERENT RAILWAYS.

1056. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the procedure adopted for the recruitment of coolies on the different railways? Is the procedure uniform on all the railways?

(b) Has the attention of Government been invited to the fact that the coolies on all the big stations such as Delhi, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Moradabad, etc., have to pay to their jamadars and other officers exorbitant sums out of their earnings and that consequently they charge much higher rates from the passengers than the sanctioned rates?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The methods of recruiting coolies vary on different railways and at different stations on the same railway; there is no stereotyped procedure.

(b) No.

ISSUE OF TICKETS TO THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS AT THE DELHI RAILWAY STATION.

1057. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the rule for the opening of the third class booking office at Delhi station?

(b) Has the attention of Government been invited to the fact that the tickets are not issued to the third class passengers at the Delhi railway station till half an hour before the departure time of the train?

(c) Are Government aware that at the Delhi station third class passengers are put to a great inconvenience in obtaining their tickets?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) It is open throughout the 24 hours.

(b) No.

(c) No complaints have been received by Government to this effect.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Are Government aware that in the course of my budget speech last year I brought this matter to the notice of Government, but that since then no improvement has taken place in the matter of the opening of the third class booking office at Delhi railway station?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I was unfortunately not here to hear the Honourable Member's budget speech last year.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Am I to take it that Government do not read the budget speeches of Honourable Members on this side of the House? (Laughter.)

ISSUE OF TICKETS TO THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS AT HAPUR STATION ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1058. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the instructions issued to the railway authorities at Hapur station (East Indian Railway) as regards the issuing of the tickets to third class passengers?

(b) Does the booking office for the third class passengers at Hapur station remain open for all the twenty-four hours or is it required to be open only a few minutes before the departure time of the trains? If the booking office is not required to be open all the twenty-four hours will Government be pleased to state the average number of tickets issued daily at the Hapur station (East Indian Railway)?

(c) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of making it a rule to keep open the booking office for third class passengers at Hapur railway station?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The Honourable Member is referred to paragraph 76(b) of the East Indian Railway Time Table and Guide in force from March 1927.

(b) The booking for all classes of passengers at Hapur station is open from 6 to 18 hours daily. The average number of tickets issued daily at Hapur station is not known.

(c) The question of what hours booking offices at particular stations should remain open must necessarily be left to the Agent.

NUMBER OF STUDENTS AT THE ROYAL MILITARY COLLEGE AT DEHRA DUN.

1059. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of students at the Royal Military College at Dehra Dun?

(b) How many of these students are Hindus and how many of them are Mahomedans?

(c) What arrangement is made for teaching Urdu and Hindi to the students of this College?

(d) Are the students required to take up Hindi or Urdu as one of the subjects for their examinations?

(e) How many teachers are employed to teach Hindi to the students who want to take up this vernacular as their subject for the examination?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The number on the 1st March 1927 was 78.

(b) Hindus 21; Muhammadans 26.

(c) Competent teachers of both languages are employed.

(d) In the College examinations Urdu is an obligatory subject and Hindi is optional.

(e) Two.

WEEK-END CONCESSION TICKETS ON THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1060. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the rules for the issuing of week-end concession tickets on the East Indian Railway?

(b) Are these tickets issued on Sundays as well?

(c) Is it not a fact that a large number of people do not enjoy this privilege as the tickets are not available on Sundays?

(d) Do Government propose to consider the advisability of issuing week-end tickets on Sundays as well?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). The Honourable Member is referred to pages XVII_d and XVI_e of the East Indian Railway Time Table.

(c) Government have no information on the subject.

(d) This is a matter within the competence of the Agent, East Indian Railway, and Government do not propose to take the action suggested in the Honourable Member's question.

PURCHASE OF COAL FOR STATE RAILWAYS.

1061. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that coal for Indian State Railways is purchased mostly from British firms?

(b) If the answer to part (a) is in the affirmative, will they be pleased to state the reasons for this preference?

(c) If the answer to part (a) is in the negative, will they be pleased to state the names of all the firms from which coal has been purchased during the last three years?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply which I gave to starred question No. 409, on the 15th February 1927.

(c) The details are now published in the Indian Trade Journal. Those for 1926-27 and 1927-1928 will be found in the issues of 11th February, 1926, and 24th February, 1927, respectively. Special arrangements were made for our supplies for 1925-1926.

COST OF ALTERATIONS TO THE AMERICAN WAGONS PURCHASED IN 1918 FOR INDIAN RAILWAYS.

1062. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that Messrs. Burn and Co., Ltd., Howrah, were given an advance of a crore of rupees for carrying out certain alterations to the American wagons purchased by the Secretary of State in 1918 for Indian Railways?

(b) Have the Government obtained the information as promised in reply to a question on the 15th February, 1927, as to the original and the final estimates of the cost of alterations to those wagons?

(c) If not, when do they expect to obtain particulars?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) No.

(b) and (c). The Government hope to obtain the information by the end of this month.

COST OF VARIOUS TYPES OF CARRIAGES IN USE ON THE RAILWAYS.

1063. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government be pleased to state the cost of construction in 1925-26:

(a) of a completely furnished first class railway carriage,

(b) of a fully furnished second class railway carriage,

(c) of a fully equipped intermediate class railway carriage, and

(d) of a fully equipped third class railway carriage,

that ply on each of the broad gauge railways and the metre gauge lines in India?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I am having such information as is available in the Railway Board's office collected and will send it to the Honourable Member when it is ready.

EXPENDITURE ON THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RAILWAY STATIONS ON STATE RAILWAYS.

1064. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of main or important railway station buildings on State Railways that have been or are being demolished for erecting new buildings in their place and the total amount of cost involved in such reconstructions?

(b) Will they further be pleased to state the reasons for such reconstruction in each case, with the dates as to when such stations were originally built?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). The information is not readily available and Government do not consider it advisable to put the State Railway Administrations to the labour and trouble of compiling it.

GUARANTEE FUND, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1065. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** Will Government be pleased to state whether the East Indian Railway prior to 1925 had a Fund called the Guarantee Fund? If so, will Government please state:

(a) what are the objects of the Fund,

(b) the amount of monies held by the Fund on 31st December, 1924, and

(c) how such monies are disposed of?

AMOUNTS UTILISED FOR REIMBURSEMENTS FOR LOSSES FROM THE GUARANTEE FUND, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1066. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** Is it the primary object of the Guarantee Fund to reimburse the Railway against losses suffered by it caused through misdemeanour, neglect or any other cause provided for in the rules of the Fund? If so, will Government please state:

(a) what sums of money have been utilised for purposes of such reimbursements during the year 1924?

(b) what were the specific cases in which losses were suffered by the Railway and if such cases were taken to Court and the culprits punished before reimbursements were made?

(c) whether such culprits were members of the Guarantee Fund?

PROCEDURE FOLLOWED BY THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY IN REIMBURSING ITSELF FOR LOSSES CAUSED BY THE STAFF.

1067. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** In a case where the Railway alleges having suffered losses caused by its staff who are members of the Guarantee Fund, will Government please state:

(a) whether the railway punishes such members by deducting half the amount of their Provident Fund subscriptions and transferring the same to the Fine Fund instead of applying the

Funds of the Guarantee Fund to reimburse it against the alleged losses?

- (b) whether such punishment is inflicted with a view to recovering more than the amount of the alleged losses;
- (c) what the total amount deducted from the Provident Fund monies of the six dismissed men in the cotton waste case was; and
- (d) what the exact value of the alleged losses in the cotton waste case was?

PROCEDURE FOLLOWED BY THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY IN REIMBURSING ITSELF FOR LOSSES CAUSED BY THE STAFF.

1068. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney**: Is it a fact that such deduction from the members, Provident Fund amounts are transferred to the Fine Fund? If so, under what legal authority is this done?

SUBSCRIPTIONS TO THE GUARANTEE FUND FROM THE EMPLOYEES OF THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1069. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney**: Will Government please state the exact month for which the subscriptions to the Guarantee Fund were deducted from the East Indian Railway employees' salaries for the year 1924, and whether the dividends payable to its members were paid to such employees who were dismissed during 1924 after having deducted their subscriptions for 1924? If not, why not?

THE GUARANTEE FUND, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

1070. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney**: (a) Since the East Indian Railway has become a State Railway, does the Guarantee Fund still operate? If not, will Government please state how the monies of the Fund have been disposed of and the exact amount accounted for?

(b) If in existence, what was the total amount standing to its credit at the end of 1925 and did the East Indian Railway reimburse itself from this Fund for the loss suffered by it in the matter of the alleged fraud in the Lowmoor iron case, when two high officials were dismissed?

(c) What was the total amount deducted from the Provident Fund of these two high officials and how does it compare with the actual loss suffered by the Railway in this case?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I propose, with your permission, Sir, to answer questions Nos. 1065 to 1070 together.

The information is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member in due course.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Does the Honourable Member require more than the stipulated ten days' notice to answer questions?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I require in this case more than ten days to collect all the information for which the Honourable Member has asked.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Is it the case that Government want more time to give replies to questions when they consider that replies are not convenient?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I think it is very rarely that the Government of India consider that a reply is not convenient.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: May I ask the Honourable Member if he will inform me whether I can get a reply before this House dissembles?

AMALGAMATION OF THE PUBLIC WORKS BRANCH WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

1071. ***Mr. M. Yusuf Imam:** (a) Will Government be pleased to give the number of receipts and issues for three months from June to August 1926 of the work done in each section of the Public Works Branch of the Department of Industries and Labour and also the number of men employed for their disposal?

(b) Is it a fact that there are two cashiers for distributing the pay of about 25 men and 2 officers; if so, do Government propose to abolish one of the posts?

(c) Is it a fact that the Budget work of the Public Works Branch which was previously done by two men only is now being done by a Superintendent and four Assistants?

(d) Is it a fact that owing to the Reforms a great deal of work has been diminished?

(e) Is it a fact that one Assistant Secretary is employed for the performance of the Budget work, and if so, what work does he do when the Budget is over?

(f) Is it a fact that the payment of bills for publications and the distribution of stationery is being done by the Department of Industries and Labour?

(g) Will Government be pleased to state whether they intend to amalgamate the Public Works Branch with the Department of Industries and Labour and abolish the post of the Assistant Secretary, a Superintendent and a cashier and thus relieve the tax-payer of the burden of the sum of Rs. 1,800 per mensem?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The Public Works Branch of the Department of Industries and Labour comprises three regular sections, *viz.*, Works, Establishments, and Accounts and General, and the number of receipts and issues in each of these sections during the period June to August 1926 was as follows:

	Receipts.	Issues.
Works	538	275
Establishments	500	489
Accounts and General	816	669
Total	1,854	1,433

The number of men employed for their disposal was 30.

(b) A cashier and assistant cashier are employed. They have many duties besides that of disbursing pay, and Government do not, for the present, propose to abolish either post.

(c) No.

(d) There have been certain reductions in work owing to the introduction of the Reforms, in consequence of which the Public Works Department was reduced to a branch of the Industries and Labour Department and the number of sections from 5 to 3.

(e) No.

(f) Yes, but in the case of bills for publications these are first passed by the Public Works Branch.

(g) The question of amalgamation is receiving consideration.

**EXTENSION OF SERVICE GRANTED TO MR. C. H. WITHERS, FOREMAN
ELECTRICAL DEPARTMENT, CARRIAGE AND WAGON, MOGHULPURA,
NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.**

1072. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state whether the 55 years retiring age limit is applicable alike to consolidated and daily paid staff in the State Railways?

(2) Are Government aware that at an official meeting held on 18th December, 1925, in the office of the Agent, North Western Railway, it was decided that no extension of service beyond the age of 55 years is to be given to any staff other than menial or daily rated workshop staff?

(3) Are Government aware that such a decision on the part of the Agent is contrary to the Fundamental Rules which bear the seal of approval of the Government of India?

(4) Will Government please state whether, when extensions of service to meet the exigencies of the Railway are given to monthly paid staff as was done in the case of Mr. C. H. Withers, Foreman, Electrical Department, Carriage and Wagon, Moghulpura, these employees forfeit all claims to leave and furlough which in Mr. Withers' case amounted to 15 months' furlough, 3 months' war bonus leave and six months' recognised leave prior to retirement? If so, what is the period of compensatory extension of service? What was the period of extension granted to Mr. Withers?

(5) Did the Electrical Engineer strongly recommend further extension of service in Mr. Withers' case?

(6) Are Government prepared to consider the question of giving Mr. Withers a "compensation gratuity" as is being done on the East Indian Railway?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have no information with regard to the individual case of Mr. Withers which is mentioned by the Honourable Member, and do not propose to take any action with regard to it. As a general rule, and apart from any specific provisions contained in a service contract, the Fundamental Rules, including rule 56 which deals with superannuation, apply to monthly rated employees on the North Western Railway. Under rule 86 of those rules no leave can extend more than six months beyond the date on which a Government servant must compulsorily retire, or, if he is granted an extension of service, more than six months beyond the date on which he ceases to discharge his duties. In any case, it is entirely within the competence of the Agent to determine whether extensions should be granted after the age of 55, or what leave should be granted to an officer whose service has been extended.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member please inform me whether he countenances any action on the part of the Agent which is contrary to or against the Fundamental Rules?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I should not countenance action taken by an Agent contrary to the Fundamental Rules where they apply.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Does the Honourable Member admit that the Fundamental rules apply in this case? That is the specific part of my question, the crux of the whole matter.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I have already informed the Honourable Member that Government have no information with regard to this individual case.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will Government kindly get information on the case?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No, Sir.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Why not, Sir?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: On the facts stated by the Honourable Member I see no reason why Government should call for information; for I see no reason to believe that there has been any action on the part of the Agent of the North-Western Railway which requires interference on our part.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I am awfully sorry, Sir, to ask another supplementary question, but the Honourable Member, I must say, has evaded my question. He has not given me any reply to it. When I ask a question, Sir, I expect a reply.

Mr. K. Ahmed: In view of the fact that the Government of India from time to time, Sir, from 1921, since I came to this Assembly, have been putting off Members by not giving sufficient answers to questions relating to the Railway Department, do Government propose now, for the benefit of the country, to bring in the Agents here to reply to questions put by Honourable Members? (No reply was given.)

Mr. K. Ahmed: Another question, Sir. In view of the fact also that the Government of India are unable to answer certain questions regarding Railways on the pretext, or on the ground, that the Agents are not here and they are not able to answer those questions themselves, do Government propose now to state under what authority or the provisions of law, or rules and Standing Orders of this Assembly, Honourable Members are debarred from getting the answers to which they are entitled?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: May I again also ask the Honourable Member to reply to my supplementary question? I am awaiting a reply.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: To which supplementary question does the Honourable Member require a reply?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I see there is no use asking any more questions; I am sorry, for I can see the Honourable Member cannot reply to them.

CASE OF POSTAL RECRUITED TELEGRAPHISTS.

1073. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney**: (1) With reference to the Honourable Member's answer to my question No. 508, dated 18th February, 1927, is the Honourable Member aware that the postal recruited telegraphists did not volunteer to transfer themselves from the Postal to the Telegraph Department, but responded to Government's call when they were considering the amalgamation of the Post and Telegraph Departments?

(2) Is it not a fact that these loyal servants who have had, in many cases, more than 10 years' service in the Postal Department are compelled to wait for another 15 years to reach their efficiency bar in the Telegraph Department, and to appear for their efficiency bar test at the old age of well over 40 years?

(3) Are Government prepared to reconsider their decision and remedy this grievance of these servants of the State?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (1) It is not a fact that the postal recruited telegraphists "did not volunteer" for transfer to the Telegraph Department. In notifying the revised rules in 1913 for recruitment to the Local Service, the Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs, made it known that postal signallers were eligible for transfer to the Telegraph Department on certain conditions which were clearly defined. It was laid down that the selection of suitable postal hands was to be made from those who "desired" a transfer to the Telegraph Department. There was thus no "call" for men and selection was made only when vacancies occurred in the Local Scale of the Department.

(2) Yes, but under the existing rules telegraphists in the General or Local Service reach the efficiency bar at the end of fifteen years' service; while a Station Service telegraphist becomes due to pass the efficiency bar at the end of ten years' service and no relaxation of rules can be made in favour of postal recruited telegraphists.

(3) Government have recently reconsidered the matter but found no justification for modifying the previous orders.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member kindly inform me whether at that time there was an urgent need for extra telegraphists or not and these men responded to that urgency?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The answer is in the negative. I may for the information of the Honourable Member and of the House state that the decision of Government was based on the recommendation of a Committee of which my Honourable and gallant friend was a member.

INCLUSION OF ECONOMICS AND HISTORY AS QUALIFYING SUBJECTS FOR
THE EXAMINATION FOR THE SUPERIOR TRAFFIC AND COMMERCIAL
BRANCHES OF THE STATE RAILWAYS.

1074. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney**: With reference to the Superior Traffic and Commercial Branches of the State Railways, will Government be pleased to state whether besides a degree in Science, Economics and History will be accepted as qualifying for this Examination? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is referred to part (f) of the reply given to Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's question No. 170 on the 1st March, 1927.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Question No. 1075.

Sir Walter Willson: On a point of order, Sir. Should not the Honourable Member rise when he puts a question?

Mr. President: I would ask the Honourable Member to rise when he puts a question.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I did, Sir,—twice.

SEPARATE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1075. ***Sir Hari Singh Gour:** (a) Are Government aware of the inconvenience to which Members of the Legislative Assembly are put owing to the fact that the Assembly has no separate Department of its own?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state when they propose to separate the Department relating to the Assembly from that of the Legislative Department?

Mr. L. Graham: (a) Government are not aware that any inconvenience has been felt.

(b) The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the first part of the reply given on the 16th instant to Sardar Gulab Singh's question on the subject.

QUALIFICATIONS FOR PILOTS, HARBOUR MASTERS, ASSISTANT HARBOUR MASTERS, ETC.

1076. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state if a certificate of competency as master is necessary for any one who wishes to enter the Pilot Service at Bombay, Karachi, Calcutta, Rangoon, Madras and at other Indian ports where pilots are appointed?

(2) Will Government be pleased to state the qualifications necessary for the posts of Harbour Masters, Assistant Harbour Masters, Dock Masters, Assistant Dock Masters, and Berthing Masters appointed by the various Port Trusts in India?

(3) Will Government be pleased to state the total number of each of the following officers at the ports in India giving separate figures for Indian and non-Indian officers?

(a) Shipping Masters.

(b) Port Officers.

(c) Pilots.

(d) Dock Masters.

(e) Harbour Masters.

(f) Assistant Dock Masters.

(g) Assistant Harbour Masters.

(h) Berthing Masters.

(4) Will Government be pleased to state the steps that they propose to take for the training of engineer officers for steamers?

(5) Will Government be pleased to state when they propose to take action on the recommendation of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee

in connection with the reservation of the coasting trade of India to Indian shipping?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (1) A certificate of competency as master is necessary for anyone who wishes to enter the pilot service at Bombay, Karachi and Rangoon. It is not necessary at Calcutta, where officers are first appointed to the Bengal Pilot Service as leadsmen apprentices. There is no pilot service at Madras. At other ports the practice varies.

(2) Different qualifications are required by different Port Trusts. Generally speaking, the essential qualification is sea experience, and in the case of Harbour Masters and Assistant Harbour Masters a certificate of competency as master is ordinarily required.

(3) I am having a statement compiled, and will send it to the Honourable Member in due course.

(4) The question is under consideration.

(5) I would refer the Honourable Member to the debate in this House on the 19th March last year on Sir Sivaswamy Aiyer's Resolution on the recommendations of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: With regard to the answer to part 3 of my question, I think the Government gave a similar reply to Mr. B. Das two or three years ago, that a statement was being prepared. I do not know whether that statement has since been prepared and sent to Mr. Das. I do not want the statement for my personal use, but I want it to be placed on the table.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The answer to the first part of the question is, I think Mr. B. Das is the best person to whom this question should be put.

As regards the second part, we prefer not to lay these answers on the table because of the expense of printing, and I should prefer to send the statement to the Honourable Member if he desires it.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With reference to the answer to part 5 of this question, may I know, if the opinions which the Honourable the Commerce Member expressed last year were the opinions of his Department or of the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member knows perfectly well that when the Commerce Member speaks in this House he speaks for the Government of India.

APPOINTMENT OF QUALIFIED SECOND DIVISION CANDIDATES TO THE FIRST DIVISION IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

1077. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Will Government state whether:

- (a) Is it a fact that there are a few permanent employees in the second division of the Government of India Secretariat establishment who have qualified for the first division by passing the first division test of the late Staff Selection Board, but have not yet been absorbed in that division in their own Departments owing to absence of vacancies?

- (b) It is a fact that there are Departments where there is not a single man of the second division who has qualified himself by passing the first division test and there are others where there is a large number of such men?
- (c) It is a fact that, in spite of the existence of a large number of such candidates in the Home Department, the Department of Education, Health and Lands and several other Departments, the Staff Selection Board recommended fresh second division passed recruits for filling the appointments of the first division in some Departments?
- (d) It is a fact that, in the beginning of the last year, two men were recruited in the Finance Department through the late Staff Selection Board for first division appointments but who were only qualified for the second division and not for the first division?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) Yes.

(b) I am aware of one such Department only.

(c) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given on the 1st March to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question No. 679.

(d) The two men in question had secured marks up to the upper division standard. They have since been declared to be eligible for the upper division on the recommendation of the Public Service Commission.

RECRUITMENT BY THE FINANCE DEPARTMENT OF TWO SECOND DIVISION QUALIFIED MEN IN THE FIRST DIVISION.

1078. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons why the two second division qualified men were recruited by the Finance Department in the first division when other candidates who have passed for the first division were available in the other Departments of the Government of India Secretariats? Is it a fact that at the time of the recruitment of those two candidates the Finance Department had a rule or a convention to the effect that those men who are permanent in the second division of other Departments but are qualified by the late Staff Selection Board for the upper division would not be recruited in the first division vacancies of that department?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the year when that rule or convention was made and whether it was made with the knowledge and permission of the Honourable Member for Finance or of his Secretary? If the answer be in the negative, then who introduced it and in what year?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether towards the end of the same year, i.e., 1926, the same rule or convention was done away with in favour of certain departmental candidates from the Home Department and other Departments, and, if so, what were the reasons for so doing?

(d) Is it a fact that such Departmental candidates who passed the first division test of the late Staff Selection Board as far back as 1920, are still unprovided with such appointments? If so, do Government propose to consider these small number of cases favourably, and do they propose to ask the Public Service Commission to devise means for their early absorption in the first division before any outsider is recruited in the first division vacancies of the different Departments of the Government of India Secretariat?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The men were up to the upper division standard, and the Public Service Commission have since declared them as qualified for that division without further examination. They were taken in pursuance of the rule referred to by the Honourable Member.

(b) The papers have not been preserved; but the rule is an old one.

(c) The rule had to be relaxed in the cases referred to as no suitable candidates possessing the qualifications required by it were available.

(d) I would invite attention to the answer given by the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman on 14th March, 1927 to a similar question by Mr. Ranga Iyer.

EMPLOYMENT OF THE TAX COLLECTOR IN THE OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICER, BARODA CANTONMENT, TO PREPARE AN ASSESSMENT LIST IN TERMS OF SECTION 72 OF ACT II OF 1924.

1079. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Is it a fact that the Cantonment Authority at Baroda has had an assessment list prepared in terms of section 72 of Act II of 1924 and that the assessment list as prepared in 1926, was made by the Tax Collector in the office of the Executive Officer, Baroda Cantonment?

(b) If the answer to this question is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to say whether assessment and collection of taxes are not treated as two distinct functions?

(c) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state why the Tax Collector was employed to prepare the assessment list?

PRINCIPLES FOR VALUATION AND ASSESSMENT IN THE BARODA CANTONMENT.

1081. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Will Government be pleased to say whether in terms of section 66 of Act II of 1924, the Local Government for Baroda Cantonment has prescribed any forms or rules for the guidance of the assessor, laying down the principles upon which the valuation and assessment are to be based, with a view to secure uniformity and correctness of valuation throughout?

ANNUAL RENT OF HOUSES IN BARODA CANTONMENT.

1082. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Are Government aware that a resolution passed by the Cantonment Committee in violation of a regulation laid down by the Supreme Government in respect of the Baroda Cantonment Taxation Regulations contained in Notification No. 664, dated 14th December, 1882, and published in the *Bombay Government Gazette*, Part I, had to receive the sanction of the Government of India before it could be put into force?

(b) If the answer to the above is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to say whether sanction in respect of resolution No. 10, passed by the Cantonment Board on 20th February, 1913, at Baroda Camp, authorising the Cantonment authorities to fix the annual rent of houses at 10 per cent. of the valuation, was obtained?

(c) If the answer to the above is in the negative, are Government prepared to refuse sanction to the above-mentioned resolution?

Mr. G. M. Young: With your permission, Sir, I propose, to answer starred questions Nos. 1079, 1081 and 1082 together.

I am making inquiries and will let the Honourable Member know the result as soon as possible.

FUNCTIONS OF THE ASSESSMENT COMMITTEE APPOINTED BY THE CANTONMENT AUTHORITY UNDER SECTION 68 (3) OF ACT II OF 1924.

1080. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Are Government prepared to say what the functions are of the Assessment Committee appointed by the Cantonment authority under section 68, sub-section (3), of Act II of 1924?

Mr. G. M. Young: The functions are laid down in the sub-section referred to by the Honourable Member and in section 69.

RETRENCHMENT OF EXPENDITURE IN BARODA CANTONMENT.

1083. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Are Government aware (i) that the Baroda Cantonment at present has a population (civil) of about 2,455 and (ii) that the total net receipts of the Cantonment Fund amount to Rs. 16,650, and (iii) that the aggregate charges of general administration and collection of revenue come to Rs. 5,400, and absorb nearly one-third of the net receipts?

(b) Are Government aware that the charges on general administration and collection of revenue together of the Ambala Cantonment bear a ratio of 11 per cent. of the total receipts while that of Baroda is three times higher?

(c) Are Government aware that the larger part of this expenditure is in connection with the salaries of the office staff?

(d) Do Government propose to direct the Cantonment authority at Baroda to make retrenchment in the office staff and in office expenditure as well?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a), (b), (c) and (d). The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given by my predecessor on the 31st August, 1926, to Khan Bahadur Hussanally's question No. 263.

The expenditure on general administration and collections of revenue in Ambala is between 13 per cent. and 14 per cent. of the total receipts and not 11 per cent. In Baroda it is about 28 per cent., and not 33 per cent. The Ambala figures do not include the pay of the Executive Officer which is paid by Government and amounts to Rs. 20,000 per annum and in any case the percentage in a very small cantonment like Baroda is bound to be higher than in a large one.

EXEMPTION OF GRAIN FROM OCTROI DUTY IN BARODA CANTONMENT.

1084. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** Are Government aware that till November, 1925, grain of all sorts was exempted from octroi duty in the Baroda Cantonment, and that since then grain has been included in the schedule of articles liable to octroi duty and that this has become a great hardship to the poorer classes of the population? Do Government propose to take steps to exempt grain from the octroi duty, as was the case before?

Mr. G. M. Young: Government are aware that octroi duty at the rate of one anna a maund has been imposed upon grains of all sorts entering

the Baroda Cantonment, with effect from the 16th November, 1925, under the Resident of Baroda's Notification, dated the 10th December, 1925. The matter is within the discretion of the Resident, to whom, however, a copy of my Honourable friend's question and of this reply, will be sent.

EMPLOYMENT OF QUALIFIED STATE VETERINARY SCHOLARS IN THE INDIAN CIVIL VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

1085. ***Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state if any scholars were selected in 1921, for visiting the United Kingdom for acquiring Veterinary Diplomas, making them eligible for appointment to the Imperial Branch of the Indian Civil Veterinary Department?

(2) If so, is it a fact that one of the terms on which they accepted the scholarship was, that they would be "required on qualifying for appointment to the Indian Civil Veterinary Department, to sign articles of agreement setting forth the terms and conditions of their appointment"?

(3) Is it a fact, that in spite of this, the scholars who qualified themselves as required by Government were not given such articles of agreement for signature?

(4) If so, why?

(5) Is it a fact that Government have replied to the scholars, who have returned long after qualifying themselves in the requisite test, that the Department having been transferred to the Local Governments, representation may be made to the latter direct?

(6) Have the Central Government themselves issued the necessary instructions to Local Governments to recognise the claims of the said scholars? If so, with what result?

EMPLOYMENT OF QUALIFIED STATE VETERINARY SCHOLARS IN THE INDIAN CIVIL VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

1086. ***Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** (a) Is it a fact that the limit of the appointment by the Local Governments is restricted to Rs. 250, and that the starting pay of the scholars in question under the scale provided in the Regulations for the grant of State Scholarships is Rs. 350?

(b) If so, what steps have Government taken or intend taking for the employment of these scholars?

EMPLOYMENT OF QUALIFIED STATE VETERINARY SCHOLARS IN THE INDIAN CIVIL VETERINARY DEPARTMENT.

1087. ***Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas:** (1) Is it a fact that one of the terms on which these scholars accepted the scholarship was, that "on their obtaining the diploma of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons, and undergoing successfully the prescribed post-graduate course, they will be given preferential claim to employment in the Indian Civil Veterinary Department"?

(2) If so, is it a fact that the Punjab and the Bengal Governments have appointed non-scholars in spite of the applications of the scholars above-mentioned pending before them, and in spite of one of the scholars having passed the B. Sc. Examination in Veterinary Science of the London University?

(9) If so, will Government be pleased to state what provision Government intend to make for those scholars who relied on the explicit undertaking of the Government to employ them on their qualifying themselves?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: With your permission, Sir, I should like to reply to questions Nos. 1085, 1086 and 1087 together.

The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the answer given by me on 18th August, 1926, to his question No. 76 which he has now repeated in almost identical terms. Government have nothing to add to the replies then given.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE TRAFFIC BRANCH OF THE RAILWAY SERVICE.

1088. ***Mr. Harchandral Vishindas:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state how many candidates who sat at the last railway examination held by the Public Service Commission were appointed in the Traffic Branch of the railway service, who were neither graduates of Engineering nor of Science?

(2) How many of the candidates who were neither Engineering nor Science graduates but who had practical training on British railways were admitted to the examination and how many were successful?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (1) Two of the six candidates appointed are graduates neither of Science nor of Engineering.

(2) Three candidates who were neither Science nor Engineering graduates but had practical experience on British railways were admitted to the examination. None were successful.

CLASSIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINISTERIAL OFFICERS OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

1089. ***Mr. D. V. Belvi:** (a) Will Government be pleased to say if the classification of administrative and ministerial officers was revised for the Postal Department in 1918?

(b) If so, will Government please give reasons for putting the entire non-gazetted officers under "Ministerial" irrespective of the class of work on which they are employed?

CLASSIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINISTERIAL OFFICERS OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

1090. ***Mr. D. V. Belvi:** (a) Does article 36 of the Civil Service Regulations require that classification of officers "Administrative" and "Ministerial" should be based on the nature of the work on which an officer is employed and is it not according to this rule that the subordinates in the Telegraph Branch are classified?

(b) Are not telegraphists and telegraph masters who are non-gazetted officers classed as administrative officers?

(c) Are Government prepared to reconsider the question of declaring all officers in selection grades of the Postal Department as "Administrative officers"?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: With your permission, Sir, I will deal with questions Nos. 1089 and 1090 together; and invite the Honourable Member's attention to the reply given to-day to Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer's starred question No. 1053 on the same subject.

SEPARATE STAFF FOR THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1091. ***Dr. B. S. Moonje:** Will Government be pleased to state if they have come to any decision regarding the desirability of separating the staff of the Legislative Assembly from that of the Legislative Department?

Mr. L. Graham: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the first part of the reply given on the 16th instant to Sardar Gulab Singh's question on the subject.

SUPPLY, FREE OF CHARGE, OF ASSESSMENT ORDERS IN RESPECT OF INCOME-TAX TO ASSESSEES IN DELHI.

1092. ***Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Are Government aware that copies of assessment orders in respect of income-tax are not given to the assessee at Delhi, free of charge, as provided for in paragraph 73 of the Income-tax Manual, 1925?

(b) Do Government propose to make inquiries and take suitable steps to see that the Income-tax Department does not commit any more breach?

(c) Is it a fact that copying fees are charged in respect of such assessment copies?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state the amount of such copying fees realized every year since 1922?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have not the requisite information on this subject. They will make enquiries and communicate the result to the Honourable Member. At the same time I would point out that though copying fees should not be charged for copies of assessment orders, and though such orders are exempt from court fees when required merely for the personal use of the assessee, they are not exempt from court fees when required to be filed as exhibits—for example in appeal.

DEDUCTION OF INTEREST ON MORTGAGE PERMISSIBLE UNDER SECTION 9 (1) (iv) OF THE INCOME-TAX ACT, 1922.

1093. ***Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Are Government aware that the deduction of interest on mortgage permissible under section 9 (1) (iv) of the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, is not allowed to assessee before actual payment?

(b) Is it a fact that the charge of interest continues on the property irrespective of payment?

(c) Is it a fact that income-tax is levied on the annual value of the property and not its income, and that there are decided English cases to the effect that the actual rental value is the rental value minus interest?

(d) Do Government propose to issue instructions that the interest should be allowed on production of the copy of mortgage deed?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) to (d). Some doubt has been felt as to the correct procedure in regard to this matter. The question was therefore referred by one Commissioner of Income-tax to a High Court. The Government understand that a decision was recently pronounced. When a copy of it is received orders will be issued in accordance with it.

ALLOWANCE OF BAD DEBTS ARISING OUT OF IRRECOVERABLE ARREARS OF RENT TO INCOME-TAX ASSESSEES.

1094. ***Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Are Government aware that bad debts arising out of irrecoverable arrears of rent is not allowed to assesses as a permissible deduction on the plea that the income-tax is levied on the annual value and not on the rental income of the property?

(b) Are Government aware that in England the payer of rent is liable to deduct the tax and pay to Government and therefore the owners of property have not to pay the income-tax on the rent which they could not recover?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The Honourable Member has correctly stated the Indian law on this subject.

(b) The law in England differs in this as in other respects from the law in India.

REDUCTION OF FEES CHARGED UNDER THE INCOME-TAX ACT, 1922.

1095. ***Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Is it a fact that no lesser sum than Rs. 100 as contemplated by section 66 (2) of the Indian Income-tax Act, 1922, is prescribed as yet for making a reference to the High Court?

(b) Are Government aware that the fee charged in England under section 149 (c) of the Income-tax Act, 1918 (8 and 9 George 5 Ch. 40), is only twenty shillings?

(c) Are Government prepared to reduce the fee at least to the same level as in England?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The Honourable Member's statement appears to be correct.

(c) The answer is in the negative.

ASSESSMENT TO INCOME-TAX OF AMOUNTS PAID BY THEIR CUSTOMERS TO COMMISSION AGENTS FOR CHARITABLE PURPOSES.

1096. ***Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Are Government aware that commission agents charge some amount from their customers at a fixed rate for charity and which they debit to the customers and credit to the account of that particular charity, but the Income-tax Department includes all the receipts under charity as their own income, and ignores the payments under that head?

(b) Are Government prepared to make inquiries and take steps to remove this procedure?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The subject to which the Honourable Member refers is already under the consideration of the Central Board of Revenue.

INSTITUTION OF PROFESSIONAL ACCOUNTANTS IN INDIA.

1097. ***Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Are Government contemplating the advisability of forming some institution of professional accountants in India, on the lines of recognised Societies of Accountants in the United Kingdom, and, if so, what steps have Government taken so far?

(b) Will Government lay on the table all the papers in this connection?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) and (b). As announced by Lord Reading at the annual meeting of the Associated Chambers of Commerce held in Calcutta in December 1925, the Government of India are considering measures for the training and registration of auditors to ensure a higher standard of professional training and practice. The matter is still only in the preliminary stage and Government do not propose at present to lay any papers on the table.

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: May I know, Sir, how long Government will take to come to a decision in the matter?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I hope, Sir, that my successor may be able to introduce legislation in the September Session.

PAYMENT OF COMPENSATION TO THE LESSEES OF CERTAIN HOUSES IN POONA TAKEN POSSESSION OF BY GOVERNMENT DURING THE WAR.

1098. ***Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether they took possession of 6 houses Nos. 6, 12, 17, 23, Queen's Gardens, No. 1A, Elphinstone Road, and No. 23, Napier Road, Poona, in 1917 and 1918 as a war measure under the Defence of India (Consolidated) Rules, 1915, for the occupation of Military officers?

(b) Were these houses then already in possession of certain lessees?

(c) Is it a fact that in 1921, the arbitrator appointed under the rules at Poona, rejected the claim of the lessees for compensation which amounted to about Rs. 82,000, on the ground that the *lessees* were not *owners* under the Rules?

(d) Is it not the fact that the arbitrator, when giving the above award, added that, should Government decide in future to pay compensation to the *lessees* he would carry out the investigation further?

(e) Are Government aware that eminent lawyers like Sir Chimanlal Setalvad have given an opinion that Government are bound to pay compensation to the lessees under the Civil Procedure Code?

(f) Is it not the fact that the framers of these Rules in 1915 had in mind the payment of compensation to the lessees and therefore did not add the definition of the owner with a view to avoid embarrassment to Government during the continuance of the War?

(g) Will the Government be pleased to place these draft rules and other connected papers on the Council table?

(h) As the War is now over, do Government intend to order the arbitrator to investigate, with a view to pay compensation to the lessees?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a)—(h). I am making enquiries, and will inform the Honourable Member in due course.

TRANSFER OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES FROM THE UNITED PROVINCES TO
BENGAL.

1099. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Is it a fact that a number of employees have been transferred from Ghaziabad and other railway stations situated in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh to railway stations situated in Bengal?

(b) Is it a fact that the railway servants who have been transferred to long distances are mostly people who are drawing less than Rs. 100 a month?

(c) Are Government aware that the railway servants who have thus been forced to go to long distances, have been put to great inconvenience and loss on account of their transfers and the administration has also suffered in efficiency inasmuch as the hands transferred from the United Provinces do not understand the Bengali language?

(d) Are the railway authorities prepared to reconsider the cases of all such transfers and retransfer these hands nearer to their homes?

RULES REGARDING THE TRANSFER OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES FROM ONE
PROVINCE TO ANOTHER.

1100. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Is there any rule or Government order by which it may be necessary for the railway authorities to take into consideration the difficulties and inconvenience of low paid employees in transferring them from one province to another? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to place on the table a copy of such order. If the answer be in the negative, are Government prepared to consider the advisability of issuing such a Government order and framing such a rule?

TRANSFERS OF RAILWAY EMPLOYEES FROM ONE RAILWAY SYSTEM TO
ANOTHER.

1101. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Are railway servants getting less than one hundred rupees transferred from one railway system to another? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to place on the table a copy of such rule? If in the negative, are Government prepared to frame such a rule by which free transfers be possible from one system of Government railway to another?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I propose with your permission, Sir, to answer questions Nos. 1099—1101 together.

Government have no information. The transfer of staff within a railway administration is a domestic matter and is carried out in the best interests of the railway and with due regard to all the circumstances of each case. Government do not consider it necessary to frame any such rules as are suggested by the Honourable Member.

SHED FOR THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS AT GHAZIABAD JUNCTION.

1102. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Are Government aware that there is no passenger shed for third class passengers at Ghaziabad Junction railway station at the booking office and that the passengers have to wait in the sun and rain for a very long time in order to get their tickets?

(b) Are Government aware that a small shed on the old railway platform is at a very long distance from the third class booking office?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). Government must leave it to Agents to decide at what stations passenger sheds should be provided and where they should be situated at stations. A copy of the question has, however, been sent to the Agent, North Western Railway.

NUMBER OF ROMAN CATHOLIC CHAPLAINS ATTACHED TO THE ARMY IN INDIA.

1103. ***Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy:** Will Government be pleased to state:

(a) the number of Roman Catholic chaplains attached to the Army in India?

(b) the number of soldiers served by these chaplains?

(c) the proportion they bear to the number of soldiers they serve compared with the proportion borne by Anglican and other chaplains to the number of soldiers the latter classes of chaplains serve?

(d) the rates of emoluments paid to Roman Catholic Army chaplains and whether they are the same as those paid to Anglican and other classes of chaplains?

(e) whether Indian Christian sepoy are served by any chaplains?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) 75.

(b) 7,899 according to a census taken in 1926.

(c) One chaplain to 105 troops. The latest figures for other denominations date from 1921 and are:

Church of England	. . . . .	1 to 445 troops.
Church of Scotland	. . . . .	1 to 823 „
Wesleyan Church	. . . . .	1 to 179 „

In consequence of the very high proportion of Roman Catholic chaplains to Roman Catholic troops, the number of Roman Catholic chaplaincies is being reduced to 61 with effect from the 1st April 1927. This will give a proportion of 1 to 129 which is still high as compared with other denominations.

(d) Roman Catholic chaplains are paid at an average rate of Rs. 880 per mensem including horse allowance. These rates are the same as those paid to Wesleyan chaplains, but less than the rates* for chaplains of the Church of England and of the Church of Scotland.

(e) There are no military chaplains provided for Indian Christian sepoy.

* Rs. 600 in the first year of service to Rs. 1,060, plus £30 overseas pay, on and after 19th year.

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy: How is the spiritual welfare of Indian Christians looked after?

Mr. G. M. Young: Presumably, Sir, by civilian chaplains.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE LEE COMMISSION REGARDING THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

191. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state when the final orders of the Secretary of State for India will be passed on the recommendations of the Lee Commission as regards the Indian Medical Service?

(b) What are the reasons for the prolonged delay?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) A despatch on the subject was received from the Secretary of State last week. This despatch is not quite final, as certain points of detail have been referred to the Government of India for re-examination.

(b) The question involving as it does the whole future medical administration of India on the civil and provincial as well as the military side, required exhaustive consideration in communication with Local Governments, and subsequently with the India Office. This has taken up a great deal of time, but the Government of India do not consider that there has been delay.

PERMANENT APPOINTMENTS TO THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE MADE BY NOMINATION BY THE SECRETARY OF STATE FROM 1920 TO 1926.

192. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of permanent appointments to the Indian Medical Service made by nomination by the Secretary of State from 1920 to 1926?

(b) How many of them were Europeans and how many Indians?

(c) How many Indian officers holding temporary commissions were included in the above?

(d) How many Indian officers holding temporary commissions or over 6 to 7 years' service have been demobilised from 1920 to 1926? What are the reasons for such demobilisation, and what is the number replaced by fresh temporary commissions?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) 202.

(b) 106 Europeans and 96 Indians.

(c) 94.

(d) The answer to the first part is 85. The officers were demobilised at their own request on account of physical unfitness or unsuitability for permanent commissions in the Indian Medical Service. During the period 156 Indians were granted temporary commissions in the Indian Medical Service.

INDIGENOUS DRUGS.

193. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** Will Government be pleased to state whether they intend to extend the scope of investigation and research in indigenous drugs by organising more laboratories for the purpose?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: At present certain researches into indigenous drugs are being conducted under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association in the School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, Calcutta, and the Haffkine Institute, Bombay. The Government of India do not propose at present to take any further action.

CURE FOR PLAGUE.

194. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether any researches have been made or are contemplated for investigating the possibility of a cure for plague, which has existed in India for over 30 years and is still prevalent in various provinces?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether their attention has been drawn to a series of articles by Khan Bahadur Dr. N. H. Choksy, C.I.E., of Bombay, which appeared in the *Times of India* in 1923 on the above subject and whether any inquiries have been made in connection therewith?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether the feasibility of a special combined general, sanitary, preventive and curative agency—a special sanitary service—as suggested in the seventh article of the series above referred to, has been discussed by Government as also the creation of a Ministry of Public Health, under the Central and the Provincial Governments?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Yes. Researches on all aspects of the plague problem have been in progress at the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, which is the centre of plague research, since 1905. The Indian Research Fund Association has also of late paid special attention to this disease.

(b) Yes. As the Honourable Member will observe from the answer to part (a) of the question, Government are fully alive to the necessity of research on plague.

(c) Under the Reforms, medical administration is a transferred provincial subject. Creation of the kind of agency referred to by the Honourable Member is, therefore, the concern of Local Governments.

THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY POWER STATION SCHEMES.

195. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (1) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article in the *Indian National Herald* of the 23rd December on the subject of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Power Station Scheme and subsequent correspondence dealing with the same?

(2) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons for which a separate Power Station of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway has been considered necessary?

(3) In view of the statements published in the Press concerning this scheme will Government be pleased to state the ultimate total expenditure

under several heads of the scheme sanctioned by or awaiting sanction of Government and whether Government are satisfied that this expenditure will not be exceeded?

(4) Will Government be pleased to state the estimated cost per unit of power delivered at the Rotary Converter sub-stations, from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Power House under discussion and whether or not this cost per unit is higher than that of the Tata Hydro-Electric Power available in Bombay?

(5) Will Government be pleased to state the load factor and the cost of coal delivered at site, on which the cost per unit is based?

(6) Will Government be pleased to state the actual load factor now obtained at the Wadi Bunder and Kurla sub-stations of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway over their present electrified railway service?

(7) Will Government be pleased to state the guaranteed coal consumption per kilowatt hour of the Parsons Turbines which have been ordered for the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Power House?

(8) Is it a fact that the Consulting Engineers for this scheme have always favoured Parsons Turbines for nearly all Power Station Schemes with which they have been connected?

(9) Will Government be pleased to state how many quotations were received from other British firms and their comparative prices and their guaranteed fuel consumption per kilowatt hour?

(10) Will Government be pleased to state on what technical and financial grounds, the order for the Turbines was placed with Messrs. C. A. Parsons and Co., and whether Government was consulted in the matter before the order was placed?

(11) Do Government intend to make further inquiry into this scheme by an independent committee of experts before committing the country to an expenditure of such a huge sum of money and staying the construction of this Power House until the report is considered?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (1) No.

(2) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to part (a) of Mr. N. C. Kelkar's question No. 143 on the same subject on the 1st of March 1927.

(3) The total expenditure on the power house is estimated at Rs. 97,40,420, which is divided into the following heads:

	Rs
(i) Steel buildings, cranes, boilers pipework, fuel handling plant .	33,34,200
(ii) Turbo-alternators and transformers	20,63,400
(iii) Switch gear, internal cabling and accessories	9,18,000
(iv) Spare parts	2,08,070
(v) Preparation of site, foundations brick and concrete work, circulating waterways, etc.	26,36,000
(vi) General charges	5,80,750
Total	97,40,420

Government have no reasons to suppose that this estimate will be exceeded.

(4) It is estimated that the cost will be 665 anna per unit, dropping to 594 anna per unit with a 80 per cent. increase of load due to development expected in traffic. The Tata Hydro-Electric Power Company quoted a rate of Rs. 50 per kilowatt per annum of maximum demand plus 425 anna per unit consumed, which, according to the calculations of the Consulting Electrical Engineers to the Government of India, works out to a rate of 633 anna per unit.

(5) The cost per unit is based on an annual load factor of about forty-five per cent. with coal at Rs. 12 and annas 9 per ton.

(6) A little over 50 per cent.

(7), (9) and (10). Orders for plant required for the power house at Kalyan were placed by the High Commissioner for India, London, after consultation with the Consulting Electrical Engineers to the Government of India. Government have no other information on these points.

(8) Government have no information to this effect.

(11) The reply is in the negative.

DEFERRED REBATES.

196. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what progress they have made in carrying out the recommendation of the Fiscal Commission regarding the Deferred Rebate System?

(b) Do Government intend to introduce a Bill in connection with it?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Government themselves do not propose to introduce legislation on this subject. As the Honourable Member is no doubt aware, notice has been given of a Bill to declare deferred rebates illegal, and that Bill will give an opportunity for full discussion on the subject.

OVERLAND EXPRESS BETWEEN BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA.

197. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what was the total cost of manufacture of the new Overland Express running between Bombay and Calcutta in connection with the weekly mail steamers?

(b) Is it one rake or two rakes which are manufactured?

(c) Who has borne the cost of this manufacture?

(d) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the letters P. & O. inscribed on this Express? Do these letters signify that the cost has been borne by the P. & O. Steam Navigation Company and that this rake or these rakes is or are its property?

(e) What has been the average earning and expenditure on this service since its inauguration?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) Rs. 7,40,000.

(b) Two.

(c) The East Indian and Great Indian Peninsula Railways.

(d) Yes. In this connection the attention of the Honourable Member is invited to the reply given on 1st March 1927 to Mr. B. Das's starred question No. 668.

(e) The information is not available.

**REPRESENTATION OF THE PASSENGERS AND TRAFFIC RELIEF ASSOCIATION,
BOMBAY, ON THE ADVISORY COMMITTEES OF THE GREAT INDIAN
PENINSULA AND BOMBAY, BARODA AND CENTRAL INDIA
RAILWAYS.**

198. **Mr. Fasal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state if they are aware that the Madras and Southern Mahratta and South Indian Railways have given a representation on the Advisory Committees of those Railways to the Railway Passengers' Association, Madras?

(2) Are Government aware that the Passengers' and Traffic Relief Association, Bombay, has applied to the Agents of the Great Indian Peninsula and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways for a similar representation on their Local Advisory Committees?

(3) Are Government aware:

(a) that the Indian Merchants' Chamber has asked its representatives on the Advisory Committees of both the Railways to support the claim of the Passengers' and Traffic Relief Association, Bombay;

(b) that the leading papers of Bombay have advocated the cause of the Association in this direction; and

(c) that Sir Henry Freeland, the retired Agent of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway had promised to give representation to the Passengers' and Traffic Relief Association, Bombay, if Mr. Jivraj G. Nensey, one of its Honorary Joint Secretaries who then represented the Municipal Corporation, did not happen to be on his Committee?

(4) Is it a fact that in spite of the statements in item 3 above, the Agents of the Great Indian Peninsula and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways have not yet granted a right of representation on their Advisory Committees to the Association?

(5) Do Government propose to ask the Agents of both the Railways to give a seat on their Local Advisory Committees to a representative of the Association?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: 1. Yes.

2. Yes.

3. (a) and (b). Government have no information.

(c) The undertaking given was that the matter would be considered.

4 and 5. I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given to question No. 31 on the 27th January 1927.

RUNNING OF TRAINS WITHOUT ALARM CHAINS ON THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

199. **Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla:** (1) Will Government be pleased to state on what Railways alarm chains and brakemen are not provided?

(2) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to Mr. Jivraj G. Nensey's letter addressed to the Municipal Corporation, Bombay, and to the reply as appearing in the Press received by Mr. J. B. Bomon Behram, a representative of the Corporation on the Advisory Committee of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway?

(3) If the brakemen were not provided for attendance on passengers as stated in the reply, will Government be pleased to state what duties they were required to perform prior to their withdrawal?

(4) Is it a fact that the Great Indian Peninsula Railway did not put in for months together alarm chains on all their suburban steel rakes? If so, was special permission granted by the Railway Board authorizing them to run trains without alarm chains?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (1) Detailed information is not available but the Honourable Member is referred to the general rule on the subject which will be found in Rule 64 of the General Rules for Indian Railways which are available for inspection at any railway station.

(2) No, but Government have seen a report of a discussion on the subject at a meeting of the Local Advisory Committee of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway held at Bombay on the 11th November 1926.

(3) Brakemen were originally provided for train working purposes. Their duties included attending to packages, taking up line clear to the driver and generally assisting the head guard.

(4) The Railway Board did not authorise the running of these trains without alarm chains but as will be seen from the summary of the afore-said Advisory Committee proceedings, which appeared in the Press, steps were taken as opportunity offered to fit alarm chains to the coaches which through an oversight had come from England without being equipped with them.

NUMBER OF IMPERIAL OFFICERS SERVING IN BURMA IN 1918 AND 1926.

200. **U. Khin Maung:** Will Government be pleased to furnish the number of Imperial officers serving in Burma in all the Departments in 1918 and in 1926?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I understand the Honourable Member is referring to officers belonging to the Central Services Class I. I have had a statement prepared from the civil lists of 1918 and 1926 showing the number of such officers, serving in Burma on the 1st January of each of these two years, which I will send to the Honourable Member. If he requires further information I should be glad if he would let me know.

STATE MANAGEMENT OF THE BURMA RAILWAYS.

201. **U. Khin Maung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether there is any intention to hand over the Burma Railways to State management when the term of the agreement expires? If the answer is in the affirmative, when will such steps be taken?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The question is at present under the consideration of the Government.

**ANNUAL ADDITIONAL EXPENDITURE TO BE INCURRED FOR SERVICES IN
BURMA AS A RESULT OF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE
LEE COMMISSION.**

202. U. Khin Maung: Will Government be pleased to give the approximate figures of the additional expenditure annually to be incurred for services in Burma as a result of the recommendations of the Lee Commission?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would invite attention to the answer given by me to questions Nos. 481 and 489 on the 25th January 1926 as to the additional expenditure involved in giving effect to the recommendations of the Lee Commission. The estimated share of Burma for 1924-25 and 1925-26 was about Rs. 7½ and Rs. 9 lakhs respectively. Further information is not available and cannot be supplied without an undue expenditure of time and trouble.

**RESERVATION OF APPOINTMENTS FOR MEMBERS OF THE ALL-INDIA
SERVICES ON THE TRANSFERRED DEPARTMENTS.**

203. U. Khin Maung: Will Government be pleased to state their policy whether in the Transferred Departments appointments hitherto held by the Imperial Services are still to be reserved for such officers?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The Lee Commission when they made their recommendations for the provincialization of future recruitment to the services operating in the transferred fields, stated that their conclusions were dependent on the assumption that no change would be made in the position of the existing members of the All India Services operating in the transferred field and that they would retain all their rights. This is the policy which is being maintained by Government.

TOTAL AMOUNT OF REVENUE REALISED FROM BURMA IN 1924-25.

204. U. Khin Maung: What is the total amount of revenue realised from Burma by the Government of India in 1924-25? Please give particulars under separate heads. What is the total expenditure in 1924-25? Please give particulars under separate heads.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would refer the Honourable Member to the Finance and Revenue Accounts of the Government of India for 1924-25. If the Honourable Member wishes to ascertain the Central Revenue and Expenditure which properly appertains to the province of Burma, I may explain that these accounts follow the place of receipt or payment rather than the province to which the receipt or payment properly appertains and, it is practically impossible to determine from the published accounts in all cases whether particular transactions relate to a particular province. This is specially true of the transactions at the Home Treasury and also those relating to the commercial departments like Railways and Posts and Telegraphs and also the Military Department.

EXPORT DUTY ON RICE AND PETROLEUM CESS IN BURMA.

205. **U. Khin Maung:** Are Government aware that there is discontent in Burma for not returning the rice export duty and petroleum cess to Burma? Do Government propose to reconsider the question?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Representations have been made by the Government of Burma. The Government do not propose to reconsider the question.

THE CHINESE ADVISORY BOARD OF BURMA.

206. **U. Khin Maung:** Will Government be pleased to state whether there are any Advisory Boards in any part of India, formed to assist Government in the matter of the Foreigners' Act? If the answer is in the negative, are Government prepared to consider the desirability of abolishing the Chinese Advisory Board of Burma, or else to constitute a more representative Board preferably elected by the Chinese themselves?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: There is no provision in the Act for such Boards and the Government of India have no information as to the action that may have been taken by Local Governments in the matter. The constitution of the Chinese Advisory Board of Burma is a matter that concerns the Burma Government alone.

HOLIDAYS IN THE IMPERIAL SECRETARIAT.

207. **Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (a) Is it a fact that the Imperial Secretariat employees enjoy far less holidays than all the Provincial Secretariats?

(b) Is it also a fact that even the High Courts and other courts in all Provinces enjoy much more holidays than the Imperial Secretariat?

(c) Do Government intend to give the Imperial Secretariat clerks at least as many holidays as are enjoyed by the clerks of the Province where the Imperial Secretariat is located?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) and (b). I have not got the figures for all the offices mentioned by the Honourable Member. But I am prepared to concede him the position which he takes up.

(c) Representations have been received from the Imperial Secretariat Association and the Association of Attached and Subordinate Offices on the question of increasing the holidays which are given in the Secretariat and they are under consideration.

WATER RATES IN ORTHODOX AND UNORTHODOX QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.

208. **Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (a) What are the rates charged for water taps in the A, B, C and D type Indian clerks quarters and that of unorthodox quarters of the same type?

(b) On what grounds have the charges in the case of 'D' and other type of Indian clerks quarters in particular been increased?

(c) Is it a fact that the taps are not kept opened throughout the day? If so, why is this not allowed?

(d) Do Government propose to reconsider the matter?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Rates charged for water in unmetered orthodox quarters are as follows:

Type A	. . . . .	Rs. 3 per month.
Types B and C	. . . . .	„ 2 „ „
Type D	. . . . .	„ 1-8 „ „

Rates charged for water in metered unorthodox quarters are Rs. 1-8 for a supply up to 4,000 gallons per month *plus* Re. 0-6-0 per 1,000 gallons for any supply in excess of 4,000 gallons.

(b) The rates in unmetered orthodox quarters were increased because it was found that water was being wasted and the consumption (in orthodox quarters) largely exceeded the amount charged for water formerly.

(c) Yes. in order to prevent excessive consumption, but as an experimental measure water has been available for the whole 24 hours during the last 3 weeks. If it is found that consumption becomes excessive the restricted hours of supply will have to be reverted to.

(d) Government do not see sufficient reason to reconsider the matter.

RETENTION OF HONEYCOMB BRICK WORK FOR BATHROOMS OF "D" TYPE - INDIAN CLERKS' QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.

209. **Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** (a) With reference to the reply to question No. 167 given by the Honourable Member for Industries during the last Simla Session, will he kindly be pleased to furnish the grounds on which the decision for the retention of honeycomb brick work for bathrooms of 'D' type Indian clerks' quarters in New Delhi was based?

(b) Was the opinion of the expert Doctors obtained before arriving at this decision as to whether they are injurious during the cold weather?

(c) Is it a fact that this is a long felt and many a times represented difficulty but that it has not been removed?

(d) Does the Honourable Member propose to reconsider his decision and have the honeycomb bricks replaced by glazed windows? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The objection to the honeycombed windows was not considered reasonable except in those cases where the doors were solid and in consequence the bath-rooms would be in darkness if the honeycomb was covered by a small purdah on the inside. In all cases, glazing has been provided in the doors of such bath-rooms to remove this objection.

(b) No. The tenant can protect himself against a sudden draught when he is bathing by covering the honeycombed portion by a small purdah on the inside.

(c) and (d). As stated in (a), it is considered that all reasonable grounds for complaint have been removed and Government see no sufficient reason to reconsider their decision.

APPOINTMENT OF CHAUKIDARS FOR INDIAN CLERKS' QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.

210. Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: (a) Will Government please give reasons why the rates of rents of the Raisina quarters are fluctuating every now and then? Is it due to the fact that proper estimates of the costs could not be found? If so, what is it due to?

(b) Are Government aware that protection of life and property is not afforded to the occupants of these quarters and that consequently the occupants have to engage chaukidars to look after their quarters at night which means an extra burden on their pockets over and above the rent?

(c) If not, are Government prepared to inquire and let this House know how many chaukidars in each Square or at other places (Indian clerks' quarters) are employed and how much it costs to the tenants?

(d) Do Government propose to consider the question of appointing chaukidars at their own cost?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The existing rents have recently been calculated on the basis of the Lee Commission proposals. Prior to this the method of assessment was as described in the reply given to part (a) of question No. 525 asked by Lala Pyare Lal on 30th January 1925. The fluctuation referred to is due to these causes.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given on the 1st February 1927 by the Honourable the Home Member to Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh's question No. 224. The increase referred to has since been sanctioned.

(c) Government do not propose to hold an enquiry of this nature.

(d) The answer is in the negative.

REDUCTION OF FARES ON THE EASTERN BENGAL RAILWAY.

211. Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy: (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the passenger fares on the East Indian Railway and Bengal Nagpur Railway have been considerably reduced while the Eastern Bengal Railway maintains a higher rate?

(b) Is it the intention of Government to reduce passenger fares on the Eastern Bengal Railway so as to bring them on a par with the East Indian Railway?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The reply is in the affirmative.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to similar starred question No. 168, asked in the Legislative Assembly, by Kumar Ganganand Sinha on the 1st February 1927.

OPENING OF A NEW STATION IN CONNECTION WITH THE PROJECTED RAILWAY OVER THE NEW BALLY BRIDGE.

212. Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: (a) In connection with the projected Railway over the new Bally Bridge connecting the East Indian and the Eastern Bengal Railways, will the Government be pleased to state whether it is proposed to open a new railway station on the east bank of the river to take up passenger traffic from Barnagore and adjoining places?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the affirmative, will the proposed new station be on the direct main line connecting the two railways to enable passengers to entrain on through trains and also to travel to Sealdah direct?

(c) If the new station is not to be opened on the main line, will Government state their reasons for such a decision?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The answer is in the negative.

(b) and (c). Do not arise.

RETIREMENT AT THE AGE OF 55 OF CERTAIN POSTAL OFFICIALS OF THE PUNJAB AND NORTH WEST FRONTIER CIRCLES.

213. **Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** In view of the ruling of the Finance Department of the Government of India contained in their letter No. F.-25-C. S. R./25, dated 28th January 1925, to all heads of departments to the effect that the date on which a ministerial Government servant must compulsorily retire is ordinarily the date on which he attains the age of 60 years, which was pursued by the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, in his letter No. C. P.-2, dated 26th July, 1925, to all heads of postal circles to the effect that ministerial Government servants should be retained in service up to the age of 60 years so long as they continued efficient, will Government be pleased to state why Mr. Bhagat Ram, late Postmaster, Ludhiana, Mr. Mush Singh, late I. P. O., Jagraon Sub-Division, Mr. Ghulam Nabi, late S. P. M., Nathiagali and other ministerial Government servants who were reported efficient and recommended for extension of service by their immediate officers were made to retire at the age of 55 years by the Postmaster General, Punjab and North-West Frontier Circles, and why Feroz Din, a clerk of the General Post Office, aged 63, has been granted extension of service for more than 7 years?

Sir Ganen Roy: Fundamental Rule 54 (b) gives the Postmaster-General full discretion to require a ministerial officer to retire at the age of 55 years. There is nothing in the orders quoted by the Honourable Member which can be interpreted as limiting this discretion. This being so, the question asked by the Honourable Member in regard to Messrs. Bhagat Ram, Mush Singh and Ghulam Nabi does not arise. The extension of service to Mr. Feroz Din was sanctioned by me under the last sentence of Fundamental Rule 54 (b).

ISSUE OF AN ABRIDGED INDEX TO THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY FOR THE YEARS 1921-26.

214. **Sir Darcy Lindsay:** Are Government prepared to consider the issue by the Legislative Department for the convenience of Members, of an abridged subject index of the proceedings of the Legislative Assembly over each period of three years, omitting from the proposed abridged index reference to questions and any minor matters?

Mr. L. Graham: The Honourable Member's suggestion will be given effect to. Government will undertake the preparation of a consolidated and abridged index for the years 1921-26.

STATEMENT LAID ON THE TABLE.

INDIANS IN HONG KONG AND SHANGHAI.

Mr. E. B. Howell (Foreign Secretary): Sir, I lay on the table a statement with reference to the reply given on the 15th February last to starred question No. 424 by Diwan Chaman Lal regarding Indians in Hong Kong and Shanghai.

Statement.

(a) The approximate number of Indians in Hong Kong and Shanghai respectively is 1,152, and 1,400.

(b) The approximate value of Indian owned property in Hong Kong is 1,000,000 dollars, and in Shanghai 500,000 dollars.

(c) No Indian property has been interfered with, nor have any Indian lives been lost in either Hong Kong or Shanghai.

STATEMENT REGARDING BENGAL DETENUS.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): With your permission, Sir, I desire to make a statement to the House, in regard to Bengal detenues.

The policy of Government regarding those who have been detained under Regulation III or the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act in connection with the Bengal revolutionary conspiracy has been and still is that the detention of no man should last longer than is essential in the interests of the public safety. The Government are convinced that the terrorist conspiracy is still in active existence and that consequently it is not possible to take steps in the direction of the release of those about whom there is no reasonable doubt that they would utilise their liberty to resume their previous activities. They are, however, anxious to pursue as quickly as possible the gradual release of individuals whose conduct gives reason for hoping that they will not abuse their liberty.

The Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act provides for a considerable degree of elasticity in the treatment of those who are dealt with under it and enables the Government to transfer from jail to less strict forms of supervision persons whose past record and present conduct would not justify their unconditional release. Individuals of this class may be directed to reside in a particular village or in their homes. The practical results of transferring men in this manner to village or home domicile are carefully watched and the Government are enabled to observe whether the action taken is justified by events and thus to determine the possibility of further extension of such action.

In order to show what has been done in the direction of discriminating treatment of the detenues I may mention that out of 171 persons dealt with under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act from the beginning, 75 have been placed in village domicile and 13 in home domicile while 26 have been released. The number now remaining in jail is 54. Of those arrested under Regulation III, 31 were subsequently transferred to the

Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act and are included in the figures given above. 16 at present remain in jail under the Regulation.

In the last two and a half months the Government of Bengal have issued orders for the transfer of 19 detenues from jail to village or home domicile under the Act and have released 7. The Government of India have also had under review the cases of those who are still detained under Regulation III. They are considering the case of one of these State prisoners on medical grounds. In respect of 4 others they are satisfied that detention in jail is no longer necessary and they are therefore cancelling the warrants under Regulation III so that action may be taken to bring them under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act with a view to their transfer to village domicile. It must be understood that the practical results of this action as exhibited in the conduct of the men thus placed in village or home domicile requires the constant attention of Government. If it is ascertained that such men are reverting to terrorist conspiracy, Government will not hesitate to deal with them again under their powers.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban) May I ask, Sir, if it is the considered decision of the Government not to release any more at present?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: My hope, Sir, is that, if these gradual releases are successful, we may pursue this policy as rapidly as is compatible with the public safety.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Have any releases been made since the Resolution passed by the Assembly?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: These four men will be released.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Unconditionally?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, not unconditionally.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: They are Regulation men?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Yes, Sir.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Not one of the Bengal Ordinance men?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Yes. In the last two and a half months 19 detenues have been released from jail and put in village or home domicile and 7 have been released.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): May I beg to inquire whether these releases are in consequence of the Resolution passed by this Assembly or independent of it?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, the Government in considering these questions considers public opinion as expressed in this House and in other places.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I know, Sir, whether any prisoners have been specifically released since the date the House passed the Resolution on the release of prisoners?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have told the Honourable Member that there are 4 men who will be released and that is since the Resolution was passed. About these 7 men who have been released, I am not sure what dates they were released on, but they have been released in the last two and a half months; probably some were released before and some after the Resolution.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Can the Honourable the Home Member give the names of the prisoners released?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, it is not in the public interest that I should do so till the arrangements for their conditional release have been carried out.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Have these four been released unconditionally or conditionally?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: If the Honourable Member had heard my statement he would have understood that they are released from jail and will be put into village domicile.

An Honourable Member: Is there any objection to giving the names of those who have already been released?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have not got the names, but I should think there will be no objection. I should have to consult the Bengal Government.

Maulvi Muhammad Shafee (Tirhut Division: Muhammadan): May I know, Sir, if the Member who has been elected to this House has been released?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: To the best of my knowledge he is not among the 7.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, if my friend, Mr. Mitra, who was elected to this Assembly as a Member, says, "I shall be a good citizen and come here and become a good co-operator", will there be any objection on the part of the Government to allowing Mr. Mitra to come here and take the oath?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I should suggest to my Honourable friend to advise Mr. Mitra to go in the first instance to the Bengal Government by whose orders he is held.

Mr. K. Ahmed: His Excellency Lord Lytton said that his Government had no objection to Mr. Mitra coming here and taking the oath, provided in future he undertakes to conduct himself rightly and swears that he will be loyal to the King, and bears allegiance to his Successor and the Royal House. Will the Government of India then interfere?

THE CURRENCY BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President: The House will now resume consideration of Mr. Chetty's amendment to clause 2 of the Currency Bill.

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by

my Honourable friend Mr. Shanmukham Chetty. The Bill proposes that in place of section 11 of the Indian Coinage Act clause 2 of the Bill might be substituted. The amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Chetty is that section 11 of the Act should be retained as such, and that in place of the figure "10" the figure "15" should be substituted. (*An Honourable Member*: "Rs. 13-5-4"). I beg your pardon, Sir, Rs. 13-5-4 should be substituted. The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett made an offer to omit clause 2 of the Bill, for the present treating the ratio there as equivalent to Rs. 10. The amendment, Sir, is a very important one. It is more important than the amendments moved by my Honourable friends Mr. Kelkar and Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya. Those amendments were for the introduction of a gold mohur and a gold standard and gold currency. The present amendment of Government is for the removal of what we have got on the Statute now. We have got an inchoate and incomplete gold standard on the Statute as it stands to-day. The proposal made in the Government Bill is to remove this altogether, so that you will not find any trace of gold coin or even any mint or the legal character or the ratio. Before proceeding further with this, I wanted to ask the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill whether the offer he made on the last occasion is still open, namely, to omit clause 2 of the Bill. In his absence, Sir, I shall proceed with my argument with regard to it. Clause 2 deals not merely with demonetisation of the gold sovereign but it deals with removing the power that now vests in the Governor General in Council to coin sovereigns in the Royal Mint in England or in the Bombay branch of the Royal Mint. Then it deals with the removal of the legal tender character of the sovereign. More than 30 years ago, when the silver standard was abandoned, a gold standard was promised and that gold standard was embodied in section 11 and clause (e) of section 21 of the Coinage Act. Section 11, as I have stated, is a very small one in which the whole of the gold standard has been embodied. It says:

"Gold coins, whether coined at His Majesty's Royal Mint in England or at any Mint established in pursuance of a Proclamation of His Majesty as a branch of His Majesty's Royal Mint, shall be a legal tender in payment or on account, at the rate of Rs. 10 for one sovereign."

and the proviso makes exception in two cases with regard to the legal character of the sovereign, firstly those coins that had been called in under the Coinage Act of 1870 and those coins which had lost in weight; these two shall not be accepted as legal tender. Clause (e) of section 21 of this Act provides what should be done in the case of these coins which may have lost in weight or those which have been called in under the Act of 1870. This is the gold standard that the Government promised and embodied in this Act at that time. It was not a complete gold standard inasmuch as no provision was made for giving sovereigns in exchange for notes or silver. Provision was made for receiving sovereigns.

Sir, in the absence of the Honourable Member I was putting a question whether the offer made by him on the last occasion to omit clause 2 is still open.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): That offer was made with a view to shorten debate. We have had a whole day's debate since then. As I pointed out, and as was well pointed out by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, the offer involved an illogical result, and in view of the fact that my offer was not successful in curtailing debate I said I did not propose to repeat it, and I do not propose to repeat it now.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I have put the question with the same object of curtailing the debate if possible to-day, because there are other amendments which would take up time. I was submitting to Honourable Members of this House that the gold standard that was promised at that time, over 30 years ago, was embodied in this Act in its incomplete form in section 11 of the Coinage Act and clause (e) of section 21 of the said Act. In support of what I am stating now that a gold standard was promised at that time and it was declared to be the object of the Government to introduce a gold standard in place of the silver standard when the Mints were closed to the free coinage of silver and also to show that it was the intention of the Government to continue this gold standard on the Statute-book, however incomplete it was, I beg the attention of the Honourable Members of this House to what the Chamberlain Commission said in paragraph 7. They said:

"That from the date of substitution of gold for silver as the standard of value in 1893 to 1898 India derived enormous benefits and that gold standard should be maintained."

It is now proposed that this incomplete standard also should be removed, that there should not be any trace of a gold coin in India, there should be no trace of its currency anywhere here; not only that, but also that the Mints which were open to mint gold coins whenever there was a necessity, whenever there was an emergency, those Mints also should close. It is a very serious matter. In 1918, Sir

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: On a point of order, may I again point out that all that we are doing now is to leave the position free for discussion on the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill and suggest that we had this whole subject under discussion and thoroughly debated it at very considerable length on the last occasion and that there is no reason why we should repeat it now.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Sir, I am taking particular care to see that not a word which I stated or any other Member stated with regard to the gold standard is being repeated now. I am trying and I am very anxious to confine myself to the four corners of the two sections, section 11 and clause (e) of section 21 in order to show what a serious step is proposed by the amendment of the existing Act. It is not merely demonetising the sovereign, but it is also closing the mints altogether, giving no chance whatever even if there should be an emergency to mint gold coins in this country. Now, Sir, I was submitting that after the war in 1918 when they could not send money from England to here, when they could not send gold from England to here, even when silver could not come from there to India, what was it they did? A Gold Ordinance was promulgated and an Amending Bill was introduced here; the Gold Mohur Amending Act of 1918 was passed by this House. Gold Mohurs were minted in the Bombay Branch. Now, Sir, by the amendment that is proposed by the Government, they want to close the mints

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I point out that this has nothing to do with the closing of the Mints, namely, the coining of gold mohurs.

Mr. President: The question of closing the Mints is a different question. It is not covered by the amendment now before the House.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I request your attention, Sir, to section 11 of the Act. It runs thus:

"Gold coins, whether coined at His Majesty's Royal Mint in England, or at any Mint established in pursuance of a Proclamation of His Majesty as a branch of His Majesty's Royal Mint, shall be a legal tender in payment or on account at the rate of rupees ten for one sovereign."

In this clause, Sir, the coin is mentioned, the Mints where they would be coined are mentioned and the legal tender character and the ratio all are mentioned. All these are embodied in one section because they thought it was not necessary to introduce separate sections to show what the new coins were and how they came into existence so long as they were adopting the English sovereigns and half sovereigns as gold coins of India and they were minted in the mints defined in the Act and gold mohurs were not minted. What is proposed now by the Government by inserting clause 2 of the Bill, to which I would invite your attention? It runs thus:

"In the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, for section 11 the following section shall be substituted."

In other words, remove the whole section, with the proviso and substitute in its place what is stated here in clause 2. Remove everything, there should be no Royal Mint, no branch, no minting, no legal tender, and nothing should be done. That is why I was submitting that the closing of the Mint meant the removal of the power vested in the Governor General in Council in virtue of this Act to mint sovereigns either in the Royal Mint in England or in the branch at Bombay or elsewhere.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I point out that this is simply an amendment to substitute one figure for another; it is not the whole question which is under discussion. This is an amendment which does not touch the point the Honourable Member is referring to.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I am sorry, unless I have not been able to follow this attempt at legislation—the removal of one section from the Act and the substitution of another section in its place will destroy everything that is now in the section. If this is not open for discussion here I do not know what is. It is not a matter of merely demonetizing the sovereign and declaring that the sovereign shall cease to be a current coin. The whole section is sought to be omitted.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhamnadan Rural). Give it up; you will not be able to carry it.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Thank you, you will allow me to mention one word inasmuch as my friend humorously interrupted just now. I was reading in a paper that when the discussion on the gold standard and gold currency came up here last time, the House was empty, the weather was very hot and there were not sufficient Members here to attend to this, and yet the discussion was going on. Sir, I would request the Honourable Members of this House not to feel the heat in this House so much and not to go out of the House when the discussion is proceeding on such an important matter, a matter which is so vital that the result of it will be regretted not only by us but by our descendants in the future. It may be that the Honourable Members opposite who draw salaries from the Government exchequer find it very hot to sit in this House. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I ask if all this is relevant?

Mr. President: Will the Honourable Member come to the merits of the question?

Mr. T. Prakasam: Sir, this is very closely connected with the merits. . .

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member will now come directly to the question before the House.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I therefore submit to the Honourable Members of this House that their presence is very essential here. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member is again harping on the same thing. I asked him more than once to come to the merits of the amendment which is before the House.

Mr. T. Prakasam: May I know, Sir, whether when one Member is talking, it is not within his province to request the Honourable Members who may be going away to pay attention to this?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has already done so more than once, but he is not entitled to repeat it over and over again.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Thank you, Sir.

Mr. K. Ahmed: He has lost the thread of it. (Laughter.)

Mr. T. Prakasam: It is not a matter for laughter; it is a matter for serious consideration. The Members opposite can very well afford to laugh, but so far as I am concerned, and so far as other Members on this side are concerned, it is a matter of very great consequence for this country—the legislation that is proposed here and the manner in which it is being got through here.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I again ask if this is relevant to the amendment?

Mr. K. Ahmed: Try this on the platform outside.

Mr. T. Paraksam: It is a matter of great seriousness to us. I have been submitting to the Honourable Members of this House what was proposed by clause 2 of this Bill. When it says that section 11 of the Gold Coinage Act should be removed it means the taking away of everything that exist on the Statute now with regard to this gold standard. Clause (e) of section 21, as the Act stands to-day, vests power in the Governor General in Council to make rules or regulations about the receipt of gold coins that may have lost their weight or may have been called in under the Gold Coinage Act of 1870. You will find on reference to the English Coinage Act or to any other Coinage Act of other countries that provision is made with regard to all these things in order to constitute a gold standard. All those things have been pressed into these two sections, or rather one full section and one clause of section 21. That is the standard that we have got and that is referred to by the Chamberlain Commission who say that it should be maintained at any cost to this country at least to that extent. I therefore submit to you that it is a very important matter. Now what is it that is sought to be introduced in place of section 11 through this clause 2 of the Bill? Demonetization of the sovereign: the sovereign shall cease to be legal

tender in future. That is clause 2 of the amending Bill. What is the object in view in demonetizing the sovereign? I was submitting to you on the last occasion, and I would not like to repeat it at any length here. Demonetization of the sovereign is not the thing that should be done. What should be done is demonetization of the rupee. The Honourable Member in charge of the Bill was very anxious to do some good to this country when he placed his own scheme before the Royal Commission . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would like to ask whether this is relevant on the question whether the sovereign should be demonetized.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I am sorry for these interruptions, Sir. He was so good as to introduce in his own scheme demonetization of the silver rupee. The silver rupee, according to the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill, was the one stumbling block in the way of having an ideal system in India the removal of which would have saved India from all the disasters that have overtaken her. But to-day he feels he is compelled to adopt the recommendation of the Royal Commission that it is not the silver coin that should be demonetized, but the gold coin that should be demonetized. And what is the reason given by the Royal Commission for demonetizing the gold coin and not demonetizing the silver coin? The reason given by the Royal Commission is this: "a lot of gold is being hoarded in India and we want to remove that habit, to kill that habit and get back all the gold into use and really take it into circulation." That is the reason that is given by the Royal Commission. For that reason they say, demonetise the sovereign. My submission to the Honourable Members of this House to-day is that the object that the Commission had in view could never be achieved by demonetising the sovereign. On the other hand, if the Government should keep gold coin as a current coin and demonetise the silver rupee, then the object could be easily achieved. The best method,—the method acknowledged to be best by experts all over the world—is to win the confidence of the public. The confidence of the public could be gained by any Government if they said "Bring your silver rupees to us; we are ready to give you gold coin. Bring your currency notes, bring us the currency notes which we have put into circulation and we are ready to give you gold coin." If these things are done, people will believe in the Government, they will have no suspicion whatever. They would say "whether the gold is with us or with the Government it makes no difference because they give us a note when we want and they are ready to cash it into gold the moment we present it. They give us silver rupees and they will cash them into gold whenever we present them." This is the method adopted by every country in the world to win the confidence of the people and to make them cultivate the habit of doing away with the hoarding habit. If, on the other hand the Government is anxious to demonetise that very sovereign the result is quite the reverse. Here is a Government; it is a stepmotherly Government, a Government that is not interested exclusively in the country that is being governed by it, it is always interested in its own country primarily and only secondarily in this country; whenever legislation is proposed it is anxious that its own country's interests do not suffer in any way, and it takes good care to see that they are safe. Under these circumstances it is only natural that such a Government should be suspected by the people; and if the

[Mr. T. Prakasam.]

Government's anxiety is to remove this suspicion and to remove the habit of hoarding altogether what the Government should have done is to have decided to keep the gold coin as a current coin. A gold note should be introduced and the Government should tell the public "Look here, do not keep your gold like fools in your houses or under the ground. We are protecting your interests here. You bring back your gold to us. We are ready to give you gold whenever you want it." That is the way in which the Government should have gone about the business. Instead of adopting that course, when this Currency Commission came here and made some recommendations in the way that recommendations were usually made in the past by such committees, they went after them. The Honourable Member in charge of the Bill has abandoned his own scheme.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I ask, Sir, if the Honourable Member is in order in now discussing the general question?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member it seems is not willing to give way.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I desire to raise a point of order. Is this in order? The Honourable Member is again discussing the general question of the introduction of a gold currency which is quite a different question to the demonetisation of the sovereign; and I would ask that he might be required to confine himself to the latter.

Mr. President: As regards the point of order raised by the Honourable Member, the Chair is of opinion that it is so difficult to separate the two questions that the Chair is bound to give some indulgence to Honourable Members. However, I would ask the Honourable Member to confine himself as far as possible to the question before the House.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Very well, Sir. In the Currency Commission's Report, on page 26, paragraph 25 says:

"The obligation to sell gold coins for all purposes makes it impossible to have any gold coin as legal tender or to mint gold for the public unless and until the holding of gold in the reserves is big enough to make it possible to accept the obligations implied in the introduction of a gold currency and it is decided that the introduction of such a currency is desirable."

Now, Sir, I propose to take this one clause written by the Commissioners in their Report and submit to Honourable Members of this House that on the basis laid down by themselves, it is in the interest of this country that the gold coin should not be demonetised in the manner suggested by the Government now. They want to make the gold reserve a big one. The reserve can be made a big one by purchasing gold and by offering to the people again in a reasonable quantity, gold for sale in return. What is it that it is offering by this Bill? It is 1,065 tolas of bar gold. "If you bring 1,065 tolas to us here we will purchase it." That is what the Government says. The 1,065 tolas have been reduced by the House to 40 tolas so far as their buying power is concerned. So far as their selling power is concerned it has yet to come and they say now the minimum is 1,065 tolas in bars. How many can sell in such quantities? The object of the Commission is to have the hoarding of gold in the reserve big enough to make it possible to have a gold currency. They say they would have

a gold currency, they would have a complete gold standard provided they get sufficient time to make their reserve of gold sufficiently big. We request Honourable Members of this House not to demonetise the sovereign but to keep it a current coin, to keep it a legal tender, because plenty of gold will be forthcoming into the Government reserves if they only say "We will pass currency notes; we will give you silver or gold coin and make them convertible." If they only say that, their exchequer will be full of gold in no time. The reverse process is adopted by the Honourable Member in charge of the Bill on the basis of this recommendation of the Commission. I would submit to Honourable Members of this House not to take such a serious and fatal step as voting against this amendment and in favour of demonetization in the manner some friends thought they could do on other amendments in the past on the assurance given by the Honourable Member that all these would be open for discussion again when the Reserve Bank Bill comes up during the Simla Session. Except that assurance he gave no answer to any of the questions raised in the discussion in his final reply. I therefore submit to all of you not to repeat such a serious error again by voting in favour of clause 2 which demonetises the sovereign, which does away with the sovereign, which reduces it to a deadweight of dust. If my friend sitting there had only known the process of legislation, and the method adopted by the Government to reduce this Rs. 15 to Rs. 10 in the Statute-book, my friend would not be shaking his head in the way in which he does now. Rs. 15 was the value fixed for a sovereign in the Statute-book. In order to reduce the value of the sovereign to Rs. 10 they were afraid to bring in an amending Bill before this Assembly straightaway. They wanted to kill it indirectly before the matter was placed before this House. What was done, Sir? In June 1920 from Simla an Ordinance called the Gold Ordinance was promulgated in which they stated that the legal tender character of the gold sovereign should cease to be in operation three weeks after the date of that notification. Within three weeks all those who had gold sovereigns in their possession should produce them and present them at their currency offices and they would get in return—what? They would get in return currency notes at Rs. 15 per sovereign—not even silver rupees; and currency notes during that period had gone down in value. The Government was then passing through a most critical stage of finance. This is the substance of a telegram sent from the Viceroy on the 8th November 1919: the Gold Ordinance which was promulgated from the top of the Simla hills was in June 1920. The telegram says:

"The highest rates of discount on currency notes reported during 1918 were 19 per cent. in the Central Provinces, 15 per cent. in Bengal and 13½ per cent. in Burma."

But His Excellency added that during 1919 the highest reported rate of discount was 3 per cent. The note had gone down in value; it was not possible to get full value for it; the credit of the Government was at the lowest. Was that the occasion for the Government to choose, to kill the sovereign—a sovereign that was valued at fifteen rupees—to reduce it to ten rupees?

Mr. President: We are not considering the Ordinance of 1919.

Mr. T. Prakasam: No; certainly not, Sir; but I am very anxious that the position should be stated clearly.

Mr. President: I dare say you are.

Mr. T. Prakasam: So my submission is that the reduction ~~from~~ Rs. 15 to Rs. 10 was under those circumstances

Mr. President: That is hardly relevant on this amendment.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Well, Sir, I do not like to enter into any controversy with you. My submission has been that it has everything to do with regard to this principle; but in view of your ruling I shall not trouble the House now with it. I would therefore request Honourable Members to treat this as a serious measure, more serious than any other amendment proposed by any of us on this side with regard to the introduction of a new gold standard. I would request Honourable Members humbly not to do away with this gold standard and gold coin. When the Honourable Member offered to omit this clause last time, much time was not taken with regard to the debate; the Honourable Mr. Shanmukham Chetty alone spoke and my Honourable friend, Mr. Kelkar spoke for about ten minutes and the House was then adjourned. That is where we stood; to-day he says "with a view to save time" he made the offer and would not repeat it. If he intended to save time the other day he ought to decide to-day with regard to further amendments.

Sir Victor Sassoon (Bombay Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce): Even though, Sir, I might not be ruled out of order, I do not propose to delve into the mists of antiquity and give the House a history of the gold currency of India because that has already been done by abler men. I think it will be admitted, if not by everybody, by nearly everybody, in this House, that a gold currency in circulation with complete convertibility is not within the range of practical politics at this moment. That is to say, it would be unreasonable to ask the Government to give us gold mohurs or sovereigns for silver rupees and paper notes, and I think at the same time that though we admit that this is not practicable to-day, most of us do hope that the time will come when we shall have the right to go to the Government and ask for gold coin for our silver rupees or our paper, even though we may not exercise that right. But a number of us up here would like to see with as little delay as possible a fully valued gold coin, something we can see and something we can touch and for that coin to be our standard coin. I know that the Honourable the Finance Member will tell us that this Bill fixes the value of the rupee definitely in terms of gold—in grains of gold; and therefore we have got our standard. But unfortunately the Government is to-day reaping the harvest which was sown in the past, when the rupee was linked to sterling. I am fully aware that there was no legal obligation in the past for the Government to give sterling for rupees; but there was a moral obligation to do so and as in those days sterling was synonymous with gold, I think the people of this country had every right to consider the rupee merely as a token coin representing one-fifteenth of the sovereign, just as the shilling represents one-twentieth of the sovereign, with the difference that the rupee would be more like the American silver dollar or the French five-franc piece in being unlimited legal tender. I think therefore that the feeling in this country is that it wants a fully valued gold coin as its standard instead of a note printed on silver, that note printed on silver being as it is to-day the only representative of the country's currency, just as in England even to-day anybody can go to the Bank of England

and get five sovereigns for a bank note; whether it is in fact a legal obligation or not I do not know

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No, it is not. As a matter of practice they do not do so.

Sir Victor Sassoon: As a matter of practice?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No.

Sir Victor Sassoon: As a matter of practice I have done so; I did get five sovereigns for a five-pound note; as I say it may not have been legal eighteen months ago, but in practice I did get it. But I was told that I was not to export those sovereigns: I was told if I merely wanted them for inside England and if I was not going to export them, then I could have them. So that is why I have a great deal of sympathy with the Honourable Mr. Chetty's amendment because what is it in effect? It is in effect a desire that the sovereign should be the visible symbol of the currency of this country pending the substitution of a gold mohur. That I think is what Mr. Chetty wants, and I have the fullest sympathy with that desire.

But unfortunately I do see some practical disadvantages to the amendment. If you let the sovereign be legal tender at the effective ratio, which is what Mr. Chetty suggests, and if at the same time you give the citizen every right to get sterling for his silver rupees and for his paper, you will in an indirect way—it is true—but you will in fact be laying down that the silver rupee and the paper note is convertible into gold coin; and the reason why is this: it is because you can take your silver rupees and your paper and you can get sterling for it and with that sterling you can buy sovereigns or get a bank to buy sovereigns for you. I think if anybody wants it the Chartered Bank is perfectly ready to buy sovereigns in England for sterling or bullion and bring them out here; and if you allow these sovereigns to be legal tender you are in effect converting silver rupee legal tender and paper legal tender into a gold coin legal tender; that is what you are doing in effect.

Now, Sir, what will happen in practice? The Honourable the Finance Member has blazoned the fact throughout the country that the rupee is really only worth its silver content, that is to say, about 8d. and you cannot blame the people of India if they take advantage of this amendment, if it is passed, to turn their silver rupees and their paper into a fully valued gold coin

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhamadan Rural): That is not the amendment.

Sir Victor Sassoon: That is the effect of the amendment because, look at what will happen. If this amendment passes I will show you what will happen in an indirect way. Bullion brokers would get sterling for silver rupees and for paper from the Government; instead of buying bullion they will buy gold sovereigns and then will sell them for say Rs. 18 to the people here; the people here will give them in return silver rupees and paper, and the bullion merchant could take those silver rupees and paper, and do the transaction all over again; so that in the end the Honourable the Finance Member will find that he is getting a lot of silver rupees, he is getting a lot of paper and he is giving for them all his sterling reserves.

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in England. He may even find it necessary to borrow sterling to meet his obligations, and to do this without in any way getting away from the obligation of having to keep this rate 1s. 6d. if the external balance of the trade happens to be against India.

Now, Sir, as I said before, I am afraid that because it has been blazoned in this country that the rupee is only worth its silver content you will get a rush for sovereign if this amendment passes. It is perfectly true that the Honourable the Finance Member will no doubt say what we have been saying for weeks past that the fact that the natural value of the rupee is only its silver content has no more significance than the equally incontrovertible fact that the American silver dollar is only worth its silver content. But people will say that this seems to be a new assertion, and that the Honourable Member has been emphasising the former view during the ratio discussion and therefore one could not blame them for proceeding cautiously and converting their token currency into full valued currency. That, Sir, is why I suggest to this House that it will be dangerous to support this amendment, although I admit that there is quite a natural and widespread desire to keep the sovereign undemonetized, if I may use the clumsy word, until we have got a gold coin to take its place.

Now, Sir, I have been trying to think out if there is not some way to get out of this difficulty, and it is with the greatest diffidence that I make a suggestion which, I hope, will meet the difficult situation. I think my Indian friends will be satisfied if a gold coin was the definite standard value of the country and if a definite date were fixed at which time that coin would circulate even if only in a restricted manner. Now, if the Government were in its Gold Currency Bill to lay down that the standard coin of the country should not be a rupee but should be a gold mohur of a certain weight and fineness and if it should strike a number of samples of this gold mohur so that the coin of the country should not be the rupee but a gold mohur, and if at the same time it would say if you give us gold we will give you not an ordinary note which you get to-day, but we will give you a note which will say that that note is worth so many gold mohurs; and if a period of ten years were to be fixed within which it could be cashed either in silver rupees or notes or in gold mohurs at the option of the Government after which it could only be cashed in gold mohurs you would be getting somewhere to the point which we are all trying to reach. You would be giving Government breathing space, and at the same time the Government would know its liability, for the liability would be that it must supply gold mohurs if asked for for the number of notes that were issued ten years before. I do not know if this attempt of mine to make a constructive suggestion will result in a feasible one, but I do think it is well worth careful consideration, and I do offer it to both sides of the House in the hope that it will prove a practical solution of what is admittedly a very great difficulty.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar (Finance Department: Nominated Official): Sir, I rise at this stage to answer some of the points which have been raised by my friend Mr. Chetty, points which have been very carefully considered by the Currency Commission. He complained, Sir, that the Commission have made a most bald and dogmatic statement in

paragraph 65 of their Report, that the retention of the legal tender character of the sovereign was impossible with a gold bullion standard. He also complained that that statement had not been properly explained. If my friend will only turn to paragraph 53 of the Report and to the later paragraphs which deal with the constitution of the reserves, he will find that the Commission have devoted considerable time and considerable space in the Report to the discussion of the essential principles which underlie this recommendation for the demonetisation of the sovereign. I think, Sir, the difficulty with Mr. Chetty has been, like every other Member, that his point of view has been rather obscured by the ratio controversy. He has read the Report, he has read the evidence; he has read it once, he has read it twice; but he has forgotten everything except the controversy of the ratio.

He was prepared to concede, Sir, that the demonetisation of the sovereign may be necessary in connection with the gold bullion standard, but he saw no reason why in connection with the gold exchange standard or the standard which would be introduced by this Currency Bill such a step was necessary. I will first deal with the second point. Under clause 5 of this Bill the public in India has the option of taking their legal tender currency to the Currency Authority and getting gold exchange at 1s. 5½d. per rupee. They can convert that gold exchange in London into gold so long as there is a statutory obligation on the Bank of England to convert the gold exchange into gold and have it shipped to India; and, when it comes here, the public will have got gold at 1s. 5½d. per rupee. This is exactly, Sir, the rate at which under the gold bullion standard the Commission have recommended that the Currency Authority in India and later on the Reserve Bank must give gold to the public. This, Sir, should prove to Mr. Chetty that if the demonetisation of the sovereign is absolutely necessary in connection with the gold bullion standard, it is also necessary in connection with the gold exchange standard.

To turn now, Sir, to the question how the demonetisation of the sovereign is essential. Under clause 5 of this Bill, the Currency Authority for the first time in the history of the Indian currency system have undertaken a statutory obligation to convert all legal tender currency without limit of amount into gold exchange. It is an obligation which they have not taken for a long time as it involves a very great responsibility. This responsibility is fulfilled by the Currency Authority keeping a certain percentage of gold and gold exchange in the reserves. The maximum amount of this gold or gold exchange to be kept in the reserves is determined by the excess of India's foreign payments abroad over India's credits abroad; that is, the maximum for the gold and gold exchange in reserve is the adverse balance of trade for India. But every sale of gold or gold exchange involves a contraction of an equivalent amount of internal legal tender currency, and there is a limit beyond which it is impossible for the Currency Authority to contract the currency. This is called the contractability of the currency, and usually in all countries which work on a gold exchange or a gold bullion standard, the maximum of the total amount of gold or gold exchange kept in the reserves is fixed by this contractability of the currency. The problem in India is not so simple as it is in other countries on account of the existence of large amount of legal tender currency in hoards. I do not use the word "hoards," in any bad sense; I use it in the sense that a large amount of legal tender currency,

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is not effectively functioning as currency. The experience of the last few years has been that there has been a tendency for these silver hoards to be replaced by gold bullion. Since the Commission reported, our silver rupees in the Reserve have mounted up from 85 to 105 crores. And as

1 P.M. this process goes on, the difficulty in the existence of silver hoards in undertaking any scheme of monetary reform for India will gradually disappear. And what about gold hoards? Mr. Chetty himself has said that there are about 200 crores of sovereigns in hoards. I do not know if he really used the word "hoards", but what he said was that it was not in effective circulation. What will happen if these 200 crores of gold coin come into circulation at any time? They will make it necessary to withdraw a corresponding amount of token currency, if the legal tender character of the sovereign is retained. The Currency Authority will be presented with a large amount of legal tender currency for conversion into gold and gold exchange, for which they have not made provision. This is absolutely impossible for the Currency Authority to undertake at present. The object of the Commission's proposals therefore is to render innocuous that portion of the hoards which consist of gold coin, so that the Currency Authority may have control over the volume of monetary circulation in India and thereby maintain the exchange value of the rupee stable.

So much has been said in favour of the proposals of the Finance Department that I may be permitted to refer to them. That Department placed certain proposals before the Currency Commission and wanted to introduce a gold standard *plus* a gold currency in four well-defined stages. The first was the introduction of a gold bullion standard. The second was the introduction of an optional gold currency. The third was the introduction of a statutory gold currency system; and the fourth was the reduction of the legal tender character of the rupee. The Commission went into every detail of these recommendations and considered that in the present position of India, in her own best interests, it was impossible for the Currency Authority to undertake an obligation beyond what was contained in the first stage of the Finance Department's proposals. The retention of the legal tender character of the sovereign will, as I have shown, place on the Currency Authority an obligation which the Commission have definitely decided it is impossible for it to undertake at present. I therefore appeal to the Members, if you are not going to wreck the Currency Commission's recommendation, please accept this portion of the recommendation.

Mr. Chetty has also inquired why England, which has also introduced a gold bullion standard, did not think it worth while to demonetise the sovereign. It is not that England was unaware of the difficulty of working the gold bullion standard with the gold sovereign in circulation. But, Sir, there are many things that can be done by an appeal to intelligence and patriotism in England that cannot be done here. (*Several Honourable Members*: "Question.") Everything that comes from the Finance Member is treated with a considerable degree of suspicion. I may be permitted to quote here a few sentences from the speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer when he introduced the gold standard in April 1925 in the United Kingdom:

"Returning to the international gold standard does not mean that we are going to issue gold coinage. That is quite unnecessary for the purpose of the gold standard

and it is out of the question in present circumstances. It would be an unwarrantable extravagance which our present financial stringency by no means allows us to indulge in. Indeed, I must appeal to all classes in the public interest to continue to use notes and to make no change in the habits and practices we have become used to for the last 10 years. The practice of the last 10 years has protected the Bank of England and other banks against any appreciable demand for sovereigns or half sovereigns."

Practical steps have also been taken to demonetise the sovereign. Honourable Members are aware that previously there was a statutory obligation in England that no Bank of England note could be issued for less than £5. The object of this was that so far as the daily needs of the country went, the sovereign must circulate for those requirements. The introduction of the £1 and 10s. notes since 1915 and the proposal for their perpetuation later on, tend to show that England has gone away from gold coinage for ever. (*An Honourable Member*: "The sovereign has not been demonetised in England.")

My friend Sir Victor Sassoon referred to the *practice* in England. The question was put to the Governor of the Bank of England:

"Under the currency legislation in force in this country at the present moment the Bank of England note and the currency note are convertible no longer into sovereigns but into gold bullion?"

He answered: "Yes". He was asked again:

"Does the Bank of England in practice cash notes in sovereigns?"

He said:

"It does not in practice. I do not mean to say that occasionally an individual is not obliged. We do sometimes oblige an individual,"

—specially when the individual happens to be a big man (Laughter)—

"but as a general practice the bank does not pay its notes in coin."

It has been stated in the course of the debate that just as England had to go through the gold currency stage before the gold bullion stage, India should also pass through a similar process. This question was put to Mr. Maynard Keynes—an authority very popular on the other side—and let me quote from his evidence:

"It has been suggested to us that just as Germany and England had to go through that stage before they came to the present stage, surely India is entitled to go similarly through the gold coinage and circulation stage?—I think if India wants to go through every stage she had better start with cowries."

"I only want your opinion on that point, because it is an argument that has been put to us in India?—You mean the idea is that India is to begin by making all the mistakes that it is possible to make, and to adopt in turn all the obsolete currencies."

"England has now reached the gold exchange standard practically. It has been suggested that India, not having gone through the gold currency stage, ought now to go through the gold currency stage in order to familiarise her people with the gold coinage?—Nobody would make the same proposals as regards cotton machinery or motor cars, would they?"

If India really wants to have a gold coin, Sir, it cannot be the sovereign. In the first place the value of a sovereign is Rs. 18-5-4. It is a most inconvenient fraction and it can never circulate. The experience of the Government of India in connection with their Rs. 2-8 notes was most bitter, and they ultimately had to withdraw them from circulation, and a lot of these note forms was burnt. Secondly, Colonel Willis, the *Mint*

[Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar.]

Master, in his evidence before the Commission drew attention to the fact that the present fineness of the sovereign facilitates its being melted down for the purpose of ornaments. It does not circulate as currency in India. Of course it circulates on the system of the fair daughters of India. Lastly, Sir, the Government and the Currency Authority must have some control over the total volume of gold coin that is put into circulation. The Right Honourable Montagu Norman, when asked as to when he expected gold coin to circulate again in England, replied:

"When our international position becomes so strong and our exchange rates so high and so satisfactory that gold will come in greater amounts than we need into the Bank reserves; then we shall be glad to use part of the redundant gold for circulation."

So might it be in India. When the gold reserves are more than sufficient, the Currency Authority may think it desirable to inject a portion of the redundant gold into hand to hand use. But the amount of gold so put into circulation should be at the discretion of the Currency Authority and will be limited in amount. The Currency Authority will have full control over the volume of monetary circulation and through that the stability of the purchasing power of the rupee.

The Currency Commission did not look at this point solely from the point of view of the convenience of the Currency Authority. They also considered whether, from the point of view of the Indian public, there would be any inconvenience in carrying out these proposals. Although sovereigns are legal tender under the Act, they have not circulated for the past 10 years. But look at the figures of imports of sovereigns. If you take the period of 5 years ending 1913-14, you will see that India imported annually about 11 crores worth of sovereigns in that period. In 1925-26 she imported an equal amount of sovereigns. That only shows that India will get all the sovereigns she requires and there is no need to fear that this proposal to demonetise the sovereign will inconvenience the public.

Finally I wish to draw particular attention to one paragraph of the Report. In paragraph 167 the Commission say:

"In conclusion, we desire to emphasise that our recommendations in the preceding sections of this Report should be regarded as a comprehensive whole and that modifications of any of their integral parts involve the danger of destroying their balance and so preventing the efficient and smooth working of the whole."

I appeal to the House, do not wreck this scheme. Give the Currency Commission a patient hearing. Give its recommendations a fair trial and you will not regret the action that you have taken. (Applause.)

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Sir, if I intervene in this debate to-day to support the amendment moved by my friend Mr. Chetty it is not because I want to revive the controversy of the ratio, but because I feel that the original section of the Bill would in my opinion remove the last vestige of hope that may exist in the mind of the people that the Government is either serious or in earnest in its idea that it will give way to the people's wish in establishing a gold coinage in this country. Sir, I have been hearing my friend Mr. A. Ayangar's very learned speech, but with all respect I think it is absolutely wide of the mark. (*Several Honourable Members:* "No, no.") I feel, Sir, that whatever he has said as to the merits of the gold bullion standard, or as he more frankly put it in some-

parts of his speech, the gold exchange standard, which is really what is now established in this country, the merits of the gold exchange standard have nothing to do with the demonetisation proposals that have been made in the Government Bill. What is the pretext, Sir, with which the Government supports this proposal to demonetise the sovereign? So far as the demonetisation of the sovereign is concerned, I submit, Sir, that in the original proposals made by the Government of India for a gold currency—a matter to which my friend Mr. Prakasam also referred—they had no proposal whatever that sovereigns should be demonetised in the first instance as a necessary transitory provision for the final establishment of the gold currency, nor in the questionnaire which was sent to all the people who were examined before the Currency Commission was the idea that gold coins should be demonetised in the first instance for the purpose of introducing a reformed currency, put forward. I think there was really no evidence, no substantial amount of evidence before the Commission, which went to deal with this matter. I think, Sir, that the real basis of the proposal that is just now made is found in the fact that the Government have really made up their mind that the standard of currency that should be established in this country is the gold bullion standard and possibly the gold exchange standard eventually, if the gold bullion standard would not work, and not a currency based on a gold coinage. Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member when he introduced the Reserve Bank Bill and made his general speech made to us various promises. He said that whatever view be taken as to the necessity or the expediency of having a gold currency in this country, of having a gold coinage that will really circulate, the first essential step for that purpose would be a gold bullion standard. He said that that was the road *via* which we should advance to the possession of a gold currency. I want to put it to him, Sir, that, if we are to accept the recommendations of the Commission, this would not happen, for what do the Commission say?

“The essence of the proposal which we proceed to develop”

—that is the gold bullion standard—

“is that the ordinary medium of circulation in India should remain as at present the currency note and the silver rupee, and that the stability of the currency in terms of gold should be secured by making the currency directly convertible into gold for all purposes, but that gold should not circulate as money. It *must* not circulate at first, and it *need* not circulate ever.”

Therefore, Sir, the whole point is this. If you now make it impossible for gold to circulate as money, it will become unnecessary to allow it to circulate at all hereafter. Sir, the whole object of this section, I say, is not only to demonetise the gold sovereign but to make it impossible for the gold coin ever to circulate hereafter. That is the basis of this proposal. Whatever may be the way in which the Finance Member views this question,—he might say “Ah, let us consider this matter again when the permanent Act is to be placed on the Statute-book”. Whatever he might say—I say, Sir, if we now demonetise the sovereign we will for ever place this gold coin question out of the range of practical politics in this country. If that is his idea, Sir, I think that he should say so.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That is not my idea.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I am glad to find that it is not his idea. All the same the effect of the proposals will be exactly what I have portrayed. (*An Honourable Member:* "No.")

Now, Sir, what I am pointing out is that the system that he now wants to inaugurate in this country is what he calls the gold bullion standard. The gold bullion standard according to him is to go through three stages. Between now and 1931 it is going to be a really gold exchange standard and during this period therefore it is obvious that the bullion standard, whatever its unit, will place bullion in this country in the position of being used as a monetary article. My friend Mr. Ayangar dealt with the question of bullion being available in sovereigns or in other forms, in bars, whenever this country may want it for other than monetary purposes. But, Sir, the object of the gold bullion standard, as compared to the gold exchange standard, is not merely to make the gold an effective monetary material for external purposes—which is what an exchange standard stands for—but to make gold a monetary material in this country. That is, the people in this country should know that for every currency note they possess they can always go to the Mint and obtain gold; therefore *per contra* every man who has gold can take it to the Mint and take currency notes or rupees as the case may be. That is the idea; if I may say so, that is the psychology of the whole of this matter. It is not the case merely of a man wanting to make gold ornaments who is asked to go to the Mint and buy gold. He can always go to the bazaar and buy it. The actual supply of gold for non-monetary purposes is made by the bazaar and the bazaar of course will buy through the currency office or through banks as the case may be; so that the argument that the gold bullion standard is intended to make gold available for other than monetary purposes is no argument at all. The question, therefore, is whether when you say you are establishing a gold bullion standard in this country you are declaring that in this country every man can obtain gold for a currency note and *vice versa*. That, I say, is not answered by this Bill. I think it can only be appropriately answered as I said in the debate on the Reserve Bank Bill—I quoted an American authority—it can only be appropriately answered when the man in the street in this country comes to feel that a certain amount of gold is in actual circulation or is in a state in which he can always obtain it. As that authority I quoted before says:

"The presence of a substantial amount of gold in general circulation has a splendid psychological effect and is a very important factor in combating money heresies. The ordinary man thinks"

—and I think the man in India thinks particularly—

"in very simple terms, . . . he wants to have his currency on a simple and easily understandable basis, but he is quite capable of understanding the true theory of paper money only if that theory is emphasised in his daily practice. The true theory of paper money is, as this authority points out, that a piece of paper money is a demand promissory note, a promise to pay real money—gold—on demand. If the ordinary man has in his own practice an opportunity to test this principle, to present paper money for redemption, and to have it redeemed, to get gold when he wants it, and to turn in gold for paper when it is more convenient to use the paper, he is not easily misled by fiat money propagandists."

Therefore, Sir, I warn the Government that the step which they now propose to take in regard to the demonetisation of the sovereign will definitely remove from the psychology of the people the idea that the Government have any intention of having a gold currency in this country. First of all,

the man who takes a note or a silver rupee will at least nowadays, even if you fix the ratio at Rs. 18-5-4 to-day, have the idea that sovereigns are also in actual circulation,—that if you take a sovereign to the Mint you will get Rs. 18-5-4 or if you go and pay a sovereign he will accept it as full legal tender in payment of his indebtedness and *vice versa*. If you remove that psychology, if you tell him “ Hereafter this is to mean so much gold but you will get the value for it only in currency or in token rupees”, you are, I say, removing the very idea of gold from his mind and making him feel that your currency is neither gold bullion standard nor gold coinage standard and it is only gold exchange standard manipulated by the Government with a view to keep the currency circulation in their control and with a view to maintain high exchanges in the way in which they have done by raising the rate from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. to-day and by asking us to legalise that position.

Sir, we have been told that this process of the gold bullion standard is the gate through which we must go to the gold exchange standard. I ask whether that is the stage in England. My friend Mr. V. K. Ayangar waxed eloquent over the fact that in England as a matter of fact it is a gold bullion standard that exists. As Mr. Shanmukham Chetty and Mr. Prakasam repeatedly asked, has the sovereign been demonetised? No. The point that my friend put is that although the sovereign is not demonetized, in practice the people have demonetized it. My friend Sir Victor Sassoon told us the other day that he was able to get sovereigns whenever he wanted them and my friend Mr. Ayangar said if the people do want sovereigns they are given them. Therefore, the fact that these sovereigns are there and that these notes are put down in terms of sovereigns shows that there is a gold coin of a certain dimension and value which these notes represent, and therefore so long as that psychological fact remains it is wrong to say that in England they actually have the gold bullion standard. I say therefore that in this country it is very unsafe to say you must demonetize the gold sovereign because it will be impossible for the Government to convince the public that the standard you are introducing is really a gold bullion standard or that it will hereafter lead to the establishment of a real gold currency. I will only say one thing, Sir. The Government state that one of the main objects of this Bill is to get the money from the hoards and to be able to control the currency circulation either by themselves at present or by the banking authorities subsequently, and they say that the best way of doing this is to demonetize the sovereign. Much has been said of the habit of hoarding in this country, but I put it to the Finance Member whether it is not right from his own point of view to bring the gold or other precious metals in this country into more effective circulation, to see that the sovereign shall circulate than to say the sovereign shall not circulate, but go back to hoards? Yet that is what the effect of the proposal in the Bill will do. If the object is to bring out all the gold sovereigns that have gone out of circulation, the proper method is not to demonetize because that will send them back to the hoards, waiting for the time when it will be useful to bring them into circulation. After all, it is well known that the number of sovereigns in actual circulation is not very great, but the real point of the amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Chetty is not that it will bring a lot of sovereigns into circulation. As a matter of fact, except for non-monetary purposes, not many sovereigns would be imported into this country under any conditions of exchange which we can foresee. We

[Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.]

know as a matter of fact that sovereigns will not be allowed to be exported out of the United Kingdom and it is unlikely that conditions in Australia or South Africa will develop to such a degree that any large quantities will be available . . .

Sir Victor Sassoon: You cannot give notes and get sovereigns for export, but a bank can make arrangements to buy sovereigns for export.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: All I am saying is that in England that will be prevented.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No, there is absolutely no prohibition against the export of sovereigns from England.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I know there is no prohibition, but I know that the Governor of the Bank of England in his evidence has said that he has the very strongest objection to have sovereigns in any amount taken away from England at the present time, even for the realisation of our own securities . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Not from England, but from the Bank of England's reserves, which is quite a different thing.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Then I can only say that the statement of the Finance Member and of Mr. Ayangar that sovereigns are not in active circulation in England is absolutely unfounded. If sovereigns are not in active circulation and the Bank of England will not part with the sovereigns which have come into their vault, where could the sovereigns come from for exports, I cannot understand. The whole position seems to me to be this, if Government is really serious and if his appeal to my Honourable friends Mr. Prakasam, Mr. Kelkar and others in regard to this gold coin is really sincere, I think the Government ought not to oppose this very very small matter which, as I say, keeps the psychological aspect of the matter alive. The people will still know that Government intend to give us a gold coin, that sovereigns are in actual circulation and that they are legal tender. If you make the people go from one disaster to another, namely, from a disaster in which they have been compelled to accept the 1s. 6d. ratio another disaster in which they will know that no gold coin will ever come into circulation in this country, that is not the way in which you are going to establish a sound, popular currency in this country.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): Sir, I promise to be very brief, and would not have spoken but for the speech made from the Government Bench opposite. The explanation given by the Honourable Member from the Finance Department regarding the absolute necessity of demonetizing the sovereign has not taken me by surprise. The question is, why did the Royal Commission not put all that he has just said in their Report explaining the necessity for this action? As I do not wish, Sir, to take more time than I can help I will suggest it to the Honourable Member for his consideration whether, when under the various stages that he traced, the sovereign does come out, there is any necessity for any cover in the Government Treasury for the sovereign in circulation? The sovereign carries its own cover; it is a full value gold coin and if anybody takes that coin to the Reserve Bank or the Imperial Bank, as the case may be, and wants exchange on London, the Government are in the happiest of positions . . .

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar: I was not saying sovereigns will be presented to the Currency Authority; I wish they were. It is other legal tender currency that will be presented for conversion into gold. What will happen is that gold coins coming out into circulation will make an equivalent amount of legal tender currency redundant.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I see, the point then is that the sovereign will replace the rupee or the note in circulation; I am more surprised at this than before. What is the capacity of the masses in India to handle sovereigns? I am really surprised at that statement. Surely it is not denied that the sovereign if in hoards is in hoards of rich bankers in districts, not with the masses in large quantities.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Does the Honourable Member forget the 180 crores of currency notes?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I do very well remember them, but the Honourable Member must know where the notes for rupees 180 crores are in circulation. If he chooses to tell me where the 180 crores are, he would find the explanation self-evident. To say that the sovereign will replace the rupee and the five-rupee note in actual circulation is a piece of information which I am very glad to have, and especially to have from a representative of the Finance Department. It will always be useful. I suggest, however, that for serious practical consideration there is nothing in the ground put forward that when the sovereign comes out of hoards into circulation it will baffle the Currency Authority. The sovereign carries its own cover and the more sovereigns come into circulation, the easier it will be for the currency authorities.

Sir, the point is, will the continuation of the sovereign as a legal tender coin wreck the scheme? A good deal of emphasis has been laid by the Honourable the Finance Member and his friends on the other side warning this House not to wreck the scheme. I feel that much more than a mere assertion is required to tell the House how this can wreck the scheme. Even in England to-day you can take a sovereign to the Bank of England and ask them to give you Bank of England notes . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Does the Honourable Member deny that the Currency Commission say it will wreck the scheme?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: It may have done so. I differed from it and I stand by my opinion. Because my colleagues said something, it does not mean I am not entitled to my own opinion. I am still open to conviction but the only thing is you make a shibboleth of this bogey of wrecking the scheme and I am afraid you are prejudicing the House. The real point is that with a 1s. 6d. rate the sovereign is reduced to a very inconvenient figure, Rs. 13-5-4, and the apprehension of the Government is that, if the sovereign is allowed to be legal tender, the masses of India may soon perceive what has been done to their sovereign. I wish, Sir, that the effects of this may not be as bad as apprehended, but Government have themselves to thank for it. In any case it is hardly a reason for the step that Government now propose to take. An appeal has been made, Sir. We were told . . . Did the Honourable Member say anything? (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:* "No.") I was saying we have been told by the Honourable Member that in England one can appeal to the intelligence and patriotism of the people. I admit that in India the standard of education is very low. I also admit, Sir, that owing

{Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

to the various acts of commission and omission of the Government, attachment to the Government may at times be on the wane; but I submit that patriotism to our motherland here is as great and as loyal to-day as it is in England. (Hear, hear). The whole difference is this that there patriotism is based upon confidence of the people in their Government and their currency system; on the other hand, here, in addition to the injustice done to India since 1899, the currency policy that is to govern the future is also such that confidence is being further rudely shaken. That is the difference. The people of India, even uneducated though they may be, know exactly, and they know better than any other set of people in the world what is to their interest and what is not to their interest. I therefore feel that the parallel which is sought to be drawn is very wide of the mark, and if correctly appreciated, should give the Government food for serious reflection.

One more word, Sir, and I have finished. It is said if you demonetise the sovereign people will not suffer. It has been urged that the Government will accept the sovereign at the various treasuries and at the currency offices for a few months. If there is anything like the large number of sovereigns which are said to be still in India Government cannot expect to draw all these sovereigns to their treasuries in a few months although I am prepared to admit that that would satisfy them extraordinarily. Having frittered away India's gold and gold reserves to the extent of 25 millions during the last year to support the ratio of 1s. 6d. they must like to draw all the gold they can from the people here. But they cannot possibly draw gold sovereigns in a few months' time. After that period the sovereigns are to be accepted at the treasuries and currency offices not at their value as a coin but at their bullion value. Supposing a man has 200 sovereigns and he takes them a year later to the Currency Office. The Currency Office will weigh the sovereigns and pay for the sovereigns by weight. Now all these sovereigns, as we know, Sir, suffer by what is known as being "sweated". If you take 200 sovereigns it is quite possible, it is very likely—I should be surprised if it were otherwise—the Government authority will say "I will pay you the value of 199½ sovereigns according to weight". That is, half a sovereign has been worn out and that would be the loss to that man. The question therefore is whether the sovereign which was made a legal tender in India as far back as 1893 should now be allowed to be demonetised. I submit, Sir, that in spite of what has been said on the other side, no case has been made out for it.

Honourable Members: Let the question be now put.

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill."

Since which the following amendment has been moved:

"That in the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, section 11, for the word 'ten' the words 'thirteen-five-four' be substituted."

The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The Assembly divided:

AYES—49.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sessa.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Chaman Lall, Mr.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
Das, Mr. B.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kattar Singh, Sardar.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.

Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra
Kanta.

Lajpat Rai, Lala.
Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
Mehta, Mr. Jammadas M.
Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
Sayyid.
Naidu, Mr. B. P.
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Prakasam, Mr. T.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan.
Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
Bahadur
Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Tok Kyi, U.

NOES—63.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
Ahmed, Mr. K.
Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
A. M. M.
Allison, Mr. F. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Ariff, Mr. Yacoub C.
Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
Nawabzada Sayid.
Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
Gopalaswami.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
W. M. P.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Graham, Mr. L.
Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hezlett, Mr. J.
Howell, Mr. E. B.
Hussain Shah, Sayyed.
Hyder, Dr. L. K.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Ismail Khan, Mr.

Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
and Honorary Captain.
Keane, Mr. M.
Khin Maung, U.
Lamb, Mr. W. S.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
Alexander.
Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-
Sardar.
Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
Natique, Maulvi A. H.
Paddison, Sir George.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
Makhdum Syed.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Mr. K. C.
Roy, Sir Ganen.
Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
Sassoon, Sir Victor.
Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
Svkes, Mr. E. F.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Willson, Sir Walter.
Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad
Young, Mr. G. M.
Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: As a result of the decisions arrived at so far by the House on this Bill, all amendments to clause 2 of the Bill except amendment No. 24 on the paper drop out. I therefore call upon Sir Basil Blackett to move his amendment No. 24.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I rise to move the amendment:

"That in clause 2 (a) of the Bill, in the proposed new section 11 of the Indian Coinage Act, 1906—

- (1) for the word 'June' the word 'September' be substituted; and
- (2) after the words 'Government Treasury' the words 'other than a Sub-Treasury' be inserted."

The provision regarding the receipt of sovereigns and half-sovereigns at their bullion value at Government treasuries was inserted in order to give facilities to the small holders of sovereigns. From inquiries made in Calcutta it appears that very considerable difficulties will be met with in making the arrangements at the treasuries for the sovereigns to be received at their bullion value, and more time is therefore required to make the preparations. We propose therefore that the date on which such coins should begin to be receivable at treasuries should be the 30th September instead of the 30th of June. That will not affect the question of their receipt at currency offices.

The second amendment is necessary because we find that the word "treasury" is not defined in the Indian Coinage Act or the Indian Paper Currency Act or in the General Clauses Act; and unless the word "treasury" is defined it is possible that the obligation undertaken in this clause might extend to sub-treasuries also, which besides being unnecessary would be extremely inconvenient. Our desire is to give full facilities for the receipt of sovereigns and half-sovereigns at their bullion value from the earliest possible date and to the fullest possible extent. Our object in making these changes is simply to bring them within the compass of our capacity. They will be of very little real import from the point of view of the convenience of those who wish to change sovereigns. I do not think that any further explanation is required from me, but I may perhaps make the general statement that the Government will do their utmost to extend all possible conveniences to the holders of sovereigns who may desire to change them at the treasuries or at the currency offices. In point of fact they will usually get a little bit more in the market, but if they do wish to bring them to the currency offices and treasuries we shall make it our duty to take them as freely as we possibly can. Sir, I move.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That clause 2, as amended, do stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That clause 3 do stand part of the Bill."

All amendments on the paper except perhaps one standing in the name of Mr. Prakasam drop. Does Mr. Prakasam wish to move his amendment?

Mr. T. Prakasam: I am not moving it, Sir.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That clause 3 do stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Clause 3 was added to the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That clause 5 do stand part of the Bill."

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: There are a number of amendments to clause 5.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to move his amendment?

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Yes, Sir.

Mr. President: The House stands adjourned till 3 o'clock.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar (Madras and Ramnad *cum* Tinnevely: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move my amendment No. 66 in the list which reads as follows:

"That for sub-clause (1) of clause 5 of the Bill the following be substituted:

'5. (1) The Governor General in Council shall sell gold to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at the office of the Controller of the Currency, Calcutta, or of the Deputy Controller of the Currency, Bombay, and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency at the rate of twenty-three rupees fourteen annas and four pies per tola of fine gold:

Provided that the Governor General in Council shall have the option to offer, instead of gold, sterling for immediate delivery in London at an equivalent rate:

Provided further that no person shall be entitled to demand an amount of gold or sterling of less value than that of forty tolas of fine gold."

I submit, Sir, in moving this amendment, that the corresponding obligation attaching to Government providing for the purchase of gold under clause 4 was moved by me on Saturday, the 12th, and the House was pleased to accept 40 tolas to be the minimum amount of gold, which could be purchased by the Government. Now there is a corresponding clause so far as the sale of gold by the Government is concerned, and that is provided for in the second proviso to the amendment which I have just read out to the House. I dare say that in virtue of what took place on Saturday last, the Honourable the Finance Member will be pleased to accept this amendment in respect of forty tolas of fine gold.

[Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar.]

I see the Honourable the Finance Member signifies his dissent. I do not know, Sir, what it is that really disables the Finance Member from accepting that position. There are two corresponding stages, one provides an obligation attaching to the Government for the purpose of selling gold, and another provides an obligation on Government for the purpose of purchasing gold. The arguments that I submitted the other day and which enabled the House to vote for it and to fix the minimum at 40 tolas regard being had to the poverty of the country could certainly be with equal force applied to Government's sale of gold. So that, I do not see any reason why the Finance Member does not accede to my suggestion; at any rate, I am confident that the House at least will not reject my amendment in the light of what has taken place already but that it will view with favour this proviso to clause 5. Then, Sir, so far as clause 1 is concerned, the House will probably remember that throughout the body of the Currency Commission's Report there is not a word said about gold exchange at all. Whenever they provide for the inflow and outflow of gold by virtue of their recommendations, they invariably speak in terms of gold and gold only, whereas the Finance Member has chosen to drop the word "gold" altogether in his clause 5 and has substituted "gold exchange" instead. Now, in the Statement of Objects and Reasons to the Bill in paragraph 3 this is what is stated:

"The Commission recommend in paragraph 166 of their Report that, until the Reserve Bank of India takes over the control of the Note Issue, the Government of India must be under a statutory obligation to sell gold or gold exchange at its option at the gold points of the accepted gold parity of the rupee."

So that it is perfectly patent that what the Commission recommended was to make a statutory obligation on the Government of India to buy gold and sell gold or gold exchange. Then it is said:

"During the transitory period, the Government of India would be engaged in building up the gold holding in the Reserve and would not therefore exercise its option to give gold."

That is given as a reason why the word "gold" was dropped in the present Bill and "gold exchange" was retained. In fact, at every turn we are told that there are very great advantages to accrue from this Reserve Bank, and we are also told that all these amendments would go to jeopardise the far off Reserve Bank Bill and all that. Unfortunately also, Sir, in this amendment the Finance Member thought it necessary to drop the word "gold" and substitute "gold exchange" only. Clauses 4 and 5 give effect to this recommendation as modified. As I submitted to the House just now, nowhere in the body of the Report do the Currency Commissioners say a word about gold exchange. Either in paragraph 57 or in paragraph 150, where they deal with this matter, there is not a word about gold exchange, but they make provision for the transitory period and mention gold exchange; but even there they mention the words "gold or gold exchange", whereas the Finance Member thought it prudent to omit the word "gold" altogether. My amendment simply suggests that "gold exchange" ought to be dropped and the word "gold" only ought to be retained, so that it makes it obligatory on Government to consider the advisability of parting with gold alone and not indulge in giving gold exchange. The other day the Finance Member was pleased to observe that the Government were very anxious to arrange for the

continuous inflow and outflow of gold. If that is so, why is it that this restriction is imposed upon the sale of gold to any one who might be inclined to purchase gold? Why the word "gold" alone should be omitted and the words 'gold exchange' introduced passes my comprehension. I would also bring to the notice of the House that the Bank of England does not keep any portion of its reserves in the banks of any other country than in its own banks. It is possible that it might be able to earn interest if it kept its reserves in other countries; but even in spite of that they do not keep any of their monies in other countries. So why is it then that India should be placed at this disadvantage in this respect? Should India pay the penalty of providing for Foreign reserves by keeping her reserves in other countries than in England? No doubt, we are bound up with England, and if it is said that we must keep our securities in Britain, that is perfectly understandable. My amendment makes provision for either gold or gold securities being sold; and I certainly take objection to holding any part of our reserves or to being allotted securities other than the securities of Britain, I mean the securities of Belgium or any other country. One reason suggested was that they wanted to accommodate the finances of other countries. The balance of trade is always in favour of India. Perhaps once in ten or twelve years it happens that there is not this balance of trade kept up and the value of imports exceeds the value of exports. Now, to provide for that rare happening, it is not possible or expedient to expect India to place her reserves in other countries. If the balance of trade normally happens to be always in favour of India, it is eminently necessary that other countries should be allowed to keep their reserves in India instead of providing for our reserves being kept in other countries. That also, I submit, is a great drawback in this Bill, as it is. There is also this phenomenon of asking the Indian Legislature to legislate for her disability which possibly accrues from the Indian standpoint. There must be a free flow of gold. Why do you not provide for the free inflow of gold into India? And to ask the Indian Legislature to legislate for this measure of disabling India from getting her legitimate gold for the commodities which she sends out, and also, whenever we want to purchase gold, to ask us at the option of the Currency authorities to accept not gold, but gold exchange, and not even gold exchange in the shape of British securities, but the securities of any other country, is, I think, a great disability which will be imposed upon us. In this connection, Sir, I cannot but read the opinion of the Bombay Shroff's Association. It is printed at page 50 of the opinions on the Currency Bill. They say this:

"So far as gold for export purposes is concerned, the option left to the Currency Authority to give gold or gold exchange in foreign countries which are on a gold standard is highly retrograde and is fraught with the most mischievous consequences to the gold reserves of India. It is amazing that a Royal Commission, charged with the duty of recommending the best standard for this country, should have proposed the extension of the wrong practice of diverting Indian gold out of India. To-day most of the Indian gold reserves are in England. Under the new system now proposed other countries besides England, like France, America, Russia, Japan and others may have located in their central banks gold reserve belonging to India in anticipation of a remote necessity that might arise once in ten years for India to make payments to these countries when the balance of trade is adverse to India. India is a producing country, and instead of paying out gold she has to receive gold from other countries. If anything the proper course would be to have gold reserves from other countries kept in India to enable India to receive payments in gold to which she is entitled. The

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recommendation now made not only diverts India's gold on a large scale than before, but it further exposes our gold in foreign countries to the risk of being rendered useless in times of stress or war if those countries decide to place an embargo on gold as they did during the last Great War. It is unfortunate that with their eyes open the Royal Commission should have proposed an arrangement fraught with such serious consequences with little necessity and with less justification."

And it is unfortunate still that the same recommendation has been taken up by the Honourable the Finance Member. I invite the attention of the House, therefore, to the serious inconveniences attaching to this clause 5 of the Bill and I invite them to vote for this amendment of mine.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, the last quotation from the Bombay Shroff's Association shows that with the best will in the world, neither the Honourable Member nor the Bombay Shroff's Association have been able fully to understand what is the meaning of the Currency Commission's recommendation or of that part of it which is included in this Bill. I have repeatedly stated that this Bill is intended solely as an interim measure until such time as the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill comes into operation. The Bill proposes to establish during that interim period a gold exchange standard for India to lead on to a gold bullion standard, and it has been my anxiety, and it was the anxiety of the Government, in framing this Bill to do nothing in this Bill to prejudice the discussion of the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. The Honourable Member who has just moved this amendment has really been raising points all of which will arise for a thorough study and explanation on the other Bill. I do not know whether it has any effect, but I should like once again to repeat the assurance that when we come to that Bill I shall do my utmost to see that all these points are thoroughly investigated. All that we propose to do here is that during the interim period we should take an absolute obligation to give foreign exchange in return for Indian legal tender at the rate corresponding to the fixed parity. We have for that purpose incorporated almost exactly the recommendation of the Currency Commission. We have, however, as the Honourable Member pointed out, omitted the option to the Currency Authority to give gold instead of gold exchange if it so desires, for the simple reason that during the interim period the chief concern of the Currency Authority is bound to be to accumulate gold in the reserves. I was quoted just now as saying that I desire to see the inflow and outflow of gold encouraged during the interim period. What I desire to see is the inflow of gold into the reserve. I do not know whether Honourable Members have observed that we have been converting recently a proportion of the gold standard reserve into gold as a first step in that process, and we are anxious to be able to take gold in India and receive it into the currency reserve in order that the time may arrive as soon as possible when we have ample reserves of gold, so that we may undertake the obligation not as an option but as an obligation to give gold bullion in exchange for Indian legal tender. Provision is made in the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill for that obligation to come into force on the 1st January 1931, and obviously in the meanwhile it will not be desirable that we should be letting our gold flow out of our reserves if it is the amount of the gold in those reserves which will determine the earliest date at which we can undertake the full obligation. Therefore to give the Currency Authority an option during this interim period which it has no intention of exercising seemed to us to be rather

unnecessary; in addition it leads to complications because there is a difference between the price at which it is proposed to impose the obligation on the Currency Authority to give gold after the 1st January, 1981, and the price at which it is proposed it should give gold exchange in this Bill. Therefore, our preference was and is for omitting the words "gold or", simply because it leads to additional complications and it adds nothing in view of the fact that there is no obligation imposed on the Currency Authority but only an option which it does not intend to exercise.

The second point which my Honourable friend has raised is that because we agreed to a limit of only 40 tolas for the amount of gold which might be offered to the Currency Authority when it was a purchaser, we ought therefore now to put the same lower limit on the amount of gold which the Currency Authority is to be obligated to give out when it is a seller. As I stated at the time, it was merely a matter of convenience whether you put 40 or 300 or 1,065 as the figure for the number of tolas which was the minimum that the Government as the Currency Authority would buy. That is not so in the case of a minimum for sale. The minimum proposed is 1,065 tolas. I submit to this House that that minimum, which is the same as the English minimum, is in itself a desirable minimum, but that in any case it is most undesirable that at this stage we should reduce that minimum and thereby prejudice our own position when we deal with the gold bullion standard question on the next Bill. There is not the slightest gain in altering that figure 1,065 to 40 or any other figure; and if we leave it as 1,065 and not 300 or 40, it will be open to us to consider in the Committee on the other Bill in careful detail whether 1,065 or some smaller figure is a desirable one. But to put a lower figure in here definitely prejudices the discussion of the next Bill. So far as that point is concerned, I hope my Honourable friend will not press his amendment.

His third point is that he objects to our having authority to buy securities other than sterling securities for the currency reserves. Now there again I think he has, no doubt unintentionally, somewhat misunderstood and misrepresented the objects of allowing these securities to be purchased. He speaks of it as being some kind of benefit to the country whose securities are purchased. That is not the purpose at all and it has no such effect. The object of allowing the purchase of securities other than sterling securities was to enable the Currency Authority to be in a position, if in any circumstances sterling fell below gold parity, i.e., if sterling fell away from gold, to place the reserves in investments in real gold securities in countries where the gold standard had not been departed from. It is purely for the sake of maintaining the completeness of the gold standard that the option to buy gold securities other than British securities was recommended by the Currency Commission and inserted in this Bill. The Honourable Member says that the Bank of England does not keep its reserves anywhere except in British securities. That is so, but I do not know whether he is aware that practically every other country in the world, with the exception of the United States, does keep a considerable proportion of its currency reserve in the securities of other gold standard countries. Japan does it; Germany does it; Austria and Belgium do it. It is a regular procedure and it is a procedure that is very much to the advantage of the authority which is allowed to invest its reserves in securities of other countries. It is a definite additional cost that is incurred by Great Britain and America, which are, as it were, the central gold reserve countries of

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the world, which is not necessary or desirable or convenient for other countries who are not in that position. As regards the other point that arrangements ought to be made for the currency reserves of other countries being invested in Indian securities, I very much hope that that will happen in course of time, when we have got our Reserve Bank and gold standard fully established. I have no doubt there will be cases in which that will happen, but there is no necessity for us to legislate for it. Indeed it is a thing we could not do. But it will be quite open to other countries and I see no reason why in course of time something of that sort should not happen.

I now come to the question of the extent to which the Government are prepared to go to meet the Honourable Member. As I say, this clause is exactly in accordance with the recommendations of the Currency Commission; but especially as it is an interim Bill, Government have no objection to limiting the power of investment for the time being to sterling securities if that is the desire of the House as expressed by the Honourable Member. It will not make any very great difference in practice during the temporary period nor will it in any way prejudice our discussion of the same point when we come to the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill. Government are not prepared to reduce the figure of 1,065 tolas to some smaller figure in this Bill, but there again, as I have pointed out, that does not prejudice discussion of the same point on the next Bill. I hope the House will not press me also to include the option of gold or sterling. I have explained that the option is one which the Currency Authority will not in fact exercise. But I am, like the Home Member, in an amiable mood. If it will serve to shorten the debate, I have a clause here drafted which meets all the points including the option of gold or sterling. Perhaps I may be allowed to read it.

"5. (1) The Governor General in Council shall sell to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at the office of the Controller of the Currency, Calcutta, or of the Deputy Controller of the Currency, Bombay, and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency, gold for delivery at the Bombay Mint at the rate of Rs. 21-3-10 per tola of fine gold or at the option of the Controller or the Deputy Controller as the case may be, sterling for immediate delivery in London at an equivalent rate:

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand an amount of gold or sterling of less value than that of 1,065 tolas of fine gold."

There are consequential alterations in sub-clauses (2) and (3). I think sub clause (4) of this clause goes altogether. I should like to know whether that really is an amendment which will meet the views of the Mover of this amendment and those who support it. It meets his point about investment being in sterling only. It gives him the option of gold or sterling at the option of the Currency Authority. It does not give him any reduction below 1,065 tolas. I think it meets two of his points therefore, but does not meet that third small point. The position therefore is that if the Honourable Member is prepared to withdraw his amendment, I shall be prepared to move this together with consequential amendments provided by the draftsman in the rest of clause 5. I may say before I sit down that if this is accepted I think all the amendments on this clause are dealt with, except one of Mr. Shanmukham Chetty in which he wants to impose an obligation on the Currency Authority to sell gold in all circumstances as from 1931. I hope he will not be inclined to press that. There again it is exactly what we propose to do when the Reserve

Bank comes into existence. I will, however, not continue that point now. But I would like to say that if the Honourable Member is prepared to withdraw his amendment, I shall, with your leave, Sir, be prepared to move this as a substitute.

Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar: It is quite refreshing to see that the Finance Member is in an amiable mood to accept two out of three of my suggestions, and I am not satisfied with his reasons for not reducing 1,065 tolas to 40 tolas. However, acting on his assurance, I beg leave to withdraw this amendment.

The amendment was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I beg to move:

"That for clause 5 of the Bill the following be substituted:

'5. (1) The Governor General in Council shall sell, to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at the office of the Controller of the Currency, Calcutta, or of the Deputy Controller of the Currency, Bombay, and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency, gold for delivery at the Bombay Mint at the rate of Rs. 21-3-10 per tola of fine gold or at the option of the Controller or the Deputy Controller as the case may be, sterling for immediate delivery in London at an equivalent rate:

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand an amount of gold or sterling of less value than that of 1,065 tolas of fine gold.

(2) For the purpose of determining the equivalent rate applicable to the sale of sterling under this section twenty-one rupees three annas and ten pies shall be deemed to be equivalent to such sum in sterling as is required to purchase one tola of fine gold in London at the rate at which the Bank of England is bound by law to give sterling in exchange for gold after deduction therefrom of an amount representing the normal cost per tola of transferring gold bullion in bulk from Bombay to London, including interest on its value during transit.

(3) The Governor General in Council shall from time to time determine the equivalent rate in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2) and shall notify the rate so determined in the Gazette of India."

Mr. N. O. Kelkar (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I have got two amendments on this clause.

Mr. President: The amendment is before the House. If the Honourable Member does not approve of it, he must oppose it. If it is carried, his own amendment will fall.

The question I have to put is that this amendment be made. As many as are of that opinion will say "Aye." (*Honourable Members:* "Aye.")

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: I want to speak, Sir.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must protect his own interests and rise in time.

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: It is not a question of moving my amendment. I will content myself at this stage

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will be at liberty to move his amendment if he could persuade the House to throw out this amendment.

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: If this is accepted

Mr. President: Then his amendment goes.

Mr. N. O. Kelkar: Therefore I must oppose this now and speak on it. Sir, the Mover of that other amendment has agreed to withdraw his amendment in consideration of the new form of the clause offered by the Finance Member. But in my opinion the real point at issue has not been solved. I think the real point at issue here is the option, and the question is, who

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is to exercise that option? It has all along been assumed that it is the Government that is to exercise that option, whereas, as I understand it, in the interests of the internal stabilization of the rupee the option must be given to the purchaser to exercise. It is for him to say, he wants this, that or the other, and for the Government to grant it, if real stabilization of the rupee is to be secured, which is the object of this Bill. The whole trouble seems to arise out of the fact that, on this Bill, we are taking Government more seriously than they are prepared to take themselves, and that is evidently why the Finance Member says it is a matter of option, but we are not prepared to exercise that option, as if there is nothing in the option. Then he says, it does not matter whether he sells gold, 40 tolas or 300 or any other number of tolas. It is not to be a practical proposition and it does not matter for a few months how much we sell. The Bill has been presented with so many objectionable provisions that we must grapple with each of the provisions, and leave no room for any prejudice against what is coming in the other Bill. If every problem will be solved at the time of the other Bill, I do not really see why the present Bill should have been brought only a few months before that. All the three Bills should have been taken together and should have been sent to a Select Committee and the whole matter thrashed out. I do not really see how only our amendments and arguments prejudice the final conclusions to be reached and not the provisions put forward by the Government. Opposing the amendment put forward by the Finance Member, I will say this. I will put before the House a kind of formal argument about this. My proposition is that the object of this Bill is immediately to stabilize the rupee in relation to gold. That proposition cannot be gainsaid. The Statement of Objects and Reasons says that the immediate object is the stabilization of the rupee in relation to gold. Now stabilization has two aspects, its internal aspect and its external aspect. The external stabilization has been secured by fixing a statutory ratio of exchange at 1s. 6d. A necessary corollary of this, however, is that the Government should be prepared to work the statutory ratio and this has been done by a statutory obligation imposed on Government to sell gold exchange at 1s. 6d. or 8 point odd grains of gold for one rupee. But the real question now arises. What about the internal stabilization of the rupee in relation to gold? Internal stabilization can only be realised by Government being prepared both to buy and sell gold bullion at the statutory gold value of the rupee. The statutory value of the rupee in relation to gold involves a double idea of stabilization, (1) of the rupee in relation to gold, and (2) of gold in relation to the rupee. It is a perfect equation, namely, one rupee is equal to 8 point so many grains of gold, and the two sides of an equation must be interchangeable or convertible. We can say the rupee is linked to gold only when this equation is realised, not till then. There is no such realisation of the equation so long as the Government recognises only an obligation to buy gold at the rate fixed. By buying gold as a matter of legal obligation Government can be said only to have stabilized gold in relation to the rupee and not the rupee in relation to gold. To refuse to sell gold for rupees at the same fixed rate would be to deny that the value of the rupee for internal purposes is 8 point so many grains of gold. The real problem before the Government was not to stabilize gold, the real point was to stabilize the silver rupee. In the Statement of Objects and Reasons Government said that they wanted immediately to stabilize the rupee. Their action in

refusing to sell gold is therefore a direct contradiction of their purpose as stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. If Government do not want to sell gold, they should have stated their object clearly. They should have said "immediate stabilization of the rupee in relation to its exchange value", whereas they have stated in clear terms their object is to immediately stabilize the rupee itself. For the purpose of exchange this can be accomplished even without a reference to gold bullion. They should have stated "immediate stabilization of the rupee in relation to its exchange value" and not stabilization in relation to gold, for as I conceive it, the purpose of exchange can be accomplished even without reference to gold bullion, for example, by bills of exchange or securities or book adjustments. Gold bullion need not come in here at all; the purpose of exchange can be served otherwise. Therefore, why should it not be stated that the object of Government is to stabilize the rupee in relation to exchange? But if stabilization in relation to gold is stated that must also be made good. This Bill makes the standard not even a real gold bullion standard as it is supposed to be, but simply a gold exchange standard. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I point out to the Honourable Member that what I said was that the object of this Bill is to establish a gold exchange standard for an interim period pending the time the gold bullion standard is brought into effect.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: We have heard the Bill described for even the present interim stage as a gold bullion standard.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Never.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: May I take it that that has never been put forward?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Certainly not by me. I carefully stated the contrary.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: What does the Statement of Objects and Reasons say? "To stabilize the rupee in relation to gold", not in relation to exchange. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Certainly.

Mr. N. C. Kelkar: This in my opinion is even worse than the gold exchange standard; for there under the gold exchange system what do we find? We had exchange as well as the sovereign as a definite legal tender coin, and that means that whereas in the other arrangement we had the cat and the grin together, here we have only the grin and no cat! The reason given in the Report for the proposed elimination of a gold coin as legal tender is that the obligation was proposed to be imposed on Government, even in the interim period, to sell gold for all purposes. The sovereign being now demonetized, Government must sell gold bars for all purposes absolutely. The one is vitally linked to the other. The Report says its recommendations are interdependent and that point had already been stated by my friend Mr. Ayyangar. I use the same for my purpose also. This means the obligation to sell gold bars for internal as well as external purposes necessarily follows from the elimination of the sovereign. The elimination of the sovereign and the selling of gold bars absolutely even for internal purposes—the two things I do contend are linked with one another; and, therefore, if you have to eliminate the sovereign as a legal tender coin, you must make good your word about the giving of gold for internal purposes. In now agreeing to sell gold as well as gold exchange Government would only be correcting the mistake they committed in restricting the scope of the sale of gold in the second Bill. The second Bill is worse than the

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first Bill, but I contend that the first Bill also was wrong in that it left the option to Government. The option should have been given to the people. In now expressing willingness to sell at least gold at his option the Finance Member is not making a concession to our perversity or obstinacy, but removing an absurdity from his conduct. You cannot stabilize and maintain the rupee at a certain gold value unless, I contend, you are prepared to deal with the rupee and gold both ways, inward and out.

Mr. President: The question is :

" That for clause 5 of the Bill the following be substituted :

' 5. (1) The Governor General in Council shall sell, to any person who makes a demand in that behalf at the office of the Controller of the Currency, Calcutta, or of the Deputy Controller of the Currency, Bombay, and pays the purchase price in legal tender currency, gold for delivery at the Bombay Mint at the rate of Rs. 21-3-10 per tola of fine gold or at the option of the Controller or the Deputy Controller as the case may be, sterling for immediate delivery in London at an equivalent rate :

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand an amount of gold or sterling of less value than that of 1,065 tolas of fine gold.

(2) For the purpose of determining the equivalent rate applicable to the sale of sterling under this section, twenty-one rupees, three annas and ten pies shall be deemed to be equivalent to such sum in sterling as is required to purchase one tola of fine gold in London at the rate at which the Bank of England is bound by law to give sterling in exchange for gold, after deduction therefrom of an amount representing the normal cost per tola of transferring gold bullion in bulk from Bombay to London, including interest on its value during transit.

(3) The Governor General in Council shall, from time to time, determine the equivalent rate in accordance with the provisions of sub-section (2) and shall notify the rate so determined in the Gazette of India."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is :

" That clause 5, as amended, do stand part of the Bill."

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore cum North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I move :

" That after the proviso to sub-clause (1) of clause 5 the following further proviso be inserted :

' Provided further that from the 1st day of January, 1931, or such earlier date as the Governor General in Council may notify in the Gazette of India in this behalf, the authority for the time being entrusted with the right of note issue shall be bound to sell to any person who makes a demand in that behalf or pays in legal tender currency the purchase price as determined by this sub-section, gold bullion for delivery at the option of the purchaser, either in Bombay or in London."

Sir, in this amendment I seek to embody one of the recommendations of the Royal Commission itself. I am not trying to introduce any new principle or any innovation, and I hope that the Honourable the Finance Member's amiability will continue and enable him to accept this amendment also. According to clause 5 the option is given to the Currency Authority to sell either gold or sterling exchange, but I want to have it enacted that from the 1st January 1931 or such earlier date as may be determined in this behalf by the Governor General in Council the option to ask for gold or sterling should be left to the purchaser. My Honourable friend the Finance Member will say that this is a matter which ought to be considered when the Reserve Bank Bill is taken into consideration. In fact I have taken my amendment from one of the clauses to the Reserve Bank Bill

itself; but my difficulty is this. It may be that when the Reserve Bank Bill comes from the Select Committee it may emerge in a form which is not acceptable to the Finance Member or in a form which is not acceptable to this side of the House. In either case there is the danger of the Reserve Bank Bill not being carried through in this House, and if that contingency were to happen our currency system will be left practically where it has been all these years. Especially after the dictum of the Honourable the Finance Member that the rupee has no more value than its silver contents, one cannot rest content with leaving our currency system where it is at the moment. I want to make sure that at least from the 1st January, 1931, our currency will be really and effectively linked to gold and not be merely linked to sterling. The Currency Commission itself in paragraph 165 have given a time table and they have prescribed the various dates within which their recommendations must take effect. This obligation on the Currency Authority to sell gold is an obligation which they would like to see imposed not later than the 1st January 1931. Sir, it would not be a very difficult matter for the Currency Authority in India to take steps before the 1st January 1931, to strengthen their gold reserves to enable them to fulfil this obligation. On the 30th April, 1926, the gold reserves of the Government of India were about 81 crores of rupees in sterling securities and about 30 crores gold coin and bullion in the Paper Currency Reserve in India. If the Currency Authority will take the necessary steps to convert its sterling securities into gold as and when they mature, it would, I submit, give them sufficient time to have enough of gold reserves to enable them to meet this obligation. In fact the Currency Commission themselves contemplate that such a step should be taken by the Currency Authority in India. They remark in paragraph 166 that the Currency Authority should take whatever steps are required to convert in the safest and most gradual manner a portion of the sterling balances into gold bullion. If the Government of India would take steps to convert their sterling securities into gold bullion, I submit they would not find any difficulty at all to fulfil this obligation from the 1st January, 1931. I hope that the Honourable Member will accept this amendment.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, all along the House has been in a real difficulty owing to the fact that we have been dealing with two separate Bills. The proposal which the Honourable Member Mr. Shanmukham Chetty now makes is as he says a proposal recommended by the Currency Commission and accepted by the Government of India but it is included in another Bill. He wants to transfer it into this Bill and he quotes in support of his motion the dictum—which the Government of India fully accept—of the Currency Commission that all their recommendations hang together and must be taken together. Now that is just exactly my objection to accepting this clause here. I recognise the truth of what Mr. Shanmukham Chetty says that there must be a measure of agreement between the various parties in this House if we are to get the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill on to the Statute-book; and I should like to assure him and the House here and now that I shall use my utmost endeavours and go as far as I possibly can to meet legitimate demands in regard to that Bill and to satisfy as many people as possible. I am most anxious that this little Bill should not be the "*ridiculus mus*" which comes out of the Currency Commission's Report. I hope for something very much more but we shall need the full amount of good-will and give and take if we are to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. But Mr. Chetty says,

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

"Why not undertake an obligation now to bring the gold bullion standard into force on the 1st January, 1931?" My answer is—and I say this with all seriousness to the House—that I do not think that I could be a party to recommending to the Government of India or to the people of India that they should undertake all the obligations of the gold bullion standard so long as the Government remains the Currency Authority. I say that because it is exactly what I think. Perhaps I should say it is not because the Government is necessarily incompetent for the purpose of controlling the currency. But I believe that it is quite impossible for a Government as Currency Authority to take all the right steps at the right time without exposing itself to constant attacks which may or may not be justified but which certainly prejudice the interests of the currency system of the country. I do not want to raise trouble by giving illustrations, but I have been accused several times in this House during these discussions of frittering away the gold resources of India to the tune of Rs. 25 crores in the last year. The impression is left on many people—honestly left I am sure and I believe some of those who use the accusation honestly think—that the Government has chucked away Rs. 25 crores of the resources of the Government of India without any result into the sea. Now, what has really happened is that during the two years that preceded last year those 25 crores were gradually built up by the issue of currency against purchases of sterling made for the purpose of preventing exchange from rising above 1s. 6d.—keeping exchange down. The resources that the Government used to prevent exchange from falling below 1s. 6d. were practically all of them created during the process of preventing exchange from rising above 1s. 6d. (*An Honourable Member*: "Is that any justification?") That is the real fact as regards those resources. There is no question of their being chucked away; they have been used exactly in the way in which the Currency Commission unanimously recommended that the reserves of the Government of India should be used. But that charge is made here and, as I say, it is believed honestly by some of those who make it; and I say that that shows there are very strong objections to the Government being the Currency Authority in control of currency. Whatever the Honourable Members may think about the illustration, I believe that they are perfectly in agreement with me on the point illustrated, that the Government should not be the Currency Authority.

Now, I maintain that it would be a real risk, which ought not to be faced, for the Government as Currency Authority to undertake the full obligations of the gold bullion standard. If therefore this date were inserted in this Bill, the Government would after the 1st January, 1931, in the event of the Reserve Bank not coming into being—which God forbid—in the event of some break-down over that, the Government would be saddled with very serious responsibilities in maintaining the gold bullion standard without the proper machinery for exercising them, without that unification of control of currency and credit which is the essence of the Currency Commission's recommendations for a gold bullion standard and a reserve bank; so that with all the good-will in the world and in spite of the continuance of amiability in the Finance Member, I regret that I am not able to accede to Mr. Chetty's request. I would suggest to him that instead of pressing it he should set to work in relation to the Reserve Bank Bill and make certain that India receives the fruit of the labours that have been put in by the Currency Commission and by this House in

studying its recommendations and hasten to get the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank Bill on to the Statute-book in a form in which we can all, on all sides of the House, congratulate ourselves on achieving.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That after the proviso to sub-clause (1) of clause 5 the following further proviso be inserted:

‘Provided further that from the 1st day of January, 1931, or such earlier date as the Governor General in Council may notify in the Gazette of India in this behalf, the authority for the time being entrusted with the right of note issue shall be bound to sell to any person who makes a demand in that behalf or pays in legal tender currency the purchase price as determined by this sub-section, gold bullion for delivery at the option of the purchaser, either in Bombay or in London.’”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That clause 5, as amended, do stand part of the Bill.”

The motion was adopted.

Clause 5, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That clause 1 do stand part of the Bill.”

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That these be the Title and Preamble of the Bill.”

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, there are two consequential amendments resulting from the changes we have made in clause 5. In the Title of the Bill for the last words “sale of gold exchange” the words “sale of gold or sterling” have to be substituted; and a similar substitution has to be made in the Preamble. Sir, I move that the words “gold or sterling” be substituted for the words “gold exchange” in the Title and the Preamble.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That these be the Title and Preamble of the Bill.”

The motion was adopted.

The Title and Preamble, as amended, were added to the Bill.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I rise to move that this Bill be passed.

I do not propose to take advantage of this opportunity for making any long speech. I believe that I shall have the opportunity if necessary of replying on the debate on the third reading, if such debate takes place; and I do not want to start subjects for discussion on the third reading unnecessarily. I should like to say only one thing. The object of this Bill is, first of all, to fix the ratio; secondly to secure that that ratio is fixed by Statute so that an obligation is imposed on the Currency Authority to prevent exchange from rising above or falling below the gold points; and the third—quite incidental really—was the demonetisation of the sovereign simply because it was necessary to do that in anticipation of the gold bullion standard. The object of the Government in introducing this Bill

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

was really simply to get the vexed question of the ratio out of the way in advance in order that we might have an opportunity of working together on a subject where there was no such unfortunate difference of opinion as there was over the ratio, when we come to the gold bullion standard and the reserve bank questions. We want all the good-will we can over studying those questions. Nothing in this Bill is intended to prejudice the full and free and frank discussion of those subjects when we come to that Bill; and the only point that really is definitely settled by this Bill is the one point on which, as I say, we have had a somewhat acrimonious controversy. And before I sit down, I should like to say one thing more.

4 P.M. I have spoken of my amiability to-day. I am conscious that I was not amiable on one or two occasions during this discussion, and I should like to apologise if I have been heated in any part of this discussion. I do not want to say that I was justified by some of the things that have been said about me. Almost every crime has been attributed to me, not even excluding murder. But some of the things that have been said about me have at any rate, if they have not justified, explained the reasons for occasional temper on my part. None the less I desire to say that I am very sorry if I have in any way offended any one in doing so.

Mr. President: Motion moved:

"That the Bill as amended be passed."

Sir Victor Sassoon (Bombay Millowners Association: Indian Commerce): Sir, I take it that, if this Bill be passed, the gold value of the rupee will be definitely decided for all time, and that there is no intention of considering this as a temporary measure which will be revised if later on it were discovered that there had been an error of judgment. I say this, because that is the state of mind of at least one member of the House who voted for the higher ratio, and therefore I should like to make it quite clear to the House, unless it is definitely stated to the contrary, that whatever the future trend of world's prices may be, this Bill is intended finally to decide the gold value of the rupee. Such being the case, what will be the practical consequences of the action of this House should it decide to pass this Bill? If world's gold prices rise, I should say there will be little or no effect. If gold prices remain as they are to-day, an adjustment downwards of wages, salaries and prices of the commodities which have not yet adjusted themselves will take place until the cost of living is roughly 10 per cent. less than it was two years ago. Thirdly, if world's gold prices go down, in addition to the adjustment to which I have just referred, a further adjustment will have to take place which will be the adjustment what will have to be suffered by the rest of the world. Now, Sir, we have it on the authority of the Finance Member that the intention of the Federal Reserve Bank is to keep prices stable at about 50 per cent. above the pre-war level. I accept the statement, but I would like to examine the value that should be attached to it. Does the Federal Reserve Bank propose to bind itself to keep world's prices up to their present level? I do not think so. The Federal Reserve Bank has a surplus of gold which is, roughly speaking, the equivalent of two years normal increase of the world's demand for gold, and this, of course, is a factor which, coupled with the possibility of economies in the rest of the world in the use of gold, does give the Federal Reserve Bank a great deal of power to keep prices stable on certain assumptions. And that is the trouble. So many of these dicta are so often only hypotheses. The

assumption made is that there should be no great alteration in the world's normal needs for gold. But this assumption does not take into consideration the possibility of China asking for gold. Normally China's exports of produce exceed her imports of commodities, and the difference is made up by shipments of silver. Now, I am not one of those who think that China is likely—certainly not in the near future—to change her system of currency from a silver to gold basis, but I think that there is a distinct possibility of China saying, "for this difference between our exports and our imports, we would like to take a part in gold and not all in silver. The world is indebted to us for this difference, and we are entitled to take it in whatever form we like, and we propose to take some of it in gold". And, Sir, if this should take place to any great extent, it would upset all the plans of the Federal Reserve Bank, and I seriously doubt whether we would find the United States prepared to dissipate her gold reserves merely because the Legislature of this country had passed this Bill on the assumption that America would maintain gold prices stable. Sir, two years ago the Finance Member objected to trying India to the chariot wheels of the Federal Reserve Bank

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Three years ago.

Sir Victor Sassoon: Three years ago he said that, but to-day he advocates it with equanimity. If he had done it three years ago, then even if the Federal Reserve Bank had not been able to keep prices stable, India would only have had to suffer the same process of adjustment as the rest of the world. To-day this land of famine, cholera and plague will have to suffer, roughly speaking, 10 per cent. more than America which is the land of health, wealth and plenty. Now, Sir, it is for this House to consider whether the irrevocable step should be taken to-day of fixing the value of the rupee. The Finance Member has accused this House of shirking its responsibility. I for one have no desire to shirk any responsibility that I may have. If I am asked what the practical effect, apart from the technical meaning, of throwing out this Bill is, I should say this. This House has shown its approval of the 1s. 6d. rate by its vote. It therefore authorises the Government to keep it at that point by executive action until either they can clearly see the trend of world commodity prices or until the cost of living has dropped about 10 per cent. compared with the cost of living in the rest of the world taking the 1924 Index figures as a basis. What I am suggesting, therefore, to the House is that it should very seriously consider whether the Government should be allowed to burn its boats now. By throwing out this Bill, the House will leave the Government with a loophole through which it can retire if the prognostications of the Finance Member are falsified. If our fears prove groundless, what is lost? It appears to me that all that is lost is that the establishment of a Federal Reserve Bank and the legal establishment of the gold standard are postponed. But is that altogether an unmixed evil? Sir, we have just heard the Finance Member pointing out the disadvantages of the Government managing the currency of the country. His very objections to that raised fears in me. It appeared to me that we should not be in a position to criticise any action that might be taken. To-day if we disapprove of the action of the Government in its management of the currency policy of this country, we certainly have an opportunity of expressing our disapproval. Until all the details of the Reserve Bank and how that

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Reserve Bank or how its Governors are to be controlled, are published, we do not know what remedy we shall have if we disapprove of any action of the Governors of that Reserve Bank, and so I am not at all certain whether it would be a bad thing if we had a little time to go into the details of what the powers of the Governors of the Reserve Bank were to be, and how those powers were to be controlled. That is all I have to say. I would merely ask this House to remember that it is at the parting of the ways. If it considers that the advantages of a Reserve Bank, if it considers that the establishment of a gold standard in the near future are so great as to justify the risk of world's prices dropping, then this House, I suggest, will pass the Bill. But if the House fears that the effects of a big drop in gold prices, which would naturally be very serious to the trading, commercial and agricultural interests of this country—if it fears there is a chance of that taking place, then I would suggest that it might perhaps be advisable to reject this Bill and thus give the Government an opportunity of seeing more clearly what the trend of world prices will be. (Applause.)

Dr. A. Suhrawardy (Burdwan and Presidency Divisions: Muham-madan Rural): Sir, I must thank you first of all for the kindness and courtesy of giving me an early opportunity of speaking this afternoon. I have been so long a silent listener to the debates in the House. I had no desire to lose my reputation for silence, and if I rise to-day to speak I do so because it is beginning to dawn upon me that I am not in the company of philosophers but of politicians who attach more importance to the brass of speech than to the gold of silence. An Honourable Member I understand is annoyed at my reticence and seems disappointed that I have not caused an earthquake or a shower of brickbats in the House by my eloquence, and that my advent in the Assembly has not been greeted with peals of thunder and flashes of lightning. I wonder if it is the same wonderful gentleman whose penetrating vision and journalistic imagination saw my downcast looks when I was miles away from here. Anyway I must not deny him the pleasure of hearing the sound of my voice and having some fun at my expense. So much by way of apology for inflicting a speech on a tired House. I know I cannot make any contribution of value to the debate but I must now proceed to give my reasons briefly for supporting this Bill through its various stages. My reasons are very simple. I voted against the amendment in favour of the 1s. 4d. ratio and I subsequently thought that I was consistent and logical in supporting the provisions of the 1s. 6d. ratio. As regards the other amendments, I tried to follow and to understand their consequences, but they all appear to me to be merely flanking movements or rearguard actions to retrieve the loss of the Battle of the Ratios. I have listened with attention to the various arguments advanced in this House for and against the provisions of the Bill. I have listened to the arguments of the expert and the layman, to the arguments of the economists and the moralists. I have listened to the arguments of the lawyer and the schoolmaster. I have listened with patience and attention to the fervent appeal to our sense of duty, and I have also listened in silence to arrogant assertions and insolent insinuations as substitutes for arguments. So far as the arguments advanced in the House are concerned I tried to the best of my ability to weigh their effects. Outside the Chamber also I have been subjected to bombardments by leaflets and pamphlets issued by persons holding opposite views on this

highly technical subject, and I would gladly have sought salvation and peace by surrendering my judgment to a Pope or Pontiff posing as an infallible authority on this subject. But unfortunately Mr. Jinnah's inopportune discovery of a passage in "Taylor on Evidence" unsettled my mind. I was even prepared at one stage of the debate to read out a speech in favour of 1s. 6d. written by Mr. Shyam Narain Singh or a speech in favour of 1s. 4d. written by my friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. (Laughter.) But my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah's discovery, as I said, disturbed my mind. If the opinion of experts could not be generally relied upon, it became somewhat difficult for me to reject the opinion of the majority of experts and to accept the opinion of the minority. If the opinion of the Currency Commission is not accepted, it will be difficult to accept the opinion of the Currency League. And as Mr. Jamnadas Mehta the other day, in the grand manner of a great Autocrat, revealed to us the secret that he himself was the Currency League, he must suffer in reputation. So also must our friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, whose revolt against the tyranny of the majority and whose able advocacy and earnest championship of the cause he has espoused I sincerely admire, pay the penalty of enjoying the reputation of an expert. Sir, I was further disturbed and even bewildered by the recollection of a speech delivered not very long ago on the floor of this House. I am not sure if consistency is considered a virtue by politicians. I do not know if politicians count on the proverbial shortness of human memory. But though I cannot claim to have the wonderful memory of the Honourable Members who could recount ancient history and recall the writings of Sir Dinshaw Wacha of the last century, the speech of my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah of a few weeks ago, when he waxed eloquent on the infallibility and sanctity of the Tariff Board, is still ringing in my ears. I wonder, when my Honourable friend asked us to remember the virtues of the Tariff Board as an expert body—I wonder whether he had then completely forgotten his "Taylor on Evidence", even as he forgot his pose as a juror and declaimed as the advocate of a lost cause, or even as he forgot his trebly titled and doubly decorated Deputy, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, C.I.E., M.B.E., when he harangued the Members of the House and asked such of them to give up titles who had none to give up. (Laughter.) My second difficulty is that I have the misfortune of having been returned to the Assembly without any party label, and though I have joined a party since my return, it wisely refrains from imposing its will, the will of the majority, on the minority and of the minority on the majority and allows freedom of action to its members. Sir, I have not therefore pawned or pledged my soul to any party leader in default of Mephistopheles whose form I have failed to discern in this House (Laughter), but who, for aught we know, may be visible to my Honourable friend Mr. Chetty who seems to be on familiar terms with him. (Laughter.) I am grateful to Mr. Chetty for not denying souls to some of the Members of the House. I wonder if Mephistopheles has confided to him the secrets of a sacred book, more ancient than the *Arthashastra* which promises condign punishment for the tongue of calumny which denies souls to men and women. I am not tied to the chariot wheels of Mephistopheles or Mammon or any party leader whose decision must drag me into the lobby of his choice. Unaided by the light of expert opinion, unassisted by the lead of a party, I have to fall back upon my own common sense and the dictates of my constituency which embraces the whole of Western Bengal. But the Mussalmans of Bengal seem to have escaped the attention of the Currency League. Their pathetic, placid.

[Dr. A. Suhrawardy.]

contentment continues. They are voiceless; their voice is silence. I have seen no petitions or telegrams from them to Members of this House. I have received no direction or mandate from them. As for the representatives in the Assembly of non-Muslim Bengal, not one has lifted up his voice in support of the 1s. 4d. ratio, though they are not accustomed to drown their voice in silence. There was only one representative of Bengal who rose to speak and he spoke in favour of 1s. 6d., "undaunted," as he said, "by the frowns of the Government and unseduced by the smiles of the opposition". The other representative of Bengal whose opinion is known to me to be in favour of 1s. 6d. ratio was the other day referred to by my Honourable friend Mr. Moore. He may be in the bondage of the Satanic Government, but I dare say that not even those Honourable gentlemen, who believe in charity only when it begins at home, could suggest that Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra has sold his soul to Mephistopheles. The significant silence of Bengal Members speaks for itself. Besides Mr. Joshi's support of the 1s. 6d. ratio is a clear indication to me that there is a conflict between the interests of labour and capital in this case. There is no use saying that labour cannot thrive without capital and therefore we must divest ourselves of all suspicion of capital and of the championship of the 1s. 4d. ratio by vested interests. "Do not kill the goose," says Mr. Jinnah, "that lays the golden eggs." This argument does not appeal to me, because for aught we know the goose may not be laying golden eggs, but eggs of steel, rotten eggs or no eggs at all. (Laughter.) Sir, before I conclude, I should like to assure the House that it is no pleasure to me to disregard the fervent appeals to our sense of duty by respected leaders whose sincerity and honesty are above suspicion. Indeed the persuasive eloquence and transparent sincerity of Pandit Malaviya, Pandit Motilal Nehru and Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar have made a deep impression on me. But the reasons I have briefly mentioned drive me to the opposite conclusion. Sir, before I sit down I should like to make a passing reference to the patriotic peroration of Mr. Jinnah, addressed to this House the other day through the Chair, lamenting the intrigues in the lobby and deploring the manipulations going on there. I wonder if he was referring to the ponderous arguments of a light weight champion of 1s. 4d. ratio which disturbed the mental exchange of an Honourable Member sitting right in front of me and stabilised it at neutrality. I wonder if he remembered when he appealed to the House not to sell India and degrade the representative character of the House that he lost a golden opportunity of setting a good example of saving India when he walked into the lobby with Government to give preference to British steel.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, before the curtain finally rings down this deplorable business I regard it as my sacred duty to place on record my undiminished opposition to this Bill. I am very proud of this fact, Sir, that although we have been faced by a very cleverly engineered opposition and although, as at present constituted, this Assembly merely leads to the stultification of public opinion, although we were met by forces of reaction at every stage and by that combination of drilled automatons whom the Government have skilfully selected for nomination, this House has not been demoralised and that 65 elected Members did not hesitate to record their verdict on that historical occasion against this deliberate attempt to place India economically backwards by one generation. On the last occasion, Sir, I referred to Appendix 98

in the proceedings of the Currency Commission and I showed how the public utterances of a responsible Member of this Government were at complete variance with his written telegrams to the Secretary of State, how in fact, Sir, it was decided long before any Commission was contemplated, as it appeared from those telegrams, to attain and maintain exchange at 1s. 6d. sterling until sterling reached parity with gold and how outwardly it was being said that the rise in exchange was due to natural causes. It was even said in those telegrams that all that remained to be done was to get the 1s. 6d. ratio sanctioned by a formal Commission. To-day I want to bring up to date the further steps which have been taken in this very unfortunate business of raising exchange to 1s. 6d. Even while the Commission was still sitting and investigating, we find that the Government were compelled to deflate in order to keep exchange near 1s. 6d. And what is worse, when they found that in spite of that deflation, exchange showed signs of going down, there came forward an unlimited offer of sale of Reverse Councils at 1s. 5½d. in April, 1926, while the Commission was supposed to be investigating; and it was only then that the downward tendency was arrested. Subsequent events are matters known to the House and to the country. One more incident in this policy of deflation was that the created securities were reduced by 5 crores, and the claim was made that that deflation was carried out as a result of the recommendation of the Commission. From a telegram published in the *Times of India* on the 18th October, 1926, we find that the Deputy Controller of Currency has issued the following press communiqué. It reads as follows:

"One of the recommendations of the Currency Commission is that, the Government of India securities in the Paper Currency Reserve be reduced as soon as possible to 50 crores with a view to place the composition of the Reserve in a sounder position and to facilitate the introduction of an improved currency standard. The Government of India have accordingly cancelled 5 crores out of created securities in the Paper Currency Reserve."

Sir, to the uninstructed this communiqué would appear as if it was carrying out the recommendations of the Currency Commission. One has only to look to the recommendation of the Currency Commission on this point to find out how thoroughly the public was being misled, how, I may say, altogether without any scruple the Currency Commission's recommendation was being used to do a thing which the Currency Commission did not recommend. The Currency Commission recommended the reduction of created securities to 50 crores. That is true. But they further recommended that the securities so reduced were to be replaced by genuine securities; the Government of India carried out the first portion, neglecting to carry out the second portion and yet they claimed they were carrying out what the Commission had recommended.

That is part of the game by which this 1s. 6d. ratio has been maintained, and yet a public document has made the misstatement that it was in pursuance of the recommendations of the Currency Commission that this deflation was being carried out. Then, Sir, the further incident, which happened even while the House has been sitting, is that the emergency currency, 4 crores of which was promised to be issued at 6 per cent. to the Imperial Bank of India nearly 2½ years ago, was refused, and Government said that until the Bank rate was 7 per cent, or until they were paid 7 per cent., they would refuse to issue any additional currency. This attempt to starve India of currency with a view to maintain exchange at 1s. 6d. raised a protest from the *Statesman* which is by

[Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta.]

no means friendly to the 1s. 4d. ratio, and that paper says in its issue of the 13th February, 1927:

"Under the Paper Currency Act, 4 crores of inflation is provided for against Trade Bills with the Bank rate at 6 per cent., and it was confidently anticipated that recourse would be had to these powers. It was announced yesterday, however, that Government had refused to issue fresh currency against Trade Bills under 7 per cent., and that 4 crores had been issued at this rate. It is difficult to understand why relief was not granted to the market at the lower rate and the action of the Government will doubtless give rise to a storm of protest from those who maintain that the currency is at present manipulated to serve the interests of Government and not those of the country."

Sir, it was in this manner that, right up to a month ago, the Government went on creating stringency in the money market, starving the country of currency and thereby maintaining some semblance of parity at 1s. 6d. Government could have stabilized the ratio at 1s. 4d. gold in October, 1924, if they had wished, and that great firm of brokers, on whom so much reliance has been placed by the Finance Member for carrying through this legislation, has stated that a golden opportunity was allowed to be lost when Government did not go to 1s. 4d. in October, 1924. Sir, there is one more statement I should like to make in order to prove to the House that in the matter of reaching 1s. 6d. and maintaining it, Government has never really stated the truth to this House or to this country. On the 19th September, 1924, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas asked in the Assembly a certain question, and in replying the Finance Member said:

"Before action can be taken, very careful consideration must be given to the question whether a rate of 1s. 4d. gold or some higher rate is most likely to be beneficial to India, regard being had to the consumer and the tax-payer as well as other interests concerned."

Sir Purshotamdas then asked whether it would be correct that Government thought a higher rate than 1s. 4d. would be beneficial, and the reply of the Finance Member was that the inference was incorrect. This was on the 19th of September, 1924. The inference that Government thought 1s. 6d. was in the interests of India was incorrect according to the Finance Member, and Government could not say what rate would have to be adopted finally. This statement was made in this House on the 19th of September, 1924, and in October, 1924, we read that Government had declared to the Secretary of State that they had made up their mind to have 1s. 6d. But at any rate this was the 19th September, when the first reply to Sir Purshotamdas was given. The worst is what follows. On the 22nd of January, 1925, the Finance Member in a speech on the Paper Currency Bill said:

"The choice of a suitable ratio depends entirely on what rate is easily maintained and easily attainable."

This was said in January, 1925, fully three months after Government had made up their minds what ratio they would attain and maintain. This will live in history as an attempt to bamboozle this Assembly and this country into believing something which the Government themselves never intended to do. They had made up their minds to take the rate to 1s. 6d., they took all the steps to take it to 1s. 6d., and they intended to maintain it at 1s. 6d. regardless of consequences. There has been, as a consequence, a deflation of 30 crores in the course of a single year and that has enabled Government to maintain the rate at 1s. 6d., or to make some appearance of doing so. Even now, with the Assembly having accepted 1s. 6d., exchange refuses to be maintained at 1s. 6d. It is still a little below 1s. 6d.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Is the Honourable Member aware that we have purchased nearly a million pounds at 1s. 6d. since that date?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Is the Honourable Member aware that immediately he entered the market, the exchange came down?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: None the less we purchased more afterwards.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: And the exchange is not at par yet. That is the best testimony of the stability of the so-called *de facto* ratio.

Since 1920 the attempt to starve this country has resulted, apart from the absence of any normal expansion due to the 2 shilling rate, in a deflation of 66 crores of rupees; and you have to add to that a further 15 to 20 crores which is necessary every year according to the opinion of Mr. Kisch, given before that Commission. I think Mr. Kisch is a responsible officer of the India Office. This officer has maintained that the normal absorption of currency

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: What Mr. Kisch said was the average figure before the War was that, which is quite a different thing from saying it was normal or necessary.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: What is the difference between normal and average? Has Mr. Kisch stated that things have changed since the war? If anything this absorption ought to increase with the increase of prices and population since 1914. I do not know if Mr. Kisch has said that the normal or, if you will, the average tendency has ceased to operate because war intervened. (*Sir Walter Willson:* "Divide.") I think the Honourable Member will be best advised to leave this House and divide himself from us. It is a tragedy that Members elected by European interests should regard this matter so lightly that, when we are coming to the final stages of this Bill, they should be more anxious to go away to their clubs than to stay for work. Sir, I am not going to allow them to divide until I have finished the whole statement of the country's cause . . .

Mr. K. Ahmed: You have not taken a lease of the country, have you? (Laughter.)

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I have now shown how this deflation has been systematically carried out in one case in defiance of the recommendations even of this Commission. The speech which my friend Dr. Suhrawardy made is full of humour and full of nice phrases and sentences, but if he will allow me to say so, it did not contribute a single iota of argument to the important discussion in which we are engaged

Mr. K. Ahmed: But he told you that already.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Sir, it has been alleged in this House and outside that the fight for this ratio is merely the stunt of some capitalists. We are told that Government are solicitous of the welfare of

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the worker and his wages and that they are trying to protect the worker against the capitalists. Sir, this dissimulation would be very amusing if it was not tragic in its consequences; all I can say is that these statements are utterly at variance with facts. I have tried to analyse the evidence of the witnesses who appeared before the Commission; I leave aside the whole group of capitalists whose evidence is of course discounted for reasons easily understood; in my opinion the capitalists of this country have stated the country's case with a fulness, thoroughness and impartiality that does credit to them and of which we are proud. But it is not merely the capitalists who have denounced 1s. 6d. I have gone through the evidence of professors of colleges and also of laymen who are neither professors nor capitalists and I find that they also are mostly against 1s. 6d. Professors who have given evidence before the Currency Commission number nearly 16 and out of 16 only one man has clearly said that he is in favour of 1s. 6d. 14 others—all Indians—have said they are against 1s. 6d. The second professor who said he was in favour of 1s. 6d., said 1s. 6d. was also unsuitable but it was the lesser evil. (Mr. K. Ahmed: "But they are not practical men, are they?") You will not listen to practical men, you will not listen to professors; you will only listen to Sir Basil Blackett and you are free to do so. I would like, Sir, to enumerate the names of these distinguished men because every one of them holds a position in this country by the fact of his learning and by the fact of his present post as professor in some part of India. Dr. Basu is a gentleman now at Lahore; Professor Chabliani at Delhi. (Mr. K. Ahmed: "Professor Chabliani is for 1s. 6d.") You can read his evidence, many people have changed since they have come here; but you can read his evidence and you will find he is in favour of 1s. 4d. Then there is Professor Gyan Chand at Benares; Mr. Vakil of Bombay, whom Sir Basil Blackett is so fond of quoting, is definitely in favour of 1s. 4d. There are Messrs. Wadia and Joshi, also in favour of 1s. 4d.; Mr. Bal Krishna and Dr. Pramatha Nath Banerjee favour 1s. 4d.; Professor B. R. Rao is undecided. Then Mr. J. C. Sinha of Dacca is in favour of 1s. 5d.; not 1s. 6d.; Professor K. T. Shah is in favour of 1s. 4d.; Professor Duraiswami Ayyar is in favour of 1s. 4d.; and so on. All these learned men scattered over the country, from Delhi, Bombay and Madras to Dacca, Lahore, and Agra, all these learned men who had the opportunity to study this question deliberately give their evidence in favour of 1s. 4d.; so that it cannot be contended that it is only the capitalists of this country who are artificially aiding an agitation. Sir, we have our captains of industry, our Chambers of Commerce, our professors, our laymen and 65 elected Members of this House all bodily voting for 1s. 4d.; it is only because this sham reform leads to the stultification of public opinion in this House that 65 elected Members can be voted down by 28 elected and 40 nominated Members. Those 65 represent lakhs and lakhs of voters. Whom do these 40 represent? They represent their stomachs and the stomachs of their wives and children. Whom do they represent, I should like to know, except their own salaries, wages and emoluments. Yet these 40 people can vote down the 65 elected Members who owe their seats to the suffrages of lakhs of voters supported by lakhs in their turn. Because of the sham reforms it has been possible to stultify public opinion and carry through this legislative measure by 2 or 3 votes over the heads of the representatives of the people.

Sir, I do not want to say anything against the European elected Members. They have honestly tried to do what they thought best. I will also state the opinions of laymen who have given their opinion in favour of 1s. 4d. before the Commission, gentlemen who were neither professors nor merchants. One is the Honourable Mr. Chakravarty of Bengal. My Honourable friend Dr. Suhrawardy will note that there is no absence of Bengal opinion in favour of 1s. 4d. My Honourable friend Mr. Lahiri Chaudhury who comes from Bengal only the other day spoke in favour of 1s. 4d., if only Dr. Suhrawardy had taken the trouble to be present in the House. Both Mr. J. M. Sen Gupta and Mr. Goswami have spoken time and again in Calcutta in favour of 1s. 4d.—if only Dr. Suhrawardy had taken the trouble to read the newspapers. As regards Messrs. Chakravarty and Raju and others, these gentlemen giving evidence before the Commission have all voted for 1s. 4d. Now, Sir, I must leave that question.

We have contended that if you carry 1s. 6d. because adjustments have not taken place there will be a slump in trade, industry, agriculture and a general set-back to the economic conditions in this country. I will now try to show, Sir, how the various interests will lose during the period of adjustment. The word "adjustment" is easily spoken by people who have not to go through that painful process; but the word stands for unjust loss and injury to innumerable persons. It represents the forced valuing down of stocks among manufacturers. It represents evictions of tenants. It represents the slow and painful starvation of the agriculturists. It represents a general raising of taxation by 12½ per cent. without the people knowing it. All these things are euphemistically called adjustment; yet the word adjustment is easily spoken and easily accepted by people who are willing to vote for 1s. 6d. Sir, I want now to show that all these interests will have to suffer until adjustment has taken place. I shall take the tax-payer first. In the words of Professor Keynes when you appreciate your standard by 12½ per cent., if everybody were to accept 12½ per cent. less simultaneously then of course the adjustment would be thoroughly complete and we can go on to our new ratio without any hesitation and without any qualms of conscience; but I have attempted to show on the last occasion that at least in the matter of our civil and military establishment, including Railways, where we pay 70 crores of rupees a year, no 12½ per cent. reduction has been made or can be made. On the contrary, as a result of this 1s. 6d. the Benches opposite and all the services will get a concealed raising of their salaries by 12½ per cent. for all time to come. Just think of the enormity! In 1919 when the Reforms Act was put on the Statute-book and when Mr. Montagu wanted to pay the price of making or inducing these Civil Services to agree to the Reforms a general increment of wages and salaries was given to the Civil Service. Prices were ruling high; the price level in 1919 was somewhere above 200—I will give the exact figure so that there may be no difficulty—it was 222 as compared with 100 in 1914; with the price level at 222 increments were given to the Civil Services by Mr. Montagu as consideration for their acceptance of the reforms. Prices steadily fell until to-day they are at 146, which means that we can buy with Rs. 146 to-day what it cost us Rs. 222 to buy in 1919. Yet in 1924 this Lee Commission gave them another increment and a number of concessions. The basic salary was raised; in addition the Commission gave an overseas pay which can be

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remitted at 2s. to the rupee. That was an additional concession in 1924. Think of the already heavy salaries which they got before 1919, think of the increments in 1919 out of all proportion. Further consider the Lee Commission's recommendations which gave them a higher basic pay, an additional overseas pay plus the right of remitting the overseas salary at 2s.; and now comes the latest stroke in 1927—they get a concealed enhancement of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on their present emoluments. I maintain, Sir, that these tremendous burdens on the people of India far from being adjusted to the new ratio remain heavy as they were and are becoming even heavier.

Sir, if the House will look to the Budget of 1927-28, on page 3, they will find that this country is paying Rs. 45 crores a year, by way of interest on its loans. Not the whole of this interest is going to come down by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. If it were, it ought to cost us something like 6 crores less by way of interest. Further, 70 crores of establishment charges cannot be adjusted, and there are other budgetary items amounting in all to 5 crores which being fixed cannot be reduced by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; so that we have a total of 70 plus 25 plus 5 crores, or a total of 100 crores cost of the Government of India including Railways which cannot be adjusted in terms of the new ratio by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The burden of the non-adjustment must be borne by the tax-payer. That is the position, and I hope the House will bear that in mind when they proceed to vote—that they are raising their taxation on the people of this country on these fixed budgetary items by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. so far at least these things are concerned. And what is the total? The total expense of the Government of India is Rs. 125 crores if you exclude Railways: out of these 125 crores 40 crores represent the salaries of establishments, civil and military, 25 crores represent interest on the rupee portion of our debt and 5 crores represent other fixed payments, 40 plus 25 plus 5 or a total of 70 crores out of 125 crores will remain fixed and immutable and cannot be altered to the new ratio and therefore taxation must be maintained at a high level.

This is the story of the adjustment or rather non-adjustment, so far as the tax-payer is concerned. Take another aspect of this non-adjustment. We have nearly 300 crores of rupees and Rs. 180 crores of notes circulating. As against that we have certain reserves. If you strike a balance sheet of your liabilities and your assets to-day, as you will pass this Bill, this country stands to lose 364 lakhs of pounds as a result of this going up to a higher ratio. When these 300 crores of rupees come for conversion into gold and your 180 crores of paper notes come up for conversion into gold, you have to pay for every one rupee 8.47 grains of gold as against 7.53 grains of gold which you used to pay; and as a result if you strike your currency balance sheet to-day, you have undertaken in terms of gold as a result of going up to the higher exchange a liability of 480 crores grains of gold more than you would have paid if 1s. 4d. was adopted. The liability on our currency reserves alone is thus increased by nearly 36.4 million sterling.

Coming to the question of the public debt, I mentioned the other day that the rupee debt of the Government of India would be increased under 1s. 6d. The Honourable the Finance Member has tried to answer this contention in the other House before it was raised here; after it was raised here, he has not dared or cared to answer it partly because our case is unanswerable, partly because it is prudent enough not to attempt an answer to a case which is damaging against you, and partly because when you are

sure of your votes you need not answer. These three causes have prevented the Government from replying to our contentions. But I once more repeat that as a result of this higher ratio we will be compelled to pay to our rupee creditors Rs. 56 crores more (or their gold equivalent more) than we would have to pay under 1s. 4d. The argument against our point of view was that you have to think of the ratio at which that debt was raised, and you have to think of the commodity value of the debt when it was raised. I will cite one example only to illustrate the futility of that argument. We have raised on the 1st October, 1922, five-year bonds of the face value of Rs. 27,38,22,000. On the 1st October, 1922, we raised that debt. Sir, the ratio of exchange on that date was 1s. 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. in gold. They become due on the 1st of October, 1927, in this very year; the ratio will now be 1s. 6d. gold to the rupee and if there was any justice in the argument that you should repay your debt at the ratio at which it was raised, you would have to pay instead of Rs. 27,38,22,000 only 20 crores or thereabouts. Will our bond holders accept 20 crores instead of 27 crores? If you could repay your debt at the ratio at which it was raised the confusion will be endless; the same objection applies to the argument based on the commodity value of your debt—it leads to absurd results.

Mr. President: I do not desire to interrupt the Honourable Member, but I should like to know how long he is going to take?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I am going to take one hour, Sir, with your permission; the case for the people has to be stated. If it is to be defeated, it is our ill-luck; but the case cannot be allowed to go by default.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is not the only Member who will put the case for the people; there are other Members besides him.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I know that other Members will do their duty, Sir; but you will permit me to do mine.

Mr. President: In that case all I can say is that the House will have to sit to-morrow night and if necessary the day after to-morrow night from 9 till 12 or 12-30. Before I adjourn the House till to-morrow morning I might inform the House that to-morrow night I propose to sit from 9 o'clock and continue till midnight. We will begin as usual at 11 o'clock to-morrow morning and continue up to 5 o'clock in the afternoon. Then, after a break, I propose to sit again at 9 P.M. and continue till 12-30 or 1, when Honourable Members might go on talking as much as they like provided they are relevant. This House now stands adjourned till to-morrow morning at 11 A.M.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Tuesday, the 22nd March, 1927.

ÇORRIGENDUM.

In L. A. Debates, Vol. IX, No. 8, p. 205,
line 8, *for* the figures "1,20,000" *read*
"1,25,000".

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Tuesday, 22nd March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

NOMINATION OF MEMBERS OF THE MUNICIPAL COMMITTEE OF BEAWAR IN AJMER-MERWARA.

1104. ***Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy**: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the rules at present regulating the nomination of members of the Municipal Committee of Beawar in Ajmer-Merwara?
- (b) whether any provision is made in these rules to secure the representation of minorities like the Christians?
- (c) whether any non-official Christian has been nominated to the present Municipal Committee of Beawar?
- (d) if the answer to (c) is in the negative, the reasons why a non-official Christian has not been nominated?

Mr. E. B. Howell: (a) and (b) The attention of the Honourable Member is invited to section 8, Chapter 111 of the Ajmer-Merwara Municipalities Regulation, 1925 (VI of 1925), and to notification by the Honourable the Chief Commissioner, Ajmer-Merwara, dated the 16th November, 1925, published in Part II-A, of the *Gazette of India*, dated the 21st November, 1925, copies of which have been placed in the Library.

(c) The reply is in the negative.

(d) Under the election rules of the Beawar Municipality two Christians are elected to represent their community. No additional representation by nomination is therefore considered necessary as the Christian population of Beawar is only 288 out of the total population of 22,362.

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy: May I ask, Sir, if these Christians are Indian Christians?

Mr. E. B. Howell: I believe so, Sir.

MONTHLY COST OF LIGHTING THE SECRETARIAT AND COUNCIL HOUSE BUILDINGS IN NEW DELHI.

1105. ***Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy**: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (1) the monthly cost of the lighting of the Secretariat and Council House buildings in New Delhi?
- (2) what purpose the lighting of the buildings till about midnight serves?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (1) The separate cost of lighting cannot be given since the bulk of the current used in these buildings has been for electric radiators which are temporarily connected to the lighting circuits and not separately metered.

(2) The lights in the corridors and staircases of the Council House remain lit for so long as the offices and public rooms in it are occupied, which is frequently the case up to quite a late hour. In the Secretariat certain experimental lighting was tried, including the flood lighting of the tower, but this has been discontinued and no lights are maintained after the building is unoccupied except such as are necessary for purposes of watch and ward.

ABOLITION OF THE SYSTEM OF POLICE LICENCES FOR HINDU FUNERAL PROCESSIONS IN DELHI.

1106. ***Sardar Gulab Singh:** (a) Are Government aware that in Delhi Hindus carry those of their deceased who had lived to an old age to the cremation ground in processions with religious music?

(b) Are they also aware that they require licences from the Police to perform this religious ceremony on such deaths?

(c) Are they also aware that they do so with great resentment?

(d) Are Government prepared to consider the advisability of doing away with such licences?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) Yes.

(b) Licences are required for assemblies and processions if a notice to this effect has issued under section 30(2) of the Police Act (V of 1861), not otherwise; but ordinarily members of the Delhi public prefer to apply voluntarily for a licence in order to ensure that all necessary police arrangements will be made on their behalf.

(c) No.

(d) There is no such proposal before Government.

Sardar Gulab Singh: Are the Government aware that we also take out such processions in our cities and we do not require any licence?

Mr. K. Ahmed: Which is your city?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: But Delhi people apparently prefer to take one out.

NUMBER OF POST OFFICES IN THE CHOTA NAGPUR DIVISION.

1107. ***Mr. Ram Narayan Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to give the present numbers of post offices in each of the 5 districts of the Chota Nagpur Division in the province of Bihar and Orissa?

Sir Ganen Roy:

District.	Present number of Post Office.
Hazaribagh	52
Lohardaga	53
Manbhum.	70
Palamu	32
Singbhum	51

RELIGIOUS MINISTRATIONS TO INDIAN SEPOYS.

1108. ***Mr. Ram Narayan Singh:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether there is any arrangement for the religious teaching of the Indian sepoy like that afforded to the British soldiers through their own department?

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir. One Indian religious teacher is authorised for each religious class of the strength of a company or squadron, in each infantry battalion, cavalry regiment, brigade of artillery, etc.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Are Government aware that one man cannot perform the functions of a religious teacher in a regiment composed of Hindus, Sikhs and Muhammadans when they say their prayers?

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir, Government are aware of that fact, and that is precisely why one Indian religious teacher is authorised for each religious class in a unit.

GRANT OF HOUSE RENT ALLOWANCE AND SECRETARIAT RATES OF PAY
TO THE MINISTERIAL ESTABLISHMENTS AT ARMY HEAD-
QUARTERS.

1109 ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that in January 1926, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief received a deputation from the members of the Uncovenanted Association of the Army Headquarters with a view to considering the grant to them of (i) house rent allowance admissible under the Simla Allowances Code, and (ii) Secretariat rates of pay?

(b) If so, will Government please state what decision has been arrived at on the subject?

(c) What will be the approximate extra expenditure separately in regard to (i) and (ii) above?

(d) Is it a fact that the amount of expenditure involved in connection with the grant of house rent allowance to these men can be counterbalanced by withdrawing the Delhi moving allowance admissible to them?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes.

(b) None at present but Government are arranging for an expert inquiry into the question of the strength, conditions of service and emoluments of the ministerial establishments at Army Headquarters.

(c) and (d) The amount has not yet been worked out

TECHNICAL MILITARY CLERKS IN ARMY HEADQUARTERS.

1110. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that outside the cadres of the general clerical establishments for the different branches of the Army Headquarters there is a combined cadre for technical military clerks?

(b) If so, will Government please state the total number of such clerks employed in the Army Headquarters?

(c) Are Indian soldiers eligible for these technical clerical appointments? If not, why not?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes.

(b) 25.

(c) Not at present, because there are none possessing the necessary qualifications.

**RESERVATION OF CLERICAL APPOINTMENTS IN ARMY HEADQUARTERS FOR
SOLDIERS AND EX-SOLDIERS.**

1111. ***Mr. Amar Nath Dutt:** (a) Is it a fact that 25 per cent. of the upper division clerical appointments are reserved for soldier and ex-soldier clerks in the Army Headquarters?

(b) If so, will Government please state on what basis this percentage has been fixed?

(c) Is there any particular reason for recruiting soldier clerks in the general cadres? If so, what? Are they not recruited to the separate cadre for technical military clerks?

(d) Is it a fact that soldier and ex-soldier clerks are recruited direct without reference to the Staff Selection Board?

(e) Are these clerks exempted from passing the Staff Selection Board's examination? If so, has the Staff Selection Board approved of their confirmation in the first division?

(f) Are civilian clerks similarly exempted? If not, why not?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) No. The percentage covers both the upper and lower divisions.

(b) On the permanent establishment as a whole.

(c) Yes, it is of advantage to have clerks with general military experience as well as clerks with technical experience in particular branches of the service.

(d) Yes.

(e) Yes, in both instances.

(f) No. The reason lies in the military character of the work at Army Headquarters.

**GRANT OF HOUSE RENT ALLOWANCES TO POSTAL EMPLOYEES IN THE
MADRAS PRESIDENCY.**

1112. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** (a) Are Government aware of the fact that in the city of Madras and municipal towns in the Madras Presidency, the monthly rent for a room and a small kitchen, just enough to accommodate a husband, wife and two children, is between Rs. 5 and 7?

(b) Is it a fact that postmen were given an additional allowance of Re. 1 and the lower grade men Rs. 8, in the city of Madras?

(c) Is it a fact that the lower staff of the Railway Mail Service department were not given any house rent allowance? If so, what are the reasons for such distinction between the lower staff of the Postal and Railway Mail Service departments?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to remove this anomaly?

(e) Is it a fact that the relief sanctioned to the subordinate staff other than postmen and lower grade men in 1926-27 was given effect to from 1st March, 1926? If so, why was the house rent allowance sanctioned at the same time to postmen and lower staff men in Madras city given effect to from October, 1926?

(f) Will the Government kindly state the total amount of expenditure incurred in connection with the grant of house rent allowance and the places in which and the rates at which house rent allowance was granted?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) No.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes. The case of the lower staff of the Railway Mail Service is under consideration.

(d) If the existence of such an anomaly is established by the inquiry now in progress steps will be taken to remove it.

(e) Yes. Because the schemes relating to the revision of the time scales of pay of clerks were drawn up and submitted for the approval of Government earlier than those relating to the grant of revised rates of house rent allowances.

(f) The total amount of extra expenditure involved in connection with the revised scheme of house rent allowances sanctioned in 1926-27 to postmen and inferior servants of the Post Office is estimated at Rs. 85,000 during that year. A statement showing the names of the places in which and the rates at which house rent allowances are granted under that scheme will be forwarded to the Honourable Member.

Mr. B. P. Naidu: Have not the Government made detailed inquiries thrice in the city of Madras with regard to this house rent question, and may I know the result of those inquiries?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No inquiries have been made by the Government of India. The present rates of house allowance are based on the reports of the Postmaster General.

PERCENTAGE OF LEAVE RESERVES PROVIDED FOR POSTAL CLERKS AND FOR POSTMEN AND LOWER GRADE STAFF.

1113. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** (a) Is it not the intention of the Government that in accordance with the recommendations of the Postal Enquiry Committee, the subordinate staff in the Postal Department should have 20 days' casual leave in a year?

(b) What is the percentage of leave reserve provided for clerks and for the postmen and lower grade men?

(c) Is it a fact that the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs has issued a circular, that no leave reserve will be provided for Post Offices, where the number of postmen exceeds four?

(d) How many leave reserve postmen and lower grade men were entertained in 1926-27 and how was the sum of one lakh of rupees provided for in 1926-27 distributed among the circles?

(e) Will the Government be pleased to state whether in the post offices where the number of postmen exceeds four, any allowance is paid for additional work?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The intention is that casual leave up to a maximum limit of 20 days each may be granted to the staff

(b) The percentage of leave reserve sanctioned for clerks in Post Offices is 17. There is no fixed percentage of leave reserve for postmen but the

reserve staff is sanctioned according to the requirements of each case. There is, generally speaking, no leave reserve for lower grade men.

(c) No.

(d) The information is being collected, and will be furnished to the Honourable Member. The amount of one lakh of rupees provided in the budget estimates for 1926-27 for the employment of additional postmen was not distributed to the Circles, but the cost, wherever incurred, was debited against the lump grant.

(e) No such allowance is paid.

PAY, PENSION, LEAVE, ETC., OF LOWER GRADE POSTAL STAFF.

1114. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** Will the Government be pleased to state if any discrimination is made in the case of lower staff in the Postal service in the matter of their pay, pension, leave, etc.? If any, do Government propose to do away with such distinction and extend the privileges enjoyed at present by the lower staff of the Postal Department to the runners also? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: In the matter of pay, runners are on fixed rates and other classes of the lower staff are as a rule on time scales. When time scales of pay were introduced in the Post Office, it was considered that they would be inappropriate for runners in view of the fact that such men do not as a rule remain long in their appointments. The Government do not propose to place runners on time scales of pay in the absence of evidence to show that fixed rates of pay are unsuitable for them.

As regards leave and pension no discrimination is made between runners and other members of the lower or inferior staff.

INCREMENTS OF POSTAL CLERKS AND POSTMEN.

1115. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if any and what distinction is made between clerks and postmen in the matter of counting the period of service spent as reserve clerk and reserve postman, respectively, for calculating increments in the time scale of pay?

(b) If the answer to the above question is in the affirmative, why was such distinction made?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) No distinction is made.

(b) Does not arise.

PAY OF POSTAL CLERKS IN THE MADRAS CIRCLE, ETC.

1116. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is proposed to introduce only two scales of pay for the clerks in the Madras Circle? If so, do Government propose to introduce similarly two scales of pay for postmen and lower grade staff?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The result of the revisions to be carried out in 1927-28, together with those sanctioned in 1926-27, will be to provide two scales of pay for ordinary time-scale clerks in the Madras Circle. It is proposed to undertake an examination of the suitability of the existing scales of pay for postmen and inferior servants generally: the number of the revised scales of pay which may be decided on for such officials will depend on the results of that examination.

GRANT OF OUT-STATION ALLOWANCE TO EMPLOYEES OF THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

1117. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether it is proposed to grant out-station allowance to the Railway Mail Service employees? If so, will the lower staff of the Railway Mail Service department also get the out-station allowance? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: It is proposed to grant out-station allowance to the Railway Mail Service sorters under specified conditions the nature of which is under consideration. The claims of the lower staff of the Railway Mail Service department, by which the Honourable Member evidently refers to mail guards and van-peons, to participation in a concession of this nature will be examined.

CHARGE ALLOWANCE DRAWN BY UPPER DIVISION MEN HOLDING CHARGE OF A ROUTINE SECTION OR ISSUE BRANCH IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

1118. ***U. Khin Maung:** (a) Will Government be pleased to give the names of the different Departments of the Government of India where upper division men are holding charge of a Routine Section or Issue Branch?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state if such men are getting any charge allowances?

(c) If the reply be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state if they are entitled to receive it?

(d) Is it a fact that only lower division men are entitled to receive this allowance?

(e) If so, will Government be pleased to state the reasons for giving such allowance to the upper division men?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) The Legislative Department.

(b) Yes; a special pay of Rs. 50 per mensem during the period of the Sessions of the Legislature.

(c) Yes, if sanctioned.

(d) Sanction varies in each Department. There is no general rule applicable to all.

(e) Does not arise.

CONSTRUCTION OF A RAILWAY BETWEEN HAPUR, MOWANA AND LUXAR.

1119. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Are Government contemplating a new railway line to be constructed between Hapur, Mowana and Luxar?

(b) When is it likely to begin the construction of this new line?

(c) Will it be a broad gauge or metre gauge railway?

(d) Will this new railway line pass through Hastnapur a very important place of pilgrimage for the Jain community?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state the names of the important towns and cities that will lie over this new railway line?

(f) Is the survey work of this line completed? If not, when is it likely to be completed?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The reply is in the affirmative.

(b) As some alternative lines have been proposed it is not possible to say at present if the construction of this line will be taken in hand.

(c) If constructed, the line will be on the broad gauge.

(d) and (e) As the alignment has not yet been fixed, it is not possible to give the required information.

(f) The survey is likely to be completed before next working season.

PROPOSED HAPUR, MOWANA-LUXAR RAILWAY.

1120. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Is there any truth in the rumour that the route proposed for the new railway line Hapur, Mowana and Luxar has been recently changed and according to the recent change the railway line will not pass through Hastnapur?

(b) If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the difficulties on account of which this change has to be made?

(c) Have Government realised the loss of income that is likely to arise on account of less traffic by leaving Hastnapur a very important place of pilgrimage?

(d) Will Government be pleased to lay on the table the map of the proposed new railway line showing the important towns, and cities that will lie on it?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a), (b) and (c). As I have just informed the Honourable Member the alignment has not been fixed.

(d) Until the alignment has been fixed, it is not possible to make such a map.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

1121. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Are Government aware that agricultural implements are made at several places in the country?

(b) Have the Government of India issued any instruction to the provincial Departments of Agriculture to prefer the Indian agricultural implements to the imported one?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes.

(b) No. The issue of such instructions is not necessary as Provincial Governments enjoy full discretion in the matter.

ISSUE OF INSTRUCTIONS TO THE PUNJAB GOVERNMENT REGARDING THE USE OF PLOUGHS AND AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS MANUFACTURED BY BRITISH FIRMS.

1122. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Have the Government of India issued any instructions to the Punjab Government not to allow any ploughs or other agricultural implements to be given a trial or to be allowed to compete in comparison with the ploughs and implements manufactured by British firms?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No, Sir.

DISCOUNT ALLOWED TO GOVERNMENT ON THE PURCHASE OF AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS MANUFACTURED BY BRITISH FIRMS.

1123. *Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Do Government charge any discount or commission for advertising the utility of the agricultural implements manufactured by British firms? If the answer be in the negative, will Government be pleased to state if they get wholesale or concession rates in the purchase of these implements? If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state the amount of discount allowed by the firms?

Mr. J. W. Bhoré: The Imperial Department of Agriculture does not undertake the advertisement of any agricultural implements. Trade advertisements are, however, inserted in the Agricultural Journal of India at uniform rates. The replies to the second and third parts of the Honourable Member's question are in the negative.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

1124. *Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Will Government be pleased to state the method by which agricultural implements invented by the Imperial Department of Agriculture are manufactured for the use of the general public? Are they manufactured by the Indian firms in the country or are the orders placed outside the country? If they are manufactured in the country, are the tenders invited from the Indian firms?

Mr. J. W. Bhoré: The Imperial Department of Agriculture having no Agricultural Engineer has left this branch of work to be undertaken by Provincial Governments. It is understood that some Provincial Departments of Agriculture have invented improved types of agricultural machinery, but no information is available as to the arrangements under which they are manufactured for use in the country.

VENTILATION OF THE GRIEVANCES OF GOVERNMENT SERVANTS.

1125. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Will Government be pleased to state whether a recognised association of Government servants is debarred under the Government Servants Conduct Rules from ventilating their grievances to the Members of the Indian Legislatures through the medium of the Press? If so, will Government be pleased to quote the terms of that rule? Is there any such rule in vogue in the United Kingdom? If so, will they please state the terms of such a rule?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Only those communications to Members of the Indian Legislature which involve an infringement of rule 17 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules are debarred in the case of individual Government servants. The position as regards recognised associations of Government servants is the same, for the Government Servants' Conduct Rules apply as much to recognised associations of Government servants as to individual Government servants. Government have no information as to the rule in force in the United Kingdom.

RECRUITMENT OF INDIANS TO THE ARMY IN INDIA RESERVE OF OFFICERS.

1126. *Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: (a) Is it a fact that the Government are recruiting men for the Indian Army Reserve of Officers?

(b) Are Indians eligible to be recruited to the Indian Army Reserve of Officers? If so, what percentage of such posts has been reserved for the recruitment of Indians? Have any Indians been recruited in the Indian Army Reserve of Officers? If so, will the Government be pleased to state their names?

(c) If no percentage of such posts has been kept reserved for Indians, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for this racial distinction?

(d) Do Government propose to recruit Indians as Indian Army Reserve Officers? If not, why not?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes, but the Reserve is now known as the Army in India Reserve of Officers.

(b) The answer to the first-two parts of the question is that Indians are eligible for appointment to the Army in India Reserve of Officers, but that no percentage of posts has been definitely reserved for them. The answer to the third part is in the affirmative. The names of those appointed to the Reserve will be published in the quarterly Indian Army Lists. At the present moment, there are 19 Indians in the Army in India Reserve of Officers.

(c) The Government of India do not consider that the absence of a percentage of reserved posts implies a racial distinction.

(d) Does not arise.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CLASSIFICATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND MINISTERIAL OFFICERS OF THE POSTAL DEPARTMENT.

215. **Mr. N. M. Joshi:** 1 Will Government be pleased to say if the classification of administrative and ministerial officers was revised for the Postal Department in 1918?

2. If so, will Government please give reasons for putting the entire non-gazetted officers under ministerial irrespective of class of work on which they are employed?

3. Does not article 36 of the Civil Service Regulations require that classification of officers "Administrative" and "Ministerial" should be based on nature of work on which an officer is employed and is it not according to this rule that the subordinates in the Telegraph Branch are classified?

4. Are not telegraphists and telegraph masters who are non-gazetted officers classed as administrative officers?

5. Do Government propose to consider the question of declaring all officers in the selection grades of the Postal Department as "Administrative officers"?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath M'tra: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to Mr. C. S. Ranva Iyer's starred question No. 1058 on the subject, on the 21st March 1927.

ORDER IN WHICH DEMANDS FOR GRANTS SHOULD BE BROUGHT BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY AND THE VENTILATION OF GRIEVANCES IN VOTING THE DEMANDS.

216. **Mr. M. K. Acharya:** Will the Government be pleased to state regarding the Budget Debate in the Assembly:

- (1) what the rules are for regulating the order in which the various Demands for Grants should be brought before the Assembly?
- (2) what the rules are for regulating the nature of grievances that may be discussed under each Demand?
- (3) what the House of Commons' procedure is on the above points?

Mr. L. Graham: (1) If there is any rule on the subject it is rule 44 (3) which provides that, subject to the rules, the Budget shall be presented in such form as the Finance Member may consider best fitted for its consideration by the Assembly.

(2) The question as to what matters are relevant for discussion under each Demand is one for the Chair to decide.

(3) The Honourable Member is referred to the chapter of May's Parliamentary Practice, which deals with the voting of supply.

EXTENSION OF THE LIBRARY OF THE INDIAN LEGISLATURE.

217 **Sir Darcy Lindsay:** (a) Will Government please state what steps they propose to take in the matter of providing Members with an up-to-date library of books in the noble building that has been erected for the purpose?

(b) What annual amount of money is to be provided towards the purchase of new books?

Mr. L. Graham: (a) The Government have always contemplated that there would be a considerable extension of the Library after the construction of the new building was completed. Government propose to leave the selection of books as heretofore to a Library Committee consisting of Members of both Chambers.

(b) The grant for the purchase of books for the Library for 1927-28 is Rs 3,000.

THE CURRENCY BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President: The House will now resume further consideration of the motion of Sir Basil Blackett that the Currency Bill as amended be passed.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadian Urban): Sir, I do not wish to prolong the agony of this debate more than I can help; but since the Benches opposite have got all that they wanted, since they are in the transports of delight at having put India economically one generation back, they might at least allow us to shed one last tear over the woes of those who will be sorely tried and hard hit by this legislation. Sir, yesterday I tried to show the results of this legislation on our public finances—on our level of taxation, on our currency reserves and on our public debt. I was saying yesterday that, so far as I could work it out,

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56 per cent. of the expenditure of the Government of India was such that it could not be adjusted to the new ratio; it will remain at the old rate involving additional taxation though in a concealed form owing to the appreciated rupee. This is the fifth attempt that has been made by the Government of India to get over their budget difficulties through the lever of exchange. The first attempt in 1879 had failed. The second in 1886 also failed. It succeeded at last in 1893; the evils of the appreciated rupee were then described by the late Mr. Gokhale, by Romesh Chander Dutt, by Dadabhai Naoroji and others who were no friends of the capitalists, and than whom there are no more honoured names in this country; even if they were wrong, I would rather follow them than be right with the people opposite, because I know they spoke from their heart and they spoke from their knowledge. Mr. Romesh Chander Dutt had more knowledge of the agriculturists in this country in his little finger than there can be in the heads of all the gentlemen opposite. The third attempt having succeeded, we thought exchange had been settled once for all in relation to gold; but the moment an opportunity occurred in 1920, another, and fourth attempt, was made to raise the rupee. That partly succeeded. This Bill is the fifth attempt and it is now only a question of a few hours when we will be irretrievably committed. But this attempt is by no means the last; there is every danger that another attempt may be made on a future occasion, if necessary. The speeches on the Benches opposite and the Report of this Currency Commission leave no room for doubt in this matter. They will lack of a possibility of a rise in the price of silver, and of the likely consequences of such a rise on the relation of the rupee to gold. If the rupee is really a token coin, if the rupee is merely a note printed on silver, then surely I cannot understand how a rise in the price of silver can ever mean any difference in its relation to the gold as it is contended it might. If occasion occurs and it becomes necessary, the appreciation of the rupee by two pence more is by no means ruled out and all the travail that we will be going through now for at least 10 or 12 years may have to be repeated in the future. That is the reason why I submit this House should take warning betimes and yet, even now at this stage, throw out this Bill. (*Mr. K. Ahmed*: "Too late.") Yes, I feel quite clear, almost certain, that it is too late. But still, in the hope which is a forlorn hope, I must make this last effort.

Sir, it is claimed that our rupee expenditure is the same, that if possible it has decreased in terms of rupees. But I will ask a simple question. If you are paying four notes to-day, each of five rupees, by way of taxation, and to-morrow if you are made to pay three notes, by way of taxation, does it always follow that your burdens have decreased? If these four notes are each of Rs. 5 and the three notes are each of Rs. 10, then although the number of the notes may have decreased, your burden has increased. $4 \times 5 = 20$; three is one less than four, but $3 \times 10 = 30$. The numerals in these figures are not alone to be looked at, the unit is equally important. It is the cumulative effect of the unit and the numerals that will give the true picture. Each rupee now represents 8.47 grains of gold as against 7.53 that it used to represent before. Is it any wonder that if we have to pay one grain of gold more for every rupee of taxation, the nominal receipts from taxation might remain the same but the burden will have increased. I shall now consider the effect of this Bill on those who possess gold and have kept it as a store of value. This gold will by a single stroke of the

pen come down by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in value. Last time I looked at the figures of the total imports of gold into this country. Those figures were £250,000,000. That gold was imported at Rs. 15, at any rate a large part of it, and subsequently also much has been imported. Whatever portion of that has been imported at Rs. 15 value will by this Bill come down by $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. without any crime having been committed by the holders of that gold. They will be robbed of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of its value. Similarly, the silver hoards of the people will be reduced by $12\frac{1}{2}$ cent. and yet they will be called upon to bear higher burdens.

Now, Sir, I will now detain the House only so far . . .

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): The agriculturists are not holders of gold.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Not many unhappily.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Very few.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Now, Sir, I will come to the agriculturist for whom my friend Mr. K. Ahmed still seems to have some feeling left. I will appeal to you to see what this Bill means to the agriculturist. The number of agriculturists in this country according to the census of 1921 and the figures reproduced in the Statistical Abstract of India for 1923-24—the number of agriculturists according to the Census of 1921 was 23 crores. Out of these 23 crores the number of people who actually till the soil, not merely who are wage-earners or farm labourers, was 17 crores and 31 lakhs—the actual tillers of the soil who prosper if the produce of the land fetches more and who suffer if the produce of the land falls. Sir, the agricultural labourers also, whose number is 3 crores and 79 lakhs, rise or fall according as agriculture is down or up. I have got the figures of the Bombay Presidency actually worked out. I find from a publication by Mr Findlay Shirras—being the report of an inquiry into the agricultural wages in the Bombay Presidency—that the number of agriculturists, people who are actually employed in agriculture, was 50 lakhs out of a population of 1 crore and 79 lakhs in the Bombay Presidency. These 50 lakhs were divided into 34 lakhs of people who work on their own land and 16 lakhs of people who work on the lands of others. Out of these 16 lakhs a large number receive their wages not in cash but in kind. This is mentioned on page 3 of Mr. Findlay Shirras' book that the wages of the agriculturists were in grains and not always in cash. Therefore, these 50 lakhs of people depend directly on the prosperity or adversity in agriculture, and when you remember that one man represents at least three persons—a wife and a child—then these 50 lakhs become 150 lakhs or out of a population of nearly 1 crore and 79 lakhs in the Bombay Presidency, 1 crore and 50 lakhs are directly maintained by agriculture, and the remainder depend on industries, trade, public service and other professions. The All-India figures from the Statistical Abstract for India lead to the same conclusion. This means that 17 crores and 31 lakhs are the actual tillers of the soil and the remaining 3 crores and 79 lakhs of farm labourers and wage-earners are in the same boat. The fact that agriculture must suffer as a necessary result of the depreciated rupee will be borne out by a reference to the *Labour Gazette* of Bombay. The other day we heard so much of the rise in the price of pulses and cotton. I will now show that although the average cost of living is 155 as against 100 in 1914, the agriculturist does not receive Rs. 155 where he used to get Rs. 100 in 1914. It is only if

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he receives Rs. 155 now that he can be said to be on an equality. According to the *Labour Gazette* the price of rice in 1914 was Rs. 100, in 1927—February, i.e., the latest—it is 184. In wheat against 100 in 1914 it is 186 to-day. In jowar, which is the staple food of a large number of people, as against 100 in 1914 it is 187; bajri 184; gram 155—that is the only thing which has risen up to the average—tuar dal 151; sugar (gur) 167. These are the prices of the articles which the agriculturist receives for his produce as against the cost of living which according to the *Labour Gazette* is 155 to-day. So, it is quite clear that the agriculturist is paying 155 while he is making 135. I shall deal with cotton separately. My friend Mr. Aney who comes from Berar and is therefore interested in the lot of the cotton grower has passed to me a letter containing the views of a gentleman associated with the co-operative societies. This gentleman writes to the Co-operative Societies, warns them against the coming danger and suggests to them to be cautious while giving loans to the cotton growers because he says the prices of cotton will go down. This was done last year in May and it is really surprising in how prophetic a vein this gentleman wrote:

“I venture to suggest the desirability of adopting from now a restrictive policy in financing the Societies in cotton areas.”

Why?

“My reasons,”

he says,

“for offering this suggestion are that there has been a steady continuous decline in the prices of cotton which have now definitely gone below the level of Rs. 330 per candy. It is at present fluctuating round about 330.”

He was talking in May, 1926:

“If no unexpected factor operates to cause violent fluctuations in the cotton market I anticipate a further decline and considering the situation as a whole, the prices may not get stabilised till the level of 275 or 250 is reached. This is likely to occur in the course of a single year”

—and that is so to-day,—

“and in any case will seriously affect the recoveries from the next season.”

He is now warning the Co-operative Societies against lending to the agriculturist:

“Even with the present prices”

—mind you, even with the present prices, which were 330—

“Even with the present prices the extra profits which the cotton growers were getting for nearly a decade have disappeared and with a level below 300 the majority of cotton growers will be selling their produce at or below the cost of production.”

He says this when the price level was Rs. 800 a candy. To-day it is something like Rs. 250 a candy. If the cotton grower was selling below the cost of production with Rs. 800 a candy, at Rs. 250 he must be suffering a further loss of Rs. 50 a candy, and this in the words of a gentleman who apparently is in the most direct and intimate touch with the cotton growing area.

Mr. K. Ahmed: It is a small percentage of the population.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: "The changes in the habits of cotton growers and their farm organisations brought about by a temporary prosperity of nearly a decade are of such a nature and the coming depression would be of such intensity that it will take the cultivators a period of about seven years to adjust themselves to the altered conditions. Cautious measures are suggested to tide over safely this period.

In my opinion the crisis has already begun and its effects will be felt at the time of marketing the crop of the next season. (They are being felt.)

So far as the co-operative movement is concerned substitution of cereals for cotton and consequent reduced cash requirements and reduced ability for cash repayments may be anticipated. It may also be anticipated that the cotton growers will have to be under great pressure for a long period and the work of recovery from the members will prove increasingly difficult. I also anticipate a considerable unemployment and the families of small holders depending for extra incomes on engagement as ploughmen, etc., will be hit very hard. The effect of the depression, in ordinary course, will be greater on the short staple zones but even in other zones my information shows that the cultivators are inconvenienced even with the existing level of prices. Very satisfactory recovery during this season with an increased demand for the ensuing season may be taken as a definite sign of impending difficulties.

My definite suggestions are that financing may be regulated on calculating the returns at about Rs. 60 lower than the current ruling prices and that a very close scrutiny of demands of the societies in the area under cotton may be made before further instalments of loans are advanced.

I am inclined to write on this subject as I felt that any crisis in the Societies in the cotton tracts will react on the whole credit movement of the province. I had been anticipating these developments for the last three years and have ventured to invite your attention to it now as I think that it has reached a critical stage."

This is the opinion of a gentleman who knows what he is talking about, and to-day all the co-operative societies, so far as my information goes, are acting on this cautious and restricted policy of loaning money to the agriculturist. What does it imply? That his land whose value for the purpose of loans stood higher before the appreciated ratio has gone down in value. That means that the amount of money that the agriculturist can borrow on that land will be less, and if his liabilities continue high as they are bound to continue until adjustment takes place, then he will require more loans and he will be able to get less. The result would be that he would be unable to finance his operations and evictions, ejections and landlessness will be the inevitable lot of the average agriculturist in this country under 1s. 6d.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Quote the name of that co-operative society.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I do not know its name, but my Honourable friend Mr. Aney has satisfied me that the letter is from a thoroughly authoritative source. I shall now turn to industries; conditions there are quite identical. The price of raw materials and the price of stores will decrease to some extent but the price of labour, the price of depreciation, the price of interest charges, rates, taxes, insurance, all these in the case of industries would remain the same as in the matter of agriculture. The prices of stores will, according to my Honourable friend, Sir Victor Sassoon, go down by only 5 per cent. Interest charges will remain the same, the wages will remain the same, taxes, insurance, etc., will remain the same, and whatever cannot be adjusted—the brunt of the burden must fall on the profits of the investor and the wages of labour. These two will be hit hard during the next seven or

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eight years when the adjustment will be going on. I have here some telegrams collected from newspapers—a mere random collection from newspapers, not a deliberate collection—to show how the wind blows. Much has been said about the wages of labour and Government have professed a great deal of anxiety for the wages of the wage-earners. This enthusiasm in the interests of labour is certainly very welcome, but when, in fact, it is used as a cover for hitting labour and hitting every other interest in this country, the value that is to be placed on these professions has to be considerably discounted. Sir, I represent a constituency where labour forms one-fourth or one-fifth of the population and my sympathies with labour and the wage-earners are more genuine, they cannot be less genuine than anybody else's. If the wage-earner lives and flourishes, if he prospers, no heart can be more glad than mine; but I can visualise the terrible positive effects on the wage-earner of this process of adjustment. His wages will be reduced, but the reduction may be surreptitious even as this rise in the exchange has been. This reduction can take place in five ways. There may be a reduction of the number of workers employed. Individual wages may be lessened. Insistence on a larger amount of work for the same wages will also mean reduction of wages. Extension of hours of work will also mean reduction of wages. Curtailment of holidays, leave and other rights hitherto enjoyed will also mean an indirect curtailment of wages, and all these are going on, and they will begin now in right earnest. I will take the reduction of wages proposed in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Wadi Bunder staff. There the staff has protested against the contemplated retrenchment and the protest is published in the *Daily Mail* of Bombay, dated the 19th January 1927. The resolution passed by the workers and wage-earners was to the effect that:

"inasmuch as the present hours of work at Wadi Bunder were unduly long and as there was already a heavy pressure of work on the staff retrenchment among the subordinate members of the staff was thought to be highly unjustified."

Retrenchment, that is, cutting down the staff, is one way of reducing labour. I now come to Madras. I have a telegram dated the 12th February published in the *Times of India* of the 14th February. It relates to the Buckingham and Carnatic Mills. It is stated that:

"the management had a proposal before it to reduce the number of operatives. The news caused panic amongst them and 600 operatives struck work on Friday afternoon",

and the result is not yet known. Let me come to the case of the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway staff. A telegram dated 26th February, 1927, from Ahmedabad appears in the *Times of India* of the 17th February. A memorial has been sent on behalf of the staff by Mr. Vallabhai Patel, President of the Association. Reduction in the scales of pay of goods train drivers, reversions to lower grades under the pretext of high consumption of coal and other grounds are opposed. This is the adjustment that is going on. Then I come to the Bengal Nagpur Railway strike. Among all the literature that we have read, about this, one particular matter arrests my attention on the present occasion and that is this. One reason for the strike was that dismissals were taking place on the most trivial grounds; about 87 employees

some of whom had put in more than 20 years' service were suddenly reduced in pay, while 20 chowkidars were summarily dismissed. This is the process of adjustment. It is going on in labour, in industries, and in railways; and will result in inevitable reduction of men and their wages, because after all the staying capacity of the workman is very limited and in that struggle he generally gets completely beaten and then accepts whatever he gets. The results of the strikes in the Bombay Presidency during the last year tell the same tale. I have them from the *Labour Gazette*. From February, 1926 to January, 1927, a period of 12 months, the number of strikes in the Bombay Presidency was 62. The strikes occurred not in one place but in Viramgam, Ahmedabad, Chalisgoon, Poona, Bombay, Kalyan, Nadiad, Ghatkopar, Broach, etc., that is scattered all over the Presidency. What is the result of these strikes? I may mention here that most of these strikes related to the reduction of wages or increase in hours of work or some other surreptitious way of reducing the wage-earner's emoluments, and the result was—that is the most material point—that out of 62 strikes, 5 of which are still running, 44 were entirely unfavourable to workers, 11 favourable to workers, 2 entirely favourable to workers. So 44 cases or nearly 73 per cent. of the strike, ended entirely in favour of the employers, which means that the worker was beaten, that he was hard put to it and that he had no staying power any further. This is the adjustment that is going on, that will go on; and yet we are told that this Bill is for the benefit of the wage-earner.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Did not the Honourable Member tell us yesterday that the adjustment had not begun?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I have said that it has scarcely begun, if that is any consolation to the Honourable Member. Similarly, there is a strike in the Emperor Edward Mill in Bombay. There also reduction in rates and compulsory wedding contributions were the causes of the strike. That strike is still going on. This inevitable process will be a prolonged and embittered struggle in which the worker will be beaten. The same will be the case in respect of agriculturists. Hundreds of them will be evicted. Many will become landless beggars and the rest will be simply living on a pittance or will be starving; and yet the grievances of this large number of people, 17 crores and 3 crores and 79 lakhs, do not arrest the attention of the Finance Member. When the watch dog himself begins to devour the sheep entrusted to his care, there is no hope for the flock, and I know it is entirely useless to appeal to the Finance Member.

Now, Sir, I shall turn to the adjustments that are going on in trade and industries. Mr. A. Geddes, the outgoing Chairman of the Bombay Millowners Association said the other day that the year just ended had unfortunately again proved to be one of unrelieved depression for the industry. The total losses incurred in the Bombay city amounted to Rs. 8 crores. It was not yet possible to say what the losses will be this year, but that the losses will be very heavy was apparent. Several mills were forced into liquidation owing to the extent of their losses, others only surviving the same fate by securing financial assistance from their managing agents. Among private traders also insolvency has been on a large scale. I have come across a telegram from

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Hyderabad, Sind, dated the 1st February. I notice that Mr. Harchandrai is not here. Otherwise he will appreciate what follows. A firm, established 80 years ago, of bankers and produce merchants have appointed one Mr. Mukhi Ram as non-official receiver of their property. Several middle and poor class people will come to distress. It is understood that the failure of the firm will be followed by several other bankruptcy applications and there is great panic and scare. If Honourable Members will read the Government Gazette that we receive every Saturday or Monday, they will find that the list of insolvencies is growing. Only two industries flourish as a result of this higher exchange, that is the industry of making people insolvent and the industry of the usurer. The other day I was reading a publication called the Statistics of the Sea-borne Trade of India in the calendar year 1926. It shows that our sea-borne trade has been reduced by 15 per cent. and 15 per cent. means a loss of over 80 crores, and out of this the loss on the export trade alone was 75 crores. We could have got more if the rupee was not appreciated. Sir, instances could be multiplied but this single instance ought to suffice.

And now I come to the cumulative effects of these various descriptions that I have given. Sir, the agriculturist of this country is an individual who deserves every sympathy and encouragement that this country or its Government can give him. Ever living on the brink of starvation, ever immersed in debt, always a victim in turn of the sowcar and the sircar, always exposed to the vagaries of the monsoon, working in summer and winter, and rain, this individual ought to deserve at the hands of this Government and this country the utmost sympathy and the greatest assistance that he can receive. But is that being done? While on the one hand we have the appointment of the Agricultural Commission, on the other, the whole agricultural population of this country is being put to a period of prolonged and severe strain and distress. The poor man who uses a postcard has now got to pay two pice where he paid only one. I am afraid he will now have to pay a further burden of 12½ per cent. Similarly, while we are waiting to reduce the duty on salt as a result of the higher exchange the salt duty instead of being 1-4-0 will be at 1-6-6 per maund.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Will the Honourable Member tell me what it will be in terms of commodities?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: It will depend on what and how much the peasant buys. He rarely buys anything except a little kerosene oil, a little gur (raw sugar), a little salt and a little cloth. These are the limits of his purchases. His house, if you will come with me into the country, is a thatched roofless shed. In that house the only furniture are his children, himself and his wife. That is the condition of the poor agriculturist. He rarely buys even this kerosene if he can help it and the exchange policy will now drive this individual to a prolonged period of strain and starvation. Postage, railways, salt, and last but not the least land revenue of 36 crores will have to be paid at an increased gold value of 12½ per cent. until the next revisional settlement comes into being. Even the heart of the Chairman of this Commission which was steeled against justice has admitted the force of this contention.

Mr. K. Ahmed: There is not much force in your speech.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: And to take from this agriculturist directly nearly 4 crores of rupees a year in this concealed manner is to my mind the height of inhumanity. And yet that is going to the result of this 'appreciated rupee until the new settlements are arrived at. The tax-payer all round will be paying more taxation in this surreptitious manner. The poor man's postcard already costing double of what it used to cost in pre-war times will be costing $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. more without his knowing it. The 100 crores of the receipts from the Railways will represent $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of concealed taxation on the traveller and the trader. Instances can in this manner be multiplied showing how in every direction additional taxation will be levied through the dodge of higher exchange. The effects of economic laws are inexorable and they will be reflected all round in a depressed agriculture, industry, trade and commerce and in a general economic depression. Industrial activity will be paralysed. Insolvencies will multiply among traders and business men by the forced reduction of the value of stocks. Unemployment will follow as a necessary corollary of the depression in industry and a whole generation will be financially and economically crippled before this higher ratio will become truly effective. The only advantage as against these colossal losses and huge distress will be to the finances of the Government, who will continue to show for a few years surplus Budgets and superficial signs of prosperity. The jubilation of the Finance Member over the exchange surpluses can well be compared to the fiddling of Nero when Rome was burning. If we had a national Government, Sir, we could have appealed to them to desist from so hazardous a course. But our destinies are in the hands of a coterie of foreigners, and they act as the representatives of the British capitalists settled here as well as working from abroad. To relieve the Government from budgetary embarrassments, to increase by a stroke of the pen the emoluments of the aliens who already get the most extravagant salaries, to benefit the importers of luxuries by making imports cheaper to give a premium of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the remitter of profits from this country, these and similar are the objects of the appreciated rupee. In the name of the poor and bleeding agriculturists and peasants of this country, in the name of the tax-payer already ground down by heavy imposts, in the name of the infant industries of this country and in the name of the economic and industrial welfare of India as a whole, I appeal to the House, even at this stage, to throw out this Bill and show that the interests of this country are dear to our hearts. (Applause.)

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): Sir, we are at the final stage of consideration of this Bill. As a rule this final stage is utilized by Members of this House to wish God-speed to the legislation which has undergone the first two readings. For obvious reasons, I neither can, nor do I wish to, stand up to-day to wish this Bill that God-speed. But whilst I cannot agree, Sir, with the Bill as it will emerge from this House before long, I bear no spite to it, and the best wish that I can wish to the country as a result of the passing of this Bill by this House is that the painful process of adjustment through which the country will have to pass owing to 1s. 6d. being put on the Statute-book may be as little felt by the country as nature may possibly allow. It is not necessary for me to go into the various reasons why I

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think that the process of adjustment is by no means complete. The Honourable the Finance Member interrupted my Honourable friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and reminded him that on a previous occasion my Honourable friend may have stated that he did not believe that adjustment had even started. I am sure the Honourable the Finance Member has till now failed to prove the extent to which adjustment has been completed; and as far as wages are concerned, Sir, I do not think that the Finance Member and myself will be in wide disagreement when I say that it is at the best just beginning; and that was the burden of what Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was trying to prove.

But I did not wish, Sir, and would have very much disliked, to have to put before the House any more details regarding various aspects of the Bill but for the fact of the very exceptional and peculiar procedure that has been adopted by Government in the consideration of this legislation. Instead of bringing up this Bill at the beginning of this Session, the Government elected deliberately to cause a delay of 40 days, and when the Bill was brought up before the House on the 7th of this month, one section of the House began to be very impatient, Sir, at any remarks which Members from this side of the House made. I admit that we all want to get away from Delhi as soon as possible, but I submit with all humiliation that the method in which the Government chose to arrange the consideration of this Bill has not been to the credit of the Government. In this connection, therefore, Sir, I feel that there are certain explanations which are due from the Finance Member to this House, and especially, Sir, to the public of this country, before the final reading of this Bill can be allowed to go through. I therefore propose—and this is exceptional too at a third reading—to remind him, before I resume my seat of a few explanations which he owes to this House.

But before I do that I would, Sir, like to notice the apology of courtesy which the Finance Member was good enough to offer to Members of this House yesterday with regard to any hasty or any angry word that he may have said during the debate on this Bill. As one who has taken a prominent part—if people like to put it so—in connection with impressing upon the country the great necessity of having 1s. 4d. on the Statute and not 1s. 6d., may I hasten to return the courtesy to the Finance Member and assure him that nothing that I either said, did or wrote was meant to be an insult to him or in any way to be taken by him as personal (Applause.) I assure the Honourable Member, Sir, that there are few in this House who have a higher opinion of the Finance Member's abilities than I have. But that does not mean, Sir, that I am to endorse his opinions when I feel honestly and strongly that the action that he is taking—be it under stress of circumstances, be it under any other considerations of which I may not be aware—can be either tolerated or put up with by us. I feel, Sir, that the Finance Member has since 1923, in spite of the deliberate opposition of the Indian commercial community and especially, Sir, of the constituency which I have the honour to represent in this House,—the Finance Member has with the support of the European commercial bodies in this country been carrying on a policy which can only be adequately described as a bold and exciting experiment with the currency system of this country. Sir, in the wide British Empire no country which had any powers of self-rule was open to the British Government for an experiment

of the nature which has been carried on in India. No country, Sir, could have tolerated this. I am aware of some Crown Colonies where the currency has been appreciated over the pre-war ratio. The Finance Member obliged me the other day by reminding me of Siam. I am very sorry that that is the estimate of the Finance Member of India over the financial fortunes of which country he has had the honour of presiding during these

12 Noon. few years. I say, and I say it with all the emphasis I can

command, that no major country in the world has been treated in the way in which India has been treated during the last five years, and it is a pity that this House has, under the peculiar circumstances of our constitution, Sir, endorsed it even though it be by a small majority of three votes. And, Sir, at this stage I should like to take up the point which the Finance Member made a point of great grievance against me in particular, although he did not name me, and against Members on this side of the House. He yesterday complained that there were people on this side of the House who made it a grievance that 25 million pounds worth of gold resources of India were chucked away by him. May I repeat it to him, with all humiliation, but with all the emphasis at my command, I repeat that charge again. I say that the Finance Member by following the policy which he has followed has deliberately frittered away India's gold resources to the extent of 25 million pounds and he has done that only for one purpose and one alone, namely, to maintain the 1s. 6d. ratio. Sir, the Finance Member asked "What is wrong about it? I collected those 25 million pounds for you during the previous two or three years. I kept them in London and I have used them for the purpose for which I collected them. I parted with the gold resources of India in order to maintain the 1s. 6d. ratio." Now, Sir, I do not wish in any way to annoy the Finance Member, but all that I can say is that that explanation is nothing short of adding insult in the injury done to India. It is bad enough to have frittered away 25 million pounds worth of our gold resources; but it is an insult to this House to try to justify it and say "because I collected it in the past two years, I am justified in having frittered it away." I submit that if the Finance Member collected 25 million pounds of our gold resources in the previous two years, any other country similarly placed as India which had a Finance Member would have done that. If there was not an ineffective ratio on the Statute, if the Government of India had not persisted in keeping the ineffective ratio on the Statute of 2 shillings to the rupee, these 25 million pounds need not have remained in London in the form of sterling securities in the Paper Currency Reserve, but might have come to India as gold. Now, what was it that justified the Finance Member and the Government of India parting with these in a manner which was avoidable? Is it contended, Sir, that they had the consent of the Assembly in order to maintain the 1s. 6d. ratio? It was all done by executive action, and I submit again that that charge will always lie at the door of the Finance Member of the Government of India in the year 1926-1927 that in order to maintain a ratio which was pre-conceived and pre-arranged between the India Office and the Government of India, 25 million pounds worth of India's gold resources were deliberately, and avoidably, frittered away.

But I have one explanation and one apology to make. It is a subject which you know, Sir, and you spoke to me about it. Mr. E. L. Price to whom I referred on the 8th of March has written to me and pointed out that my quotation from his correspondence in the newspaper as given on

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page 1891 of the Proceedings of the Assembly of 8th March 1927 is due to an error. I there said, Sir, that Mr. Price had said:

"that the salaried European with children to educate in England regards Bombay's action as little short of criminal."

Bombay's action, Sir, in this matter was that a few people in Bombay took the lead in pressing for the 1s. 4d. ratio. Mr. E. L. Price, writing to me on the 15th of March, points out . . .

Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay European): This year?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: After this quotation was made by me.

Mr. H. G. Cocke: What year? 1927?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Did my Honourable friend think that I gave the quotation of 1926? I was not in India in March 1926:

"The quotation you now refer to was the *Statesman's* own comment on my statement that Government in October 1924 had prevented the rate rising above 1s. 6d. I am in no way responsible for that comment. I repeat my assurance that I never said or wrote anything of the kind and that I never even considered such a point as affecting the issue. I shall be obliged if you can see your way to clear me from the imputation."

I hold in my hand a cutting from the *Statesman* of Calcutta, dated December 14th, 1926, from which I took the quotation made by me on the 8th instant. The particular sentence appeared to me and has appeared to several other friends to whom I have shown this cutting as being a quotation from Mr. Price's letter. I now have great pleasure in saying that this is not a quotation from Mr. Price's letter, but it is the opinion expressed by the editor of the *Statesman* in one of the small leading articles or small notes editorially published in that paper.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But Mr. Moore differed from you

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: It does not matter. Let my Honourable friend follow this, and keep quiet if he wants to get on faster. (Laughter).

Now, Sir, I particularly and specifically want to ask the Finance Member if he thinks he has treated this House and especially this part of the House even with some consideration which was due if he wanted Members to consider the question fairly and without prejudice, if he has treated us fairly when he asked to be allowed to waive his right of reply to the debate on the ratio amendment which necessitated his omitting to give replies to the six questions which I had put him and which I understood he agreed to answer. Need I repeat, Sir, those questions? I would rather not repeat the questions, because I think they may take more time. Those questions are printed on page 1804 of the proceedings of the 7th March. May I ask if he is prepared to give us replies to those questions, because whatever the result of the voting may be, I think it is due to those who hold the opinion that 1s. 4d. was right that the Finance Member's replies to these questions should be on record?

My friend Mr. Moore said, Sir, that if you had the lower ratio of 1s. 4d. on the Statute, you depreciate the silver savings of India. That was on the 7th March. I interrupted him and asked whether he really thought that with the lower ratio of 1s. 4d. on the Statute the silver hoardings or savings of the poor masses of India about whom he undoubtedly is so

solicitous were depreciated. Mr. Moore then said that he thought that the silver hoardings in the shape of rupees would be depreciated, and he estimated that these silver rupees hoarded by the masses of India may be in the neighbourhood of 100 crores. May I put it to Mr. Moore whether, if he is so very anxious about the rupee coin being depreciated by the ratio of 1s. 4d., Mr. Moore will agree with me that the silver ornaments of the masses of India undoubtedly are depreciated in rupees at the higher ratio of 1s. 6d., and if my friend agrees with me there, may I ask him to make a very rough calculation—and I know he has a very efficient staff in his office for that purpose—as to what is the amount of silver ornaments and other silver holdings of the people of India as against 100 crores of coin rupees which he estimates the masses have in hoard? I am sure he will find that the amount of silver ornaments and other silver hoardings go into multiples of 100 crores of rupees. But there is one thing more. Even that 100 crores of rupee coins which my Honourable friend Mr. Moore estimates, I submit to him is an exaggeration and at best only a figure which can be classed as guess work; the other figure regarding the value of silver ornaments is a matter of practical knowledge of anybody Mr. Moore may choose to consult. So if Mr. Moore is anxious that the silver savings and ornaments of the masses of India should *not* be depreciated, I suggest to my Honourable friend that he does exactly this by voting for 1s. 6d. And the harm he thus causes to the masses is much greater because the coined rupees are estimated by him at 100 crores at the best, while the silver ornaments are worth several times that.

The Honourable the Finance Member asked me if I thought 1s. 4d. gold had been effective for the best part of 26 or 28 years, from 1898 up to date. I suggested to him that when he differed from me he was thinking of 1s. 4d. sterling in the intermediate period. I should like to get clear about this. There is not room for difference of opinion. From 1898 to 1917 we were round about 1s. 4d. gold. The whole question is, what happened between 1917 and 1921. I have got, Sir, certain charts and certain other material available to me, which show that, barring a very short period, 1s. 4d. gold and the proximity of 1s. 4d. gold was what the exchange rate ruled at; but even for this I would appreciate official figures from the Finance Member for the record of this House, and I request the Finance Member to give us figures regarding 1s. 4d. gold and not regarding 1s. 4d. sterling. It is known that since October 1924, when 1s. 4d. gold was deliberately passed over by the Government of India, as it now turns out to be by arrangement with the India Office, it has been higher than 1s. 4d. gold.

My Honourable colleagues Mr. Birla and Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and I took considerable pains to prepare this statement showing the rupee expenditure and the expenditure of the Government of India converted into gold at the rates of exchange ruling according to Government statistics again on the 1st of March each year. The years are 1923-24, 1924-25, 1925-26, 1926-27 and 1927-28. Several Members from this side of the House requested the Finance Member either to correct or to confirm this statement. The Honourable the Finance Member said that in another place he had given a very full reply to this. I, not having seen a report of that reply at the time this question was raised, was unable to say anything. I have now in my hand a report of the Council of State debates of the 5th March.

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1927. From page 467 thereof I see there is a small paragraph in which he says:

"I have attempted during the course of to-day to work out a true comparison between our expenditure in 1923-24 and to-day,"

and he then goes on to refer to the basis of 1914 prices, and he congratulates himself that the excess in commodity prices on the 1914 basis is as little as he makes it out to be. Even there one would have appreciated it, if he really wanted the Legislature of India to judge this question fully in the light of figures if he had put before us a statement prepared on parallel lines, or if he could have improved upon that, and let us decide which of the two methods of calculation was correct. But I wish, Sir, to ask the Honourable the Finance Member whether he is not adding to the confusion which already exists in the minds of some who have not had time to study this question by bringing in "commodity prices." Comparison with 1914, Sir, does not give us any idea of this question. The whole comparison is between 1923-24, which is the budget year perhaps coinciding with the report of the Inchcape Committee, or immediately following it, and the present one. Even if you go on the commodity prices since the 1st of March 1923, and I remember that the report was submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy on the 1st of March 1923, the fall in world prices and in prices in India has been as follows: In Great Britain on the 1st of March 1923 the index number of prices was 163. In December 1926 it was 147. In America it was 159 in March 1923, and last November it was 148. In India on the 1st March 1923 the index number of prices was 181, and last November, 1926, it was 146. Even from that point of view the rupee has been heavier, has been able to buy more, and I submit that there has been no reduction in expenditure in rupees on which the Finance Member can congratulate himself. I feel that the comparison by conversion of the rupee into gold at the current rate of exchange on a certain day in that year—and the Finance Member may if he chooses take any other date instead of the 1st of March—is accurate and correct, and I can assure him that, before I and my friends put forward this statement, we gave very serious thought to it, and we were completely convinced that the argument which is made out by these figures is one which cannot be easily met. At any rate I feel that the Finance Member might have met us by putting before us a statement calculated on the lines that he wished to make out. Even, speaking in the Council of State, he says: "I have not got the exact figures". Surely, Sir, when we are considering the question of altering the standard of monetary unit in the country for ever hereafter, it was almost the duty, if I may say so, of the Finance Member to put before us calculations on such basis as he thought was warranted.

Sir, we have got to-day the Royal Agricultural Commission sitting. I have not the least doubt that any effort made by the Government of India to improve the lot of the agriculturist is welcome, but I wish, Sir, to read to the House just one paragraph from a letter which I received since I arrived here from a missionary gentleman not very far from here, who is running special classes in order to give training in better agriculture to agriculturists in the villages. He says in the letter, dated 19th February:

"I am most anxious about the future of agriculture and its enormous exports. These can only be paid for through the usual banking system and that must clearly mean an intolerable loss to the farmers of India. What is the use of our teaching

improved farming to the boys and trying to uplift the villager if his profits are to be filched from him by ways and means that he cannot understand or resist. It would be heart-breaking to carry on rural education for the purpose of bolstering up budgets."

That, Sir, does not come from an Indian politician; that, Sir, does not come from a member of the Currency League; that, Sir, comes from the heart of a white man, and all credit to him that he frankly declares that the method by which the 12½ per cent. is being taken away from agriculturists in a manner that he cannot resist, discounts for years to come what little can be done by way of education or by way of providing the agriculturist of India with a little more up-to-date method of farming. I have, Sir, a telegram from Karad, District Satara, from the Ogale Glass Works, manufacturers of glassware and hurricane lanterns, who I understand manufacture something like 1,000 lamps a day, similar to hurricane lanterns. They say:

"Our industry hard hit owing to proposed currency legislation, strongly oppose 1s. 6d. rate, reversion to 1s. 4d. absolutely necessary."

Another one says and it is the Kirloskar Wadi people this time, the very enterprising manufacturers, Sir, of the Deccan. They say:

"Our industry, specially bolts, threatened with extinction owing to proposed currency legislation. Strongly oppose 1s. 6d."

But, Sir, the strongest and perhaps the most touching wail comes from Jaipur. I received a telegram about the beginning of this month communicating to me, Sir, the resolution passed at a meeting of merchants in Jaipur. That telegram was confirmed by a letter. The letter says:

"The principal industries of this town are:

1. Manufacture of precious stones
2. Painting
3. Dyeing
4. Artistic brassware.

All these products are exported in large quantities to overseas markets, and since we are required to quote values in the English currency we now get only Rs. 13/5/4 instead of Rs. 15 for every £ sterling. It is certainly in our discretion to raise prices so as to adjust them to the present ratio, but everywhere trade is so slack that we have to lower rates rather than think of increasing them and even then we can hardly induce any appreciable business. This cut of 10 to 14 per cent. as the case may be in the invoice value therefore practically forbids business and thousands of artisans have been thrown out of employment and acute misery prevails in the town."

Sir, since the ratio amendment of 1s. 4d. was thrown out I have had during the four days' holiday last week an interview or rather a visit from the Assistant Secretary of the gold thread industry in Benares. He told me a tale, Sir, which made me feel very miserable. He said that in Benares the gold and silver thread industry which is the pride of India and is certainly the pride and a great source of prosperity in Benares till now, has been carrying on since the last two years with considerable difficulty. In Benares the bad effects of the 1s. 6d. ratio are now being perceived to be so onerous that the people concerned in this industry specially deputed him to interview legislators in Delhi. He said to me that although 1s. 6d. has been prevalent for the last two years or so the people there were hoping that when the legislation comes up before the Assembly a change would be made; but that since the ratio amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was thrown out those who are interested in importing this gold thread from abroad have got more bold and have begun to quote lower for imported articles. This person who was specially sent from

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“that Association told me that their great apprehension is that out of the 20,000 artisans in Benares affected, of whom half are Hindus and the other half are Muhammadans (Julais), very nearly a considerable proportion will soon be on the unemployment list.

Mr. K. Ahmed: They are all religious minded.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: That does not matter. You try to live on religion and let us see about it! Sir, I could not do better than direct this special messenger from Benares to the Department in whose care local and indigenous industries and local labour are; I directed him to the Honourable Member in charge of Industries and Labour. But, Sir, the maleffects of this does not stop there.

Mr. President: With what result?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: The result was not so encouraging—that much I may tell the House; but I have a sufficiently woeful tale to tell without this and I may leave the Benares weaver to the Honourable Member opposite.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra (Industries Member): This gentleman did *not* come and see me.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I may supplement that by saying the gentleman informed me—and I have no reason to disbelieve him—that he called twice at the house of the Honourable Member and that the first time he was told to come the following morning at 8, and when he went there again on the following morning, the *patawala* told him the Sahib had gone to the Lat Sahib!

Mr. President: At 8 o'clock in the morning?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Yes, Sir.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: It was up to this gentleman to write and ask for an interview. As a matter of fact I received no letter from him. If he came to the house and talked to a *patawala* I do not know anything about it.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: There was no time to write a letter. The man went there himself and sent in his card. I am quite prepared to believe that the Honourable Member knows nothing about it. Perhaps his personal assistant gave the visitor the reply. I have a letter from the Indian Merchants' Association of Singapore dated 14th February, 1927. It says:

“I beg to inform you that the following Resolution was unanimously passed by the General Meeting of this Association held on the 12th instant:

‘This General Meeting of the Indian Marchants' Association emphatically protest against the recommendations of the Indian Currency Commission to fix the rate of exchange at 1s. 6d. per rupee which will not only inflict untold injury to the Indian trade in this part of the world but will also adversely affect the thousands of wage-earners here to the extent of Rs 20 on every hundred dollars remitted to India.’”

I have an elaborate memorandum here attached to the letter. I do not propose to trouble the House with that.

Now, Sir, against these opinions what have we got? Against that of course we have the opinion of the Government of India who have endorsed the Majority Commission's Report and I submit that since the majority report was signed the conditions that then prevailed and that prevail to-day are

substantially different. There has been a further fall of prices since 7th July last, but we have in any case the opinion of the Government of India, and we have, Sir, the opinion of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. Now, I do not wish, nor do I think it is right for anybody to say that when I mention the Associated Chambers of Commerce I am trying to bring up any question which is a racial one. Whilst I am the last person to raise any racial question I also think that it is wrong to overlook that owing to the divergent interests of India and of Europeans or Britishers in India there are contrary opinions. It is wrong not to mention these differences or to avoid them at this juncture. Now my Honourable friends of the Associated Chambers of Commerce press for 1s. 6d. because that rate benefits them. It is no use anybody saying "No." The Lords of the Treasury themselves said so, and surely, Sir, they were not Indians, nor were they Bombay men, nor were they politicians. Against these opinions coming from people who are interested in the uplift of agriculture, people who are interested in small and big industries, people who are interested in such industries as the Benares gold thread industry and Indians abroad, the Government of India and this House, Sir, has thought it proper to pass and put on the Statute-book the 1s. 6d. ratio. I therefore have nothing more to add except to repeat for the purpose of record that this Bill containing as it does this ratio cannot possibly have my approval.

Sir, I feel that there is a lesson to be drawn from what has happened till now. The Honourable the Finance Member speaking before the House on the 22nd January, 1925, said as follows:

"There are comparatively few people who claim a deep knowledge of Indian currency and exchange; there are perhaps even fewer who possess it. Yet currency enters into our every-day life in a way that hardly anything else enters. We all know what a rupee and an anna look like. Yet I think it is probably a subject about which less is known than any other subject in India."

Those were true words and it has now been proved by some speeches at least in this House that the Honourable the Finance Member when he said the above in 1925 was saying something with which we all must agree. But I submit, Sir, to the Finance Member that unfortunately the ignorance of the masses of the people and the ignorance at least of some Members of this House in connection with the currency question has been his opportunity. If only, Sir, the people could understand what has been done to their currency system during the last four years, I say that this House could not have dared to pass the 1s. 6d. ratio in the manner it has done. I admire the candour and I admire the frankness of my Honourable friend over there from Calcutta who pulled the legs yesterday of some of us who had tried to give our thought and a good deal of our time and money to the study of this question. He reminded my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah about what he had said about experts. My only pity is that Dr. Suhrawardy from Bengal should think that even Romesh Chunder Dutt and Dadabhai Naoroji and Gopal Krishna Gokhale were not authorities whom he could follow; and he decided for reasons which he never put before us that he would follow the reasons and the reasoning advanced by the Finance Member. It may be, Sir, that the Honourable the Finance Member is proud—perhaps justifiably—that he has at least impressed some Indian Members of this House. It remains in the lap of the future to know and to decide whether the Finance Member can be proud about it or may have to be sorry about it in the future.

But as against this anxiety on the part of some Indian Members of the House to keep open minds and not to learn even up to the day when the

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voting comes on, there is a very remarkable spectacle that you see on the other side. The Europeans all over the country have studied the question and are mostly for 18d.

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): Who says so?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I will say so immediately if the Honourable Member will allow me to.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But some of them are voting with you.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Yes; I will deal with them if Mr. Ahmed will have some patience. Every newspaper conducted by Europeans has been for 18d. and has some fault or other to find with Bombay and the alleged Bombay interests as being all for selfish purposes. My Honourable friend, Sir Darcy Lindsay said, "Who says so?" I am aware and I am very grateful for the three exceptions in his group who will be remembered for ever by India as Europeans who had the courage of their convictions, who thought right and who did what they thought. Not that I in the slightest degree challenge the honesty of purpose of the nine other members in that group. It is possible—and I repeat it every time—that they all must have voted according to their convictions. I concede that those who voted for 18d. may have also had the courage of their convictions. There is no use

Sir Darcy Lindsay: How is it only they who have got the courage of their conviction?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Simply because of this that we know that it wants a strong will. Sir, to go against what the Government want, because there is the social life and the life outside this House for Europeans. I am quite justified in paying a special tribute of admiration to some without challenging or in any way doubting the *bona fides* of the others. I say they all may have voted honestly, but I am quite entitled to admire those who rose to the occasion and voted with Indians, irrespective of what it may mean to them in their social life or personal interests.

Now, while as against this generally united effort and front, and as against this expert knowledge which was acquired by almost every European in the land, either newspaper or individual in India, the Indians, Sir, had open minds. The Indians could not understand the question, and the Indians had other considerations. They may all be equally genuine. Nobody wishes to doubt anybody else's honesty, and least of all, Sir, I believe that if I claim that what I say and what I do is honest, I must give the same credit for honesty of purpose to the other man, and I give him the greater credit in cases where the other person differs from me. The obvious lesson, Sir, is that unity has been strength and the contrary has been weakness and the case for 1s. 4d. has been lost for India through the latter cause. I only hope that this will lead the country on to greater effort to study the question so that Indians may before long discover that after all ignorance in this matter of currency questions is perhaps an ignorance which costs the country most.

Sir, a Bengal newspaper has a leader in its issue of the 9th March. It says:

"Every country endeavours to stabilise at the point at which exchange has been steady over some considerable period. There is no other method known to statesmanship that does not bring widespread ruin and immeasurable economic disturbance."

The question in this case to-day before India is whether it is 18*d.* on the Statute-book which will bring widespread ruin and economic disturbance or whether it is 16*d.* which would have avoided it. Nobody wishes to do any sort of prediction in this matter. I made my best effort to put before the country and this House my views as they not only struck me but as they almost oppressed me. As I said, the other day, it was for this House to accept my views or to reject them. The House having rejected the same, I feel personally that the responsibility as far as I am concerned is over. I only wish that the Finance Member feels as much relief as I do; because I am sure the question which now stares him in the face is, when is he going to borrow in London in order to maintain the 18*d.* ratio? After all, the resources left with him are £5½ millions sterling in the Paper Currency Reserve. Barring that, there is £22½ millions of gold in India and there is the £40 millions sterling in the Gold Standard Reserve. Whether the Finance Member will turn to that solid gold in India and export it to London is not a matter which I know of. That he will not touch the Gold Standard Reserve lightly we know from past experience. The £5½ million in the Paper Currency Reserve cannot help him very much; and when he borrows next in London to keep up exchange, I am sure, Sir, that he will not value his victory of to-day as much as some of his followers wish to. I have no option but to withhold my support to the third reading of this Bill.

Mr. Arthur Moore (Bengal: European): Sir, my only reason for an intervention, which I will try to make as brief as possible, is that my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas directly challenged me on two points. I am a very great admirer of the tenacity with which my Honourable friend sticks to his point; and I will try to put this question of the silver savings again as simply as possible. I ask Honourable Members to put aside for a moment their views about 16*d.* or 18*d.* and simply make up their minds on this particular question. Now, Sir, the point I made was this: the silver savings of India are, as we all know, of two classes; they are ornaments and coin. I quite agree with my Honourable friend that the official estimate of the hoarded coins which is about Rs. 100 crores, is a guess, and no one can know precisely how much it is. But we do know that it is a vast sum. Now, I understand that my Honourable friend does not attempt to contradict my argument that, if you depreciate your rupee from 18*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* you will reduce the value of those hoarded savings by 11 per cent. That is an absolute dead loss in gold value, and there is no way either of getting away from it or over it or under it. What was also in my mind was this, that the people of India have been called upon for a great many years past, owing to the tremendous fall in the prices of silver in the last part of the 19th century, to face a large depreciation of the other part of their savings, which—again I agree with my Honourable friend—are also a very vast unknown quantity. They had to face that loss. Now, having faced that loss, are they to be asked to face a further loss in the coin part of their savings? As regards the gain or loss in the value of their ornaments through the depreciation of the rupee, surely my Honourable friend is bound to agree with me that it does not really arise.

[Mr. Arthur Moore.]

I quite agree with him that if you depreciate your rupee, for every pound's worth of silver ornaments that you try to sell, you will get Rs. 15 instead of Rs. 18-5-4. But surely it has already been agreed, it is common ground on both sides of the House, that once the adjustment takes place, the purchasing power of the Rs. 15 will be exactly the same as that of Rs. 18-5-4. Therefore, Sir, to suggest that a loss which is purely a rupee loss owing to an appreciation of the rupee is comparable with the gold loss which you will undoubtedly suffer by having your coin actually depreciated is not right. They have suffered in the reduction of value of their silver ornaments in the last century, owing to the fall in the price of silver, and they should not now stand to lose by a reduction in the value of the rupee. But they are not called upon to face any further fall in the value of their silver ornaments. I say the value will remain the same, once the adjustment takes place.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Exactly; that means adjustment is the whole point.

Mr. Arthur Moore: Now, Sir, one further point was raised by the Honourable Member at considerable length in reference to Europeans and the interest or supposed interest of the Europeans in the 18d. rupee, and I understood him to quote from an "Occasional Note" which appeared in the *Statesman*. Now, the crime, I understood him to say, was Bombay's action in this matter. The version that the Honourable Member gave us of this action was that Bombay took the lead in pressing for 1s. 4d., but if he will re-read Mr Price's letter and if he will re-read the paragraph, he will find that nothing so vague as Bombay taking the lead for pressing for 1s. 4d. was mentioned, but what was referred to definitely was the speculative action of Bombay in sending abroad a great deal of money at 1s. 6d. in order to reduce the value of the rupee. It was not propaganda that was referred to at all. It was the definite speculative action of Bombay for the purpose of bearing the rupee.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Sir, may I pass on to the Honourable Member the article from which I read, and ask him to read it out so that the House may judge whether the construction he puts on it to-day is justified by this article?

Mr. Arthur Moore: If the Honourable Member will pass it to me, I will read it.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Will you read the whole? It is as true & copy as the House is accustomed to.

Mr. Arthur Moore (reads):

"Mr. E. L. Price, who has lived in the Bombay Presidency for more than twenty years and may be supposed to know what he is talking about, tells us that 'when Bombay is ungenerous, Bombay is ungenerous to dementia.' This is not pleasant hearing, but Mr. Price gives chapter and verse for his statement. He reminds Bombay that while the rupee is not to fall below 1s. 5½d., on the other hand it is not to rise above 1s. 6 3/16d. 'Of rupees at 1s. 6 3/16d. who took more advantage from 1924 to February, 1926, than Bombay?' he caustically inquires."

That is not propaganda.

"Mr. Price reproaches Bombay for ingratitude to Sir Basil Blackett for providing unlimited rupees" so as to prevent the rupee soaring to 1s. 7d. or even 1s. 8d. The salaried European with children in England to educate regards this action as little short of criminal."

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Where does the remittance question come in here except

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I suggest that the action which was little short of criminal was my action, in preventing the rupee from rising above 1s. 6d.?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: That is what the *Statesman* says. I am glad the Honourable the Finance Member agrees with me.

Mr. Arthur Moore: Passing from that immediate controversy—(laughter)—no, Sir, I am not passing because I am afraid of the issue, because I think I have proved my point—passing to face the issue in a more radical sense—what is the supposed crime of the European in preferring a 1s. 6d. rupee? I notice that there is

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I never said that Europeans were "criminally" guilty of anything. That is what Mr. Moore in his paper the *Statesman* charges the Finance Member with.

Mr. Arthur Moore: Sir, I am not dealing with the paragraph in the *Statesman*. I am dealing with the Honourable Member's speech which was of an extremely racial character. The Honourable Member has desired to raise prejudice against Europeans over this matter. (*Cries of "No, no."*) Yes, Sir, he has most definitely done so. I wish to examine his point. It is apparently no crime for Bombay to remit home at 1s. 6d. in order to make a profit, but he has a great objection to a salaried Government official getting the higher benefit. (*Lt.-Col. H. A. J. Gidney: "Shame."*) Now, Sir, I can understand people wanting 1s. 4d. for the sake of India but I cannot understand them wanting 1s. 4d. merely for the sake of injuring Europeans serving in this country. And what does this higher ratio really mean? Sir, I tried to put before the Honourable Member in my original speech the interchange of goods and services. All it means is this, that a man who has got his children to educate at home and who remits his rupees in order to get sterling at home, makes these English schoolmasters and English tailors and bakers, and English landlords accept less goods and services rendered in India and give more in exchange of their own goods and services rendered in England. Is that doing any injury to India? (*Laughter.*) The Honourable Member tries to avoid the point.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: There is no point in it at all.

Mr. Arthur Moore: I think the Finance Member will entirely agree with me.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Will he?

Mr. Arthur Moore: During the interval there will be depreciation.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Ask him.

Mr. Arthur Moore: If you depreciate the coin of your own country, you are lowering the value of the goods and services of that country until gold prices have adjusted themselves. That is entirely an incontrovertible fact and the Honourable the Finance Member absolutely agrees with me.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: As now stated, I do, Sir.

Mr. Arthur Moore: I am only responsible for my statement. I quite agree that once your ratio is adjusted—we are all agreed as to that—it will make no difference. But what will actually happen now if you depreciate your rupee, is that during the interval of time the goods and services of England will have their value enhanced as against the goods and services of India. What the Honourable Member is trying to do, if he depreciates the rupee, is to benefit the cold weather tourist. The tourist brings out his pounds and his dollars and gets more rupees, and will be able to make the hotel keepers and shopkeepers and agriculturists and everybody else in India work for him for less money during the period of adjustment. That is what the Honourable Member is trying to do. He prefers the cold weather tourist to the man who is giving his services to India,—except of course in the case of Bombay remitting home! Well, Sir, I am very sorry indeed to hear this racial argument developed at such length. Obviously any advantage does not concern merely the European. It concerns all money remitted from this country in foreign exchanges, and therefore it benefits not merely the European but all the holders of goods and services rendered in India as against foreign countries. I do not see how the Honourable Member can escape from his own argument. If it benefits the European remitting from this country and buying foreign exchange, obviously it benefits any Indian doing so.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Certainly it does.

Mr. Arthur Moore: Is that not an appreciation of Indian goods and services as against goods and services rendered by foreign countries?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: At whose expense? That is the whole question.

Mr. Arthur Moore: At their expense until the adjustment is made. The whole question in this issue, which has been argued over and over again, is the interval in the passage from 1s. 6d. to 1s. 4d. That is the time when money is to be made and money is going to be lost. That is the time when some people stand to get richer and other people stand to get poorer.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: And a permanent increase in the burden of the debtor.

Mr. Arthur Moore: The Honourable Member has made very definite allusions to the views of Europeans. I was surprised to find myself described apparently by him as one whose natural tendency was to support the Government. But I think, Sir, that the majority in this House are not really influenced by these very intense racial appeals which have been made. We who sit behind Sir Darcy Lindsay do not claim to have the same intense Indian patriotism as Members who sit over there. That would be an insulting and excessive claim to make. But we do claim that we love the land we live in, and that in this issue, as in every issue that has come before us, we are thinking of the land we live in, and we are not thinking of the interests of any country, even our own country across the water, in preference to India. (Hear, hear.)

Sir George Paddison (Madras: Nominated Official): Sir, like my learned friend Mr. Srinivasa Aiyangar I am no Pandit, I do not approach these questions with the weight of great economic ability, but I do wish to rise just now to welcome on behalf of labour and the depressed classes—I am sorry my friend Mr. Raja is not here to-day—the decision that the House has taken. It may be, as Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has said, that we on these Benches here represent no one and care only for our stomachs.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): You misrepresent the depressed classes.

Sir George Paddison: I misrepresent the depressed classes? I am quite ready to challenge Mr. Chettiar to see which of us would be preferred after I retire if we fought the elections on behalf of the depressed classes. Well now, we have heard mostly about wages in Bombay town and Bombay Presidency and there seems to be a general idea that in the absence of a Labour Office and an efficient Bureau in other parts of India, these are typical figures for India. That is a point on which I differ very strongly, though, owing to the fact that Madras is poor and Bombay is rich, we have not been able to provide the money to have these elaborate figures compiled for Madras in the same way as in Bombay. Even taking the Bombay figures, I think from what I have seen and from what I have heard that it must be admitted that during this interim period, about which we have heard so much, that the person who stands to lose, or rather who would have stood to lose, but happily, in my opinion, will not now lose, is the labourer, the man, as Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has said, who gets a salary, gets a money wage. It may be that I personally shall benefit to some extent from this,—I do not know, I hope I shall—but the persons whom I am mainly interested in are the men on small, really small wages, and how Mr. Jamnadas Mehta can say that I can benefit by 1s. 6d. and shall consequently lose by 1s. 4d., whereas a man getting 4 or 5 annas a day will not do the same, I honestly fail to understand.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: By losing his employment.

Sir George Paddison: That is another matter. I am talking now of the persons actually getting wages.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: They will lose their employment.

Sir George Paddison: So you say, but I have heard nothing whatever in support of that statement.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I read out a whole catalogue to show how this will happen, and was happening.

Sir George Paddison: Why should he lose his employment? Let us take the cotton mills in Bombay of which we have figures here, or the people in jute. The general idea seems to be on the opposite Benches that the index number being so and so the wages ought to have come down to suit it. It may be that wages ought to have come down, it may be that wages in Bombay are too high. (*An Honourable Member:* "No.") I am quoting from the famous minute of dissent. It is said here that wages in Bombay are 232 against 100 in 1914.

Sir Victor Sassoon (Bombay Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce): On a point of information, Sir. That is an inaccuracy due to a misprint in my evidence before the Currency Commission. The Bombay mill hands' wages rose *at the rate of* 232, but actually the wages to the mill hands have only risen to something like 212.

Sir George Paddison: Then this figure of 232 against 100 is wrong and the figure should be 212. Is that so?

(Sir Victor Sassoon nodded assent.)

Mr. Ohaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): The real figure is 121.

Sir George Paddison: That is what I wish to know. There seems to be some real doubt in the House as to exactly how high these wages are, how

[[Sir George Paddison.]

much the increase is since 1914. What I want to tell the cotton industry is this, that it may be necessary, according to some people, to bring these wages down. I have done my part in holding scales even over and over again between capital and labour and all I have tried to do is to see what a railway man in England told me apropos of some strike in a certain class of work—to see that the workmen get a 'fair do,' as he called it, and if it is necessary that these wages should come down it is a matter for discussion between masters and men. It is not correct to say that the wages and prices go together, because if you look at these figures—I hope they are correct, I am not responsible for them, they are Sir Purshotamdas's figures—if you look at these figures you will find that in Bengal

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for instance from 1914 to 1918 the wages went up from 100 to 110. The prices went up from 100 to 173 and ultimately the average wages went up to 140 when prices went up to 218. They go slowly. They do not go absolutely together, as I think Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas has rightly pointed out in his note of dissent. If it is necessary for these wages to come down, it is a matter for serious inquiry between the masters and the men and perhaps they might well wait till the Tariff Board has given their report and the exact position of the industry is known to the men and the public at large as well as to the cotton employers, but I do not want to stress that point. All I want to say is that if you are going to bring down wages, bring them down openly and frankly and do not juggle with exchange in order to bring them down. I am delighted to see that this method of bringing down wages which is condemned by the Currency Commission has not been carried into effect. I do not mean for a moment to impute any motives to any one on the other side, capitalists or others. All I want to say is that I am glad that this effort to bring down wages has been frustrated.

Now what I wanted to say earlier—while some one blew his nose and distracted me—was this—that Bombay is not typical of India as a whole. Now, any one who has anything to do with wages knows that agricultural wages go up and go down very largely in accordance with the opportunities for other kinds of work that exist. Take my own case. In Lincolnshire, the agricultural wages near Lincoln are higher than they are 20 or 30 miles away. The agricultural wages in Lincolnshire are lower than they are in Yorkshire because they are further away from the industrial area. So it is not fair to say that Madras or the United Provinces or other places, which are essentially agricultural and rural places, should be typified by what happens in Bombay. Even in the Madras Presidency itself you will find that wages where emigration is going on have a slight tendency to be higher than wages where there is no emigration. Wages are higher round hill stations like Ootacamund where the rich people from Bombay and Calcutta come and exploit the poor people of Madras, but in the Madras Presidency itself I am delighted to be able to say that as prices have gone down in the last five years—I think it is admitted—real wages must have gone up, because I find that money wages and the grain wages converted from grain into money are for the Presidency as a whole almost exactly the same in the last five years. I take the average wage for sowers, transplanters and harvesters who are generally the people who earn wages. I omit ploughmen, because ploughmen, as Mr. Jamnadas Mehta was inclined to point out, are rather difficult to estimate because sometimes they live in the house and sometimes they are small farmers and so on. But

the sowers, transplanters and harvesters are the typical agricultural labourers. Five years ago the average wage for these people was 5 annas 1 pie per man; it is now 5 annas 9 pies. It has actually gone up and I must say I am extremely glad to find it has gone up. There may be people who think that wages should have remained as they were in the old days. There may be people who say—and I think I heard a hint to that effect—that real wages must ultimately remain the same. I respectfully differ from that. If it were a fact that real wages must remain the same then the slave who got no wages at all would be typical of the position of the ordinary worker, which I am happy to say he is not. But in old days, not so long ago—I think it was 1919-20—in a district of the Madras Presidency which I will not mention by name for fear I should add to Mr. Prakasam's habitual gloom, there was a strike where I was in charge of my present job, and the question was whether wages should be 2 annas or 2½ annas per day. And even now in Anantapur District, which is the poorest or almost the poorest district in our Presidency, wages have actually gone down from 4 annas to 3 annas odd. In Tanjore on the other hand they have actually gone up, I am glad to say. But in the poorest district there the wages, both in grain and in money, have adjusted themselves.

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna! Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I point out, Sir, that in Anantapur District Government would not pay even 1 anna 6 pies a day for a man breaking stones.

Sir George Paddison: You are talking of the famine. Does the Honourable Member propose as a capitalist that the ordinary wage-earner should get exactly the same wages as a famine coolie? That is the whole thing I am fighting against, that he should not get a mere subsistence allowance which Mr. Prakasam apparently thinks he should get. May be he can live on 1 anna 6 pies a day. It is possible. But we do not want him to live on 1 anna 6 pies a day. And those sympathisers with labour who talk about wages in mills, wages in factories, wages on railways, wages everywhere, are always up against this fact that these small wages are given to the agricultural labourers. And those are the men who under this Bill will not suffer. I am sure the House has every reason to congratulate itself on this. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta may say that he has a large number of wage-earners in his constituency. But in Madras the type of persons whom I am speaking of—in Mr. Prakasam's and in Mr. Naidu's constituencies there may be an enormous number of agricultural wage-earners—are not voters. None of them are voters. Therefore I say, as was said in the House of Commons years ago apropos of India, that every Member of this House is a Member for the labourer and should look after the labourer. They should therefore be very pleased and proud that these agricultural wages are not going to go down. General wages may go down if it is necessary for them to go down. I do not say they will not go down, but they will not be brought down by legislative enactment.

One other word and I want to sit down. We have heard so much lately about the people on our side being paid servants of Government's brought here merely to record a vote. I wish, Sir, that similar chains did not bind any one in this House. I say that every man in this House—and I am speaking now of every Member who is interested in the cause of labour—would give his vote absolutely freely and frankly without any party question at all, as was done in the European group.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): We are quite ready to do so. Get the Government's permission.

Sir George Paddison: Get Government's permission?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Set Government officials free to vote according to their conscience and judgment.

An Honourable Member: We are doing so.

Sir George Paddison: We hear

Mr. K. Ahmed: But I am told something else.

Sir George Paddison: Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has told us that he is not a Pandit which is, I understand, a title given to leaders of parties in this House. (Laughter.)

Mr. Jannadas M. Mehta: Mr. Jinnah is not a Pandit.

Sir George Paddison: But even though he does not lead the party, he reminds me of Mat Hannigan's famous and immortal relative:

"Who never was put out
And never was known to scold,
But if Hannigan's Aunt
Says 'No! You can't'
Ye did what ye were told."

Sir, I beg this House to give the seal of its approval to the good work that we have—I honestly and personally believe—done on behalf of agricultural labourers and of wage-earners in India. (Applause.)

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: Honourable Members will agree that I have allowed unusual latitude and indulgence to them in the debate on this Bill and I think it is high time that the House should proceed to other business. I therefore propose to accept the closure.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I should like to speak, but I will not keep the House for more than ten minutes. In view of the statements that were made in the speech of my Honourable friend Dr. Suhrawardy, I think, Sir, I ought to place on record my answer to that speech. I do not propose to take more than ten minutes and I ask you, Sir, to give me that indulgence.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Maephail (Madras: European): I should like to submit that, if Mr. Jinnah is allowed to speak, I should be allowed to speak also in view of the attack against me.

Mr. President: The Chair has not the slightest objection if Honourable Members desire still to continue. I thought the questions involved in the Bill were fully discussed and the Honourable Members had nothing new to say. At every stage of the Bill they were given the fullest latitude to discuss these questions.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: In view of the immense importance of the subject, I beg of you, Sir, to allow at least an hour more for this debate, so that those who desire to speak and answer criticisms may have an opportunity of doing so. I request you to accede to this request. (Honourable Members: "The question may now be put.") As you said, we are willing to sit night after night to do our duty.

Mr. President: The Chair regrets that some Honourable Members yet feel that the debate should continue. In order to meet their wishes as far as possible I propose to continue the debate for half an hour more. Mr. Jinnah. I hope the Honourable Member will not be long.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: No, Sir.

I had really no desire whatsoever to take part in the debate any further, but, Sir, the maiden speech of my Honourable friend Dr. Suhrawardy has compelled me at least to answer a few points that he made in his speech.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But you were not here.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: I have obtained a copy of his speech, although I had not the pleasure of hearing the speech delivered. I have read it. Sir, it is his maiden speech and I believe that it is the convention of every Legislature that when an Honourable Member makes his maiden speech, and when he makes what appears to be nothing but a malicious attack, or, to use his own language, when he lets loose the tongue of calumny, the Member who is to answer is in a very difficult position. I will therefore not criticise him on this occasion, because it is his maiden speech; but I think I owe it to the House to point out that some of the statements which he made in his speech are not true. The first statement that he attributed to me was this. He said, "Mr. Jinnah waxed eloquent on the infallibility and sanctity of the Tariff Board, which is still ringing in my ears." Now, Sir, I refer him to the official report and I appeal to this House whether it is correct as to what I said on that occasion. My friend Lala Lajpat Rai challenged the sanctity of the Tariff Board Report and soon after he finished his speech, I said I entirely agreed with him, and I said that the Tariff Board Report is not the last word, and I said that, if it was fundamentally wrong or radically wrong, this House ought to reject it. Therefore, this statement which he attributed to me is not correct. The second statement which he attributed to me was this. He said:

"I wonder if he remembered when he appealed to the House not to sell India and degrade the representative character of the House, but he lost a golden opportunity of setting a good example of saving India when he walked into the lobby with the Government to give preference to British steel."

He, Sir, thus suggests that I deliberately walked into the Government lobby with a view to give preference to British steel. Sir, it is not true. I honestly believed that it was in the best interests of India and therefore I walked into the Government lobby, and I shall do so every time whenever I am convinced that it is in the best interests of India.

Now, Sir, with regard to his speech, I regret very much that he has given no reason whatsoever for his coming to the conclusion that he should vote for 1s. 6d. The only reason that he has given is, he says, that it was his common sense. Sir, I should have expected—and I speak with great deference because it was his maiden speech—I should have expected this learned doctor to have given, even from the point of view of common sense, some grounds for coming to the conclusion that 1s. 6d. is in the best interests of India and 1s. 4d. was not; but we find nothing in his speech except invectives. Then, Sir, he said that I appealed to the Members and said with regard to capital and labour, "Do not kill the goose that lays the golden egg." And he said—I take his own words,—“This argument does

[Mr. M. A. Jinnah.]

not appeal to me because for aught we know the goose may not be laying golden eggs, but eggs of steel, or no eggs at all."

Mr. K. Ahmed: Rotten eggs, rotten eggs he said.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Well, Sir, I hope that at a not far distant date *his* goose may lay an egg which he may be able to eat and digest.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir

Mr. President; The Honourable Member has only 15 minutes within which he must conclude his speech.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Sir, this is the last occasion on which I can express my views on the Bill before us for the consideration of this House and I consider it a sacred duty to do so. No Bill of the importance of this measure has come before this Assembly during the time that I have been a Member of it and I have been a Member of it for many years. I wish, Sir, to emphasise that the measure which is now being placed on the Statute-book—and the circumstances in which it is being so placed—is one for which the people of India will ever feel sorry and will ever hold the Government responsible for having committed upon them a great injury. I consider, Sir, that the enormity of the evil which the measure involves has not been realised. The question of tampering with the currency of the country ought to be dealt with in a different spirit. When the Government decided that they should stabilise the rupee at 1s. 6d., what was the course they adopted? The Honourable the Finance Member settled it in his own mind and the Government of India settled their mind that they would fix the exchange at 1s. 6d. And what is the course which they adopted since that time? The course which was adopted has been brought to the notice of Members of this House. Having first decided that 1s. 6d. should be the rate, they appointed a sort of a Committee for a formal enquiry. How that Committee—called the Royal Commission—was filled, Sir, has already been stated. But I wish once more to remind the House of it before Members go to vote upon the Bill, that the Committee was appointed with a definite idea as to how the Members were likely to vote. This is not an idea which we Indians alone on this side of the House entertain. Even some distinguished Englishmen have expressed the same feeling. The *Statist*, which cannot be accused of any hostility to the Government of India, drew attention to this fact. And when the Commission had reported, as it was desired that the Commission, carefully selected with that object, should report in favour of 1s. 6d., what was the further action taken by the Government? When the Report was published and the matter had to come before this House, how were Members nominated to this House without exception? Only those who were known to hold the view in favour of 1s. 6d. or those who it was certain would vote with the Government, were nominated. I submit the Government failed to do its duty by the people in so selecting Members for nomination. I grieve further to say that great pressure has been brought to bear upon some other Members to induce them or to lead them to vote in favour of 1s. 6d. Now what I say is this. Where such momentous interests are involved, the Government should have acted fairly towards the people. They should have selected men, whatever views they might

have held, they should have selected men for their known probity, intelligence and ability to offer an independent opinion upon this question, and let them know that they were free to vote as the free air. That has not been done, and we know how the voting has taken place here. Even in this House—not only in the lobbies but within the House itself—pressure has been brought to bear upon Members to vote on the side of Government. I submit all this has been very wrong; and that a measure of great national importance should be placed upon the Statute-book in such a manner and in such circumstances, is I feel a wrong to the country for which there is no parallel.

Now, Sir, when the Commission's Report was published the *Statist* pointed out how the 1s. 6d. rate had been maintained. The whole basis of the recommendation in favour of 1s. 6d. is that the 1s. 6d. ratio has been maintained for two years. But what did the *Statist* say? Writing on the 7th August, 1926, immediately after the Report was published, the *Statist* said:

"In January last (and also in the three preceding months) the rupee exchange was at an average of 1s. 6-203d. After the month mentioned there was a decline, the average in April being 1s. 5-878d. In April the Government of India intervened in support of the Exchange by augmenting their London balances against sales of rupees. They transferred three crores of rupees from the paper currency reserve to the Secretary of State's balances in London and undertook to sell Reverse Councils at a minimum rate of 1s. 5½d. the rupee. In consequence of these measures the rate was raised to an average of 1s. 5-931d. in July. It would be idle to pretend that in thus intervening in support of the rupee the Government of India were not either anticipating the recommendations of the Commission or giving the Commission a straight hint as to the rate they should recommend for stabilisation. There seems indeed strong ground for the belief that, had it not been for the Government's action, the open market Exchange would have sunk to a rate that would probably impel the Commission to recommend the old parity of 1s. 4d. for the rupee."

Writing on the same subject in another place, the *Statist* said:

"The rate fixed as the new parity for the rupee is 1s. 6d. though native opinion demanded the old rate of 1s. 4d. Since April last the Government of India have been supporting the rupee at this rate by undertaking to sell Reverse Councils at a minimum of 1s. 5½d., but it is highly questionable whether the rupee would not have fallen to 1s. 4d. if the Government had not intervened."

The paper further said:

"Obviously the principal link in this argument is the claim that adjustments in Indian prices to a 1s. 6d. rate have already taken place. The most cursory investigation of the Report's arguments in support of this claim will show them to be somewhat inconclusive. We may first of all ask ourselves why adjustments should be necessary. Theory would have us believe that Exchange fluctuations are but the reflection of relative changes in price levels, and therefore that a 1s. 6d. rupee rate had been arrived at as the result of relative changes that had already occurred in the Indian price level. This contention would hold good if the rate of Exchange had been left to the free play of unhampered economic forces. This has not been the case in India. For reasons which it would be charitable not to analyse too closely, the policy of the Indian Government since the rupee became divorced from its pre-war parity of 1s. 4d. has always had as its objective, stabilisation at as high a rate as possible. This is made clear, beyond any question of doubt, by the publication of official correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Viceroy, from which Sir Purshotamdas has quoted fully in his minute of dissent."

Then the paper went on to say:

"The decision to stabilise the rupee at 1s. 6d. gold had been made by the Government of India before the appointment of the Commission, and it may be recalled that while the Commission was still deliberating, the executive took artificial means to

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

prevent a depreciation of the rupee below the level of 1s. 6d. at a time when this depreciation would merely have reflected the general fall in gold prices that has taken place in the past eighteen months, a fall which should not of necessity have communicated itself in full to the level of Indian prices. We attacked the action of the Indian Government in these columns at the time, and subsequent developments have strengthened our conviction that had the Exchange rate been left to the play of unhampered economic forces, the pre-war parity of 1s. 4d., and not the parity of 1s. 6d. would have been the *de facto* rate when the Commission came to draw up its report."

I request Members, Sir, to remember these facts that the Government of India decided before appointing the Commission that they would fix at 18d. as the rate, for the rupee, that they took executive action to maintain exchange at that rate even while the deliberations of the Commission were going on, that when the Report was published they took special care to nominate such Members to this House as they knew would support that view, and that when the deliberations were over and the voting was taking place they still tried every measure they could to get support for the view that they had adopted before the appointment of the Commission. I ask the House further to remember, Sir, that this is a measure the effects of which will be felt far and wide in this country. Sir George Paddison talked of labour losing if the other rate were adopted. He does not know how industry has been hit, how prosperity has suffered, how the agriculturist has been hit and he does not pause to realise the consequences of that want of prosperity. The country has suffered more during the six years past than one can tell; and I am grieved to think that a measure of this importance should be placed upon the Statute-book by the decision of one man or one or two men in the Government of India. I have no ill-will towards Sir Basil Blackett. I do not accuse him of any improper motives; but I do submit that in the whole world it will be difficult to find a parallel to a case like this, where the opinion of one man, supported it may be by the opinion of another man across the seas, brings about a vital change in the currency policy of a country, and where that policy is established in the manner in which it is sought to establish it here. There will, I submit, be no parallel to such a case as this. I submit, Sir, that Members of this House ought to pause, gravely pause, before they cast their vote in favour of this Bill. After all, Sir, as the writer in the *Statist* pointed out, in this matter the opinion of Indians ought to have the greater weight. Indian opinion has been in favour of 1s. 4d. throughout the country. The facts which were mentioned by Mr. Jamnadas Mehta and those that were mentioned by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas have made it abundantly clear that throughout the country Indian opinion is overwhelmingly largely in favour of 1s. 4d. And, Sir, what have we seen in this House itself? 65 votes had been cast against the proposal of Government and 68 votes in favour of that proposals. Now, put aside those who have been nominated with the knowledge that they were in favour of 1s. 6d.; put aside also the official votes and then count and see how the scales stand. I submit the opinion of Government Members, without imputing any want of honesty to them, is determined by the opinion which is formed by the Finance Member. He it is who decides these matters for the Government of India; he it is who represents the view of the Government of India in this matter, and if he has decided that the vote shall be cast in favour of the policy that he has adopted,

that settles the question for the Government Benches. Without meaning any disrespect to any Member of the Government, I ask, Sir, which Member of Government has the courage to stand up and vote against the whip issued by the Government? Sir George Paddison says, let there be free voting. I quite agree. If the Government will yet let every Member vote in a manner calculated to help both the Government and the people, according to his conscience and judgment, my friends on this side would have been satisfied. But that was not done. The 26 official votes count as one vote—I mean one vote multiplied 26 times, and the vote of the Finance Member represents the view of the Government of India. Among the votes of nominated Members, Sir, there are gentlemen who have had an invariable reputation for supporting the Government at all times. There are other gentlemen who are known to have expressed their opinion in favour of 1s. 6d. before they were appointed. When such has been the case, I say the Government have not played fair to the people. In the end I wish to draw attention to another small quotation from the *Statist*. It says:

“A reversion to the 1s. 4d. parity would call for tactful and careful handling, but that it would involve ‘wide-spread economic disturbance’ is clearly an overstatement. The majority of unprejudiced Indian opinion is in favour of stabilisation at the pre-war parity of 1s. 4d. There is, therefore, a psychological argument in favour of a reversion to this rate, which has received no consideration whatever in the Report. Mr. McKenna once said in defence of the gold standard that if nine people out of ten in every country thought it was the best standard, this in itself was sufficient reason to render it the best standard. We can only adapt this very wise saying to the problem of India. If the majority of native opinion thinks a 1s. 4d. rate the best, it is the best. We cannot deny the fact that Indian currency must be controlled, primarily to suit the needs and interests of the Indian people. In comparison with these, the claims of outside creditor interests should sink into insignificance.”

I hope, Sir, that Members of this House will yet realise their responsibility to the people of this country and vote against this Bill. I consider, Sir, that this measure will mean an enormous crime against the Indian people if it is put on the Statute-book.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, we have reached the last stage of the long-protracted discussion in this House of this Currency Bill. We have spent very nearly six days in discussing it and whatever our feelings may be when we see the Bill finally passed from this Assembly, I am sure that we shall be for once unanimous on one point in regard to this Bill, namely that we are glad to be relieved of its presence. I shall be particularly relieved to feel that we are rid of it.

[Sir Rasil Blackett.]

controversy which I have never loved. I have always felt considerable disappointment that this question of the ratio should have attracted so much attention and such warm attentions on the part of its admirers when there were so many important subjects of intimate interest to India as a whole which were raised by the Report of the Currency Commission,—subjects on which it is essential that all sides of this House and all the best thought in the country should work together in order that we may win from the labours of the Currency Commission the advantages which we all can realise are offered by these opportunities. The controversy about the ratio has tended to obscure the immense interest of other portions of the currency question, and, as I have said, I regret that it has been a subject of controversy. I cannot altogether feel sorry, however, that we have had these long and full discussions of an economic question in the House and in the country. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas quoted this morning from a speech of mine in this House at the beginning of January, 1925, in which I gave expression to the view that there was a considerable degree of ignorance in India, as well as in other countries, on the subject of currency. (*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas*: “Not other countries.”) I think that there is on the whole more knowledge of the subject in India to-day than there was a year ago and that one benefit that India may have obtained from these discussions is a considerable advance in the understanding of this intricate subject.

Sir Purshotamdas, I think, suggested that the Government had taken advantage of the ignorance of the country to press through the Assembly something which was against the interests of the country and would not have been successfully pressed through if the country had understood the subject. I think that is a little ungenerous to the Government. I do not know of any case in the history of India in which the Government have done more to bring the whole subject before the country with argument and explanation than has been done in the case of this Bill. I have stumped the country on the subject and the Currency League on the other side have also done much to bring the arguments before the country for consideration and I claim that if the Government have been successful in countering that extraordinarily strong argument that “Government want 1s. 6d. and therefore 1s. 4d. is good for the country” it is because the Government have done so much to bring the true facts before the country for consideration.

This is the first opportunity that I have taken for answering the various speeches that have been made on the question of the ratio in this House. It has been made a complaint against me that I have not answered some of the arguments that have been raised. I am still inclined to claim that there is no argument that has been raised in the course of this debate that was not either answered in advance or answered by some of the excellent speeches made on behalf of Government during these discussions. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas subjected my 11 points to a full answer. I have studied that answer and as it appears to me it is in great measure simply a confirmation of those 11 points. Hardly one of them is challenged. Endeavour is made in places to explain away their effect but hardly a single one of the points is contested, and the best proof that these 11 points were not open to serious challenge is the fact that so far as the argument against the ratio of 1s. 6d. was developed in this House on appeals to relevant

questions, it was attacked on the point whether prices had or had not adjusted themselves to the ratio of 1s. 6d. I claimed in the 11th point that the only subject open for discussion was whether prices had in a preponderating degree adjusted themselves to the 1s. 6d. ratio and that that was a question of fact to be studied as such, and in general, the House has accepted that view and has attempted on the one side and the other to argue for and against the proposition that prices have in a preponderating degree adjusted themselves to 1s. 6d. Now, there is one assumption which is common to those who contest that view which seems to me to be quite untenable. In so far as prices have not adjusted themselves to 1s. 6d., what ratio of exchange are they adjusted to? The ratio has not been 1s. 4d. either gold or sterling since 1917. For 10 years prices have been jumping about and exchange has been fluctuating violently, and it seems to me to be an absolutely untenable assumption that prices were, until exchange was stabilised at 1s. 6d., adjusted to 1s. 4d. or anything like that. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas asked me this morning what the rates of exchange have been during the period since 1916 in terms of gold. Broadly speaking, in 1916 and 1917 they were 1s. 4d. up to August when they jumped in terms of gold to 1s. 4⁶²/_{d.}. They remained at that until April 1918 when they rose to 1s. 5⁶⁰/_{d.}. They remained much about that figure until in the middle of March 1918 they started to rise violently, reaching 1s. 10²¹/_{d.} at the end of 1919, remaining as high as 1s. 8d. up till May 1920, then dropping to practically 1s. gold during the whole of 1921. They remained at 1s. 1d. and 1s. 2d. in 1922, and 1s. 3d. and some fractions during 1923 and the greater part of 1924, when they rose rather quickly to 1s. 4d. and a farthing in October, 1s. 5³/₁₆d. in December and 1s. 6¹/₁₆d. in July 1925. How can anybody maintain that prices had adjusted themselves to 1s. 4d. a rupee at any time during that period? The only ratio to which prices had any opportunity of adjusting themselves in the period since 1918 has been the ratio of 1s. 6d. and the whole assumption that an adjustment has still got to come has absolutely no foundation if it is assumed that it is an adjustment from 1s. 4d. or something like that. If Sir Purshotamdas is right in saying that in so far as prices do not adjust themselves very quickly they take a seven year period, I suppose it is to something near 2s. a rupee that they were previously adjusted. But obviously they were not really adjusted to any figure at all until we reach the stage when Government were able to stabilise exchange at, first of all, 1s. 6d. sterling and then 1s. 6d. gold.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas has also asked me to give him a reply to six questions,—I think they are really nine, but some of them are in more than one part. One is whether any major country in the world has appreciated its currency above its pre-war ratio? I have already stated to the House that there is one country, one Eastern country which has full self-government which has adjusted its currency with reference to the interests of its people in exactly the same way as the Government of India are proposing to do in the interests of the people of India to-day. That country is Siam which has had a currency history comparable to that of India for the last 25 years. It is the only country where the currency history has been very much the same as that of India because its currency conditions are very much the same, and there with full self-government in the interests of the people, for the benefit of the country as my Honourable friend, Mr. Kakeer-ud-Din Ahmed would say, the King of Siam and his Council have done exactly what I have no doubt a real nationalist

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Government would have done in this country if it had been in our position to-day. It would have fixed exchange for the benefit of India at a rather higher level than before the War. The next question is:

"Is it a fact that Government have been able to push up the rupee to 1s. 6d. gold owing to their insistence on retaining the dead ineffective ratio of 2s. gold on the Statute-book which prevented gold from being tendered to the Currency Authority in India? Is it a fact that the Indian commercial community protested against this ever since 1922? Was 1s. 4d. gold available for being put on the Statute in October 1924 and why was that opportunity deliberately allowed to pass?"

The 2s. ratio was on the Statute-book in 1920 and I do not think that any sensible Government would have thought of putting any other ratio on the Statute-book through the period from 1920 onwards when exchange was fluctuating and it was quite impossible to maintain one ratio or another. What opportunity was there during that period of altering the ratio however ineffective it may have been on the Statute-book, I would remind the House that the ratio on the Statute-book between the franc and gold in France to-day is 25.22 and has been ever since 1914. That is not an effective ratio and I think never will be, but the French have been too sensible to alter the ratio without reference to the possibility of maintaining their currency at par, whatever new ratio they may decide on. I now come to the question of what we did or did not do in 1924. I have more than once explained the reasons of the Government's action or inaction in 1924 and I would add that it is quite irrelevant from the point of view of the discussion to-day. Even if it were to be granted that the Government made a mistake in 1924 in not then fixing the ratio at 1s. 4d. gold, that would not give the slightest reason for subjecting India to all the disadvantages and losses which would be involved in going back to that ratio to-day. I would point out that almost the only reference that was made to the part of my opening speech which related to the disastrous consequences of going back to 1s. 4d. was the able addition to it made by my friend Mr. Kikabhai Premchand when he confirmed it from his own business experience. I should like in that connection to put in a word of protest against the attacks that were made on Mr. Kikabhai for having taken part in this debate and for voting according to his conscience. Mr. Kikabhai Premchand has as much right as any other Member of this House to be regarded as a representative of sound Bombay opinion and that he should be attacked because his views did not agree with that of the vocal school in Bombay is, I think, very unfair on Mr. Kikabhai and I should like to go from that to say that some of the attacks that have been made on nominated Members generally are grossly unfair. I have been asked by more than one of them to protest strongly on their behalf against these attacks.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Whom do they represent?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I should like to add one word with reference to the complaints that have been made that pressure has been put on them to vote this way or that. The stories that some nominated Members might tell as to the pressure that has been put on them to vote for 1s. 4d. would be interesting reading. I should like very much also to know just what proportion of the Congress Party would have voted for 1s. 6d. if pressure had not been put on their members not to.

Let me return to the question of what we did not do in 1924. The complaint is that we did not then stabilise exchange at 1s. 4d. gold. My first reply is that no such opportunity arose. At the time when the rupee first touched 1s. 4d. gold in 1924 the value of sterling in terms of dollars

3 P.M. - was only about 4 dollars 30 cents or 4 dollars 40 cents to the pound. It was known that the financial authorities in England, that is to say the Bank of England and the Treasury, were pressing for the restoration of the gold standard at the pre-war parity of 4.86 dollars to the pound. But at the end of 1922 the pound had looked the dollar in the face and had approached parity merely to recede again largely because of the opposition of the industrialists. There are parallels even in England to what has taken place here—largely because of the opposition of the industrialists—and in the autumn of 1924 it was impossible for anybody to prophesy whether the financial authorities or the industrialists would be successful in the struggle that was then going on to restore the pound to parity with gold. It was impossible to say whether the financial authorities would succeed or whether they would fail again as they had done at the end of 1922 to overcome the strong opposition with which they were being met. In these circumstances an attempt to stabilise the rupee at 1s. 4d. gold in India would have been simply to court a repetition of the disastrous consequences of the attempt to stabilise it at 2s. in 1920. The dangers and difficulties were very much the same though I agree that they were in a smaller compass. So long as sterling remained at a discount in terms of gold practically no other country in the world ventured to go back to the gold standard. I believe that Sweden did it in a partial manner and Switzerland did it, but generally speaking every country in the world was waiting on the action of England. And after the experiences which India had had in 1920 it would have been a very rash step to take to attempt to go ahead of the strongest financial country which had not gone back to gold, and the only possible policy was to wait and see what the success of the movement for the restoration of the pound sterling to gold parity would be. And besides, India would not have secured stability of exchange by such action. She would not have secured stability of exchange in terms of sterling, in which the overwhelming proportion of India's exchange transactions take place, and indeed of the exchange transactions of almost all the countries in the world. With the prospect of a fall in the rupee sterling rate to 1s. 4d. gold, when and if sterling reached parity with gold, there would have been a continual tendency for money to be remitted from India to England at the temporarily higher rate of exchange. A rate of 1s. 4d. gold would therefore have been subject to the continuous pressure of special purchases of sterling made with a view of taking advantage of the temporary premium. Had the advocates of a gold standard in England not been successful in restoring parity as they were in 1925, the difficulty of maintaining a ratio of 1s. 4d. gold in India would probably have proved temporarily insurmountable. It must be remembered that until England gave the lead hardly one of the big countries of the world had ventured to take any such step. That is what I have to say as regards the opportunity in 1924. As Mr. Kikabhai Premchand pointed out, it was long before 1924 that the Bombay school of thought had been pressing on the Government to take the action of restoring 1s. 4d. gold, and I have given reasons for saying that any such action would have been simply to risk a repetition of the disaster of 1920. The so-called opportunity was therefore an exceedingly doubtful one at the time when it is said to have occurred. It is only those who are possessed of the gift of hind-sight, who knew in 1924 what

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happened in 1925, who can be so confident of what ought to have been done in 1924. (Laughter.) But there is another point. That is the question whether the restoration of the pre-war parity of 1s. 4d. offered any such special advantages to India as its advocates claim. The ratio of 1s. 4d. had been destroyed in 1917 and was no longer on the Statute-book. The effect of the War had been to cause a very big rise in the level of world prices and of rupee prices in India. It was indeed open to question whether there were not definite advantages in allowing the exchange to rise permanently to some figure above 1s. 4d. thereby diminishing the extent of the permanent rise in rupee prices as compared with the pre-war index number. Even the rise from 100 pre-war to the present figure of about 150 over a period of not much over 12 years strongly disturbed the equilibrium of economic conditions in India, and he would be a bold man who denied that high prices in terms of rupees are in no way a disadvantage to the well-being of the masses of India. Instability of prices causes much more disturbance in a country such as India than it does in the industrialised countries of the West. In so far as the action of the Government in finally stabilising the rupee at 1s. 6d. has had the result of making the restoration of harmony between rupee prices and world prices come about at a higher rate of exchange and consequently a rather lower level of rupee prices, I claim that on the whole the results have been to the advantage of the masses of India. (Applause.) Several Members on the other side have claimed that they are the spokesmen of the masses. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta is both the Currency League and the spokesman for the people of India. (Laughter.) Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, who I know feels very strongly on this subject, has taken the advantage of his speech this morning to read various letters from people who agree with his view in regard to 1s. 4d. I have had letters—I should think on the average about 30 letters a week—from people all over India wishing me God-speed in the fight for the masses of India, or words to that effect. I took up one when I went home for lunch just now, which I propose to read to the House on the understanding that my correspondent's name is not required in the same way as the names of correspondents of Sir Purshotamdas were not asked for, because I must say that many of these correspondents have stated to me that for reasons which they need not go into it is important that their advocacy of 1s. 6d. should not be made publicly known. Here is the letter:

“ We are watching eagerly your fight over the ratio in the Councils and hope that as begun so you will end with success. Mass opinion is with you, because the masses do not understand nor do they care for the avalanche of figures. They want cheap cloth which the 1s. 6d. ratio has given them and will still give them. Local magnates have their own axes to grind as well. Fight them like an intrepid warrior and sense the bliss of God's blessing. Do not be daunted by the signatures in thousands which are being gathered by these magnates ”

That is from an Indian.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: Is that in English? He must be a very advanced member of the masses.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: This one is in English. I have had many in the vernacular. (Laughter.) The next point . . .

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: From agriculturists?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have had many from the agriculturists.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: May I know in what language the agriculturists wrote to the Honourable Member?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: In about half a dozen vernaculars. I do not claim to have read them myself. I have had them translated

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: You would not have understood if you had tried to read them.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do not think the Honourable Member would understand many of them either. (Laughter.)

The next question of Sir Purshotamdas is:

“Is it a fact that:

- (a) the policy of working up the ratio beyond 1s. 4d. gold has been accelerated by the Government of India starving the country of normal expansion of currency during the years 1921—27? and
- (b) that during the current year (1926-27) very large actual deflation of currency has taken place?”

I never can understand what is meant by normal expansion of currency. Because during a period before the War world prices were rising steadily all over the world, it was perfectly natural that all over the world there should be a normal increase corresponding to the rise in prices in the demand for currency and therefore there was a normal expansion of currency during that period. There was an immense expansion of currency during the War all over the world and in India partly the cause and partly the effect of the enormous rise of prices that took place during the War. Since the War all over the world there has been a tendency for prices to fall, world prices as well as rupee prices, and ordinary economic theory, in which the Chairman of the Congress believes so much, would make it clear, I think, to those who think that with a fall in prices there must be a tendency for a normal contraction of currency. The idea that India has been starved of normal expansion is really a fallacy which I find it difficult to understand emanating from Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas after his long experience of the currency question as a member of the Currency Commission

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: If the Honourable Member is prepared to give way, may I tell him that he is differing even from the Right Honourable McKenna, Chairman of the Midland Bank.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I have often been forced to differ from that gentleman, but I do not think that that gentleman has ever committed himself to such a heresy as that there is normal expansion of currency in periods of falling prices.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Why distort it thus? I take it the Honourable Member has seen his speech?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Yes, I have seen it. I will take an opportunity of placing on the table, as soon as I have them, the figures which Sir Purshotamdas desires, and I think he will find that, in so far

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as they have not been already answered fully in speeches which have been already made, the answers that will be given and placed* on the table, will give him all the information which he desires.

I do not think that I need detain the House, which is no doubt anxious to get on to the Finance Bill, where it will have a new opportunity of starting trouble for the Finance Member, by continuing the argument in regard to the ratio. I do strongly protest against accusations that have been made against the Government of not being honest in this matter, against myself, against my friend Mr. Aravamudha Ayangar and others of having bowed to some one else's opinion and brought forward a measure in which they did not believe. Mr. Jinnah was full of quotations about "His Master's Voice". He is no doubt an expert in his master's voice and I can leave him to dance to the tune that his master in Bombay teaches him.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah: What about your master?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Government have just as much right to say that they are acting in the interests of India and the interests of the masses as any Honourable Member on the other side. Government have never approached this question from any other point of view than what they, in the best of their judgment, regard as the true interests of the masses. That we have differed very strongly from some Members on the other side we are aware, and I am quite willing to admit the complete sincerity of the views of Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas and Pandit Malaviya and others who have spoken on the opposite side; but they should do us the credit of believing that we have done our best, within our lights, for the interests of India in this matter. There is only one other point that I would refer to. That is the question of the difficulties that are going to arise in maintaining the 1s. 6d. ratio. All sorts of dark pictures have been drawn of the results on the masses, but one that comes home to me is the supposed result on the Finance Department. I think the record of the past two Budgets is some answer to those who complain that a 1s. 6d. exchange is so fatal for the finances of the Government of India. (Applause.) We have not borrowed in England since 1923. I think that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas will remember that in their evidence given before the Currency Commission it was stated on behalf of the Finance Department that, so long as India had a large programme of capital expenditure, it was probably necessary in present circumstances from time to time for them to supplement the resources of the Indian market by borrowing abroad. That may possibly become necessary. If it is necessary, it will be necessary in the interests of India. I have not made any provision in the Budget for borrowing abroad and I hope that it will not be necessary, but I will say this that if it is necessary it would have been equally necessary if the exchange had been 1s. 4d. The idea that there is any serious difference between maintaining 1s. 6d. and maintaining 1s. 4d. is absolutely unfounded. There is one extra difficulty in maintaining 1s. 6d. and that is the strong opposition that has been put up by the Currency League against the action of the Government in doing so. Apart from that one point of view of political difference, it is absolutely as easy and as difficult to maintain exchange at one rate as at another once prices have adjusted themselves to that figure.

*Vide Statement printed as an Appendix to these Debates.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: That is a very big and ominous "if".

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: If prices have not adjusted themselves to 1s. 6d. they certainly have not adjusted themselves to 1s. 4d.; so on the Honourable Member's own showing there will be more difficulty in maintaining 1s. 4d. than in maintaining 1s. 6d.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I do not admit it.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: However, I will not pursue it any further. We have come to the final stage in this Bill. I have commended it to the House and the country as the first step in giving effect to the recommendations of the Currency Commission, and I will end with one last plea, that once this controversy is out of the way we should forget it as soon as possible and set to work to join each other in securing for India the best results from the rest of the Commission's Report.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1926, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, for certain purposes, and to lay upon the Governor General in Council certain obligations in regard to the purchase of gold and the sale of gold exchange, as amended, be passed."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—63.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian
Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
Ahmed, Mr. K.
Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
A. M. M.
Allison, Mr. F. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
Nawabzada Sayid.
Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
Gopalaswami.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Graham, Mr. L.
Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hezlett, Mr. J.
Howell, Mr. E. B.
Hussain Shah, Sayyed.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
Ismail Khan, Mr.
Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
and Honorary Captain.

Keane, Mr. M.
Khin Maung, U.
Lamb, Mr. W. S.
Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Mohammad Ismail Khan, Haji
Chaudhury.
Moore, Mr. A.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
Alexander.
Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.-
Sardar.
Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
Natique, Maulvi A. H.
Paddison, Sir George.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
Makhdum Syed.
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Mr. K. C.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan.
Roy, Sir Ganen.
Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Willson, Sir Walter.
Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
Young, Mr. G. M.
Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

NOES—51.

Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sesha.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chaman Lal, Mr.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.

Lahiri Chandhury, Mr. Dharendra
 Kanta.
 Lajpat Rai, Lala.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
 Mohita, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Prakasam, Mr. T.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Sassoon, Sir Victor.
 Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Tok Kyi, U.
 Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.

The motion was adopted. (Cries of "Shame, shame" from the Swarajist Benches.)

 THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I move that the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, be taken into consideration.

Sir, I have already made a speech of something over an hour's length which may be taken, I think, as the second reading speech on this Bill. When I introduced the Budget I was really moving for the consideration of this Bill, and I do not propose to-day to take up any considerable portion of the valuable time of the House in discussing this Bill at this stage. I do, however, desire to refer to one matter on which there have been certain developments since the date of my budget speech, and that is in regard to the question of the export duty on tea. I stated in my budget speech that I proposed to bring forward a Resolution to fix the rate of income-tax on the non-agricultural profits of tea concerns raising the amount from 25 per cent. of the profits to 50 per cent. I made that proposal because I found that some years ago an undertaking had been given to the tea companies that the statutory rule on the subject would have the same force of law as an Act of the Indian Legislature, and the tea companies had, therefore, a right to expect that full opportunity would be given for discussing any change in regard to the assessment of income-tax on tea companies before it was brought into effect. I have

had various discussions and communications since that date with the tea companies, and I think I am correct in saying that they recognise that, if the present rule involves the non-taxation for income-tax purposes of any considerable amount of non-agricultural income, it is fair that in connection with the abolition of the tea export duty the present limit of 25 per cent. should be removed. They are not, however, at present willing to agree that the Government are correct in fixing the figure of 50 per cent. and there are certainly some difficulties in the matter. I think the truth may be that conditions vary in different parts of the country, and in some cases a very much higher proportion than 50 per cent. really represents non-agricultural profits, whereas in other cases the proportion may be lower. What I propose to do therefore is to make it clear on behalf of the Government that with the abolition of the tea export duty as proposed in this Bill the Government will regard themselves at liberty, as indeed they should be, to tax tea companies on the full amount of their non-agricultural profits and on that understanding I am quite willing to continue negotiations with the tea companies and arrive at a solution for substituting some other rule for the present rule fixing 25 per cent., feeling confident that the results will not be contrary to the interests of the Indian exchequer. But it would be premature I think at this date either to make a rule fixing exactly 50 per cent. or to ask this House to endorse it. Therefore, the Resolution that had been put down in my name has been withdrawn and the understanding will be that, if the tea export duty is abolished as proposed in this Bill, the Government will be free to arrive at the non-agricultural portion of the profits of the tea companies and to tax the full amount of the non-agricultural portion to income-tax. That is the only point to which I desire to refer to-day. The rest of the Bill was fully explained in my budget speech and I will content myself now, Sir, with moving the motion.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I am sorry to say that the statement of the Honourable the Finance Member is not satisfactory in so far as the position that has developed since he introduced the Finance Bill is concerned. I have more than once in this House, Sir, said that the Finance Bill is counter-part of the Budget Demands and I should have expected the Finance Member in this House to come and tell us what consequential alterations have been made in the Finance Bill as a result of the cuts and of the other motions that we had carried on the Budget Demands. Sir, he is bound on this occasion to make a statement of the needs of the Government for which we are expected to provide ways and means by means of the Indian Finance Bill. I have more than once mentioned it, but the Honourable Member has not told us whether the cuts that we have made have been restored or whether they are going to be accepted, whether the ministerial staff of the Railway Board is going to exist or not to exist.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do not wish to interrupt, Sir, but I think I may say at once that it must be obvious to the House that none of the cuts made affect materially the total amount required for the finances of the year.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: The question whether it is material or not is entirely wide of the mark. I say, Sir, it is the duty of the Finance Member when he asks us to take into consideration the Finance Bill, to

[Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.]

come and tell us exactly what his needs have been as a consequence of the discussion on the Budget Demands.

Then, Sir, I am not at all satisfied either with the manner in which he has withdrawn his Resolution on the income-tax assessable of tea companies. Sir, he says that there has been some difficulty in finding out whether the 50 per cent. assessment to income-tax of the profits of tea companies can be made fairly in some cases or not fairly in certain other cases. What I want to point out is that, if it is correct and proper for him to come to this House and ask by means of a Resolution to empower the Government to assess the tea companies to income-tax of 25 or 50 per cent. of their income, I think it is his duty not to take away the power from this House and say: we shall do what we think best. I say, Sir, it is trifling with the House. When the Government thinks it is necessary to take a Resolution of this House which will support them, they always put down a Resolution, but when they find there is some difficulty which they want to avoid, then they withdraw their Resolution.

That is how the House is very unfairly treated and it is trifling with the House. I therefore want to know more specifically and exactly what the Government will do, on this tea duty question and whether they will come to this House later with a Resolution so that the loss which we will incur by the removal of the tea duty will be replaced specifically by the levy of an equivalent amount of income-tax on the tea companies.

Mr. M. K. Acharya (South Arcot *cum* Chingleput: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to move the motion of which I have given notice, namely:

"That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable the Finance Member, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla, Sir Walter Willson, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, Mr. Jumnadas M. Mehta and the Mover."

and I do so mainly because I want to put on the records of this House a very important principle. I am quite aware, Sir, that we are on the afternoon of the 22nd of March. I feel as keenly as anybody else the oppressive heat of Delhi, but, as I said, a Bill of this very grave importance ought, in my opinion, and I hope in the opinion of many others, to have been subjected to a careful scrutiny by a special Committee or a Select Committee. I have been looking up, Sir, to find out what the procedure in England in the House of Commons is, and, so far as I have been able to read, I find that there is a Permanent or Standing Committee of Supply there which goes into details of the various demands that may arise for the year, which Committee of Supply corresponds roughly to our Standing Finance Committee. They have also got there a Standing Committee of Ways and Means which carefully scrutinises every proposal for taxation and other ways of raising revenue, and it is after such careful scrutiny that the measures are brought before the House of Commons; and even then, if I am right in what I have read, the whole House goes into Committee and discusses the consequences of the various proposals in Committee. That obviously, Sir, is a very much better way of finding out what will be the best aspect of the various measures. For example, here, in the printed list of amendments, there are some very important amendments—as many as 80 important amendments. There are altogether 65 amendments, of which 80 are quite substantial. It will be

very difficult, I beg to urge, in the space of a day or two, or even three days, for the whole House to see which of these amendments, which of the various suggestions made in these amendments, are likely to be of the best advantage. In these circumstances, Sir, I would urge that it should have been possible for the Government to have made some arrangement by which this very important Bill could have been scrutinised by a Select Committee. I want to make this humble suggestion at least for future guidance that as soon as the Finance Bill is introduced, it may be possible for the Finance Member at once to ask that the Bill should be scrutinised by a Select Committee before it is brought and taken up for full discussion clause by clause in the House itself. It would be of help to us. Otherwise it would be possible, as each amendment is taken up, to point out some difficulty here or some difficulty there against each. Here we have got some 3 crores odd as the surplus budgeted by the Finance Member for the year. In what best way that surplus can be utilised, what taxation might be reduced, in what way the taxation that can be reduced would benefit the largest number of people—these are all questions which could be much better discussed, at any rate in my opinion, in a Committee. It is with that object that I have put down this amendment. Not that I am not aware of the very late day at which we are sitting. I have come forward to bring this amendment for the simple reason, as it will be obvious to everybody, that a Committee would go much better into the details of the various amendments, would be much better able to report to the House in what best way the surplus that is budgeted by the Finance Member could be utilised. I do not propose to go into details, Sir, because I am aware that the point I have raised will be evident to all the Members in the House. Therefore I move the motion.

Pandit Nilakantha Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): I support the motion moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Acharya on the ground that in this Bill there are proposals for the reduction of some taxes. On this side of the House there is a certain amount of feeling that the reduction only gives relief to a class of people who do not require any relief in the beginning when a reduction of taxes is made. If we reject those clauses in the Bill we cannot put in other clauses proposing reduction of taxes in the case of the people who should be relieved, because those clauses will be outside the scope of the Bill. Especially there is clause 2 which has been a controversial question for a long time. Year after year the salt question raises a certain amount of heat and controversy in this House, and, as it is well known that salt should be a national industry and India should be self-supporting in that respect, we require that some protective duty on imported salt should be imposed side by side with the duty on the inland salt. I do not know whether that can come within the scope of the Bill, though when the Bill comes up for consideration I will still maintain that it is within the scope of the Bill. There are certain other matters also. As I have said, I do not like to take up more of the time of the House. I therefore support the amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor, Non-Muhammadan Rural): I rise to oppose the motion. It is a dilatory motion intended only for the benefit of those who propose to go from here to the Kumbha Mela at Hardwar. I have never heard of a

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

Finance Bill being referred to a Select Committee and the only virtue of this proposal is that the Committee is made up of persons who seem never to have thought over the Finance Bill. Not one of those who are mentioned there as forming the Committee has given notice of any amendment. To be charitable to them, I think they have perused it in a cursory manner from beginning to end and I do not believe that they have ever thought of any amendment being made to the Finance Bill. Therefore, even if this is referred to a Select Committee, it will come back in the same condition as it is now, and those who have proposed amendments will still have to move them on the floor of the House. Therefore I think that a Select Committee would serve no purpose.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I agree entirely with the last speaker and I oppose the amendment.

Mr. President: The original motion was :

"That the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, be taken into consideration."

Since which the following amendment has been moved :

"That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Honourable⁹ the Finance Member, Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. M. R. Jayakar, Mr. Ghanshyam Das Birla, Sir Walter Willson, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub, Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta and the Mover."

The question that I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is :

"That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill."

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Before clause 2 is taken up, I should like to submit that there is an amendment which stands in my name, No. 45. I should like to refer to that. In clause 2, it is proposed to put a duty on salt manufactured in or imported by land into any part of British India.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will be entitled to raise that point when his amendment is reached. At present I propose to take amendment No. 12 standing in the name of Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar which is that in clause 2 of the Bill for the words "one rupee and four annas" the words "eight annas" be substituted.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Before that is taken it will facilitate matters if what I submit is heard.

Mr. President: I have given some thought to the question and the Honourable Member will believe me when I say that it will not facilitate matters. We are now dealing with clause 2 and not with the Schedule to which the Honourable Member's amendment refers.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I rise to move the amendment:

"That in clause 2 of the Bill for the words 'one rupee and four annas' the words 'eight annas' be substituted."

I am glad that once again the floor of the House is to be in charge of Back-Benchers and we now rise to consider the real position of the real masses although the position of the masses and the hardship of the masses have hitherto been made pawns for the purposes of other games; and therefore perhaps the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett has left his task to the Back-Benchers instead of being seated in his seat when the Finance Bill is going on. Sir, if this time I rise to speak on behalf of the masses it is with considerable diffidence. When the Back-Benchers move anything on behalf of the masses, who are otherwise voiceless in this House, Honourable Members on the Front Benches rise and criticise the speeches as having been unnecessarily lengthy, containing no stuff, being irrelevant, wasting the time of the House. All such remarks flow from the Front-Benchers who do not really care for the difficulties and hardships of the masses. If there is one thing which is behind me here it is the strong mute wall which stands as the symbol of the voiceless masses in this country who appeal to this House through me, and I dare say you will bestow some thought over their condition. Sir, there is an old story in the Hindu Puranas of one Sunaschapa. A man wanted to have a sacrifice made of a human being and he went to a set of parents who had three sons. The father said the eldest son is very dear to me. Therefore I cannot part with him. The mother said I am very fond of the last son. Therefore I cannot part with him. Therefore the middle son had to be sacrificed. Similarly, in this country when the import duty is sought to be raised, the merchants of England come against this Government and they have to surrender. If any excise duty is to be levied inside the country, the merchant princes of Bombay come against the Government and they have to surrender; and therefore what is it that is left. "Switch up the salt duty" is the one maxim which this Government has been pursuing not only now, not from the days of Sir Basil Blackett but from the days of many of the ancestors of Sir Basil Blackett. Therefore a little biography of this salt duty will be a little interesting and I will not take up much time in referring to that. In 1836 when inland and transit duties in this country were abolished, this salt duty was increased to make up the revenue.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Which of my ancestors did that, Sir.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I do not know the history of your ancestors, you must know your own ancestors better. In 1846 the duty on port to port trade was abolished and the salt duty was increased. In 1862, when the cotton import duty was decreased, the salt duty was increased, and in 1879, when the import duty was abolished, the salt duty was retained. You will find, therefore, Sir, throughout the history of this salt duty that whenever any other source of revenue is cut out, whenever there is a deficit Budget of the Government of India, the one maxim of the Finance Member is to switch up the salt duty. That is what we

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

find in 1888. There was a deficit Budget and the salt duty was enhanced to Rs. 2/8. For the sake of the deficit Budget of 1888 it was increased and it continued on that scale until 1902. There was a small intervening event in this history of increases, Sir. That was in the year 1852. Then Lord Dalhousie became alarmed at the way in which imported salt was encroaching upon the indigenous salt and the loss which the manufacturers of indigenous salt were put to on account of this imported salt. He made a strong protest which resulted in a hue and cry from all quarters in Great Britain. I will not read all the numerous petitions which flowed into the House of Commons then, but I will read only a small portion of one. At page 449 of Dutt's Economic History of India in the Victorian Age you will find that the Chamber of Commerce of Bristol submitted a vigorous and well-argued petition on the hardship caused by the salt tax in India. I do not go into the motives of that petition, but the argument is very sound :

"The price to the consumer here in England is 30s. per ton instead of £21 per ton as in India, and if it were necessary to abolish the salt tax at home some years hence it appears to your petitioners that the millions of Your Majesty's subjects in India have a much stronger claim for its remission in their case, wretchedly poor as they are and essentially necessary as salt is to their daily sustenance and to the prevention of disease in such a climate."

A strongly worded petition was presented by the Chamber of Commerce of Bristol :

"The merchants, shipowners and tradesmen of Liverpool hold it to be the sacred and solemn duty of the Government to afford to the people of that country (India) the same fostering care as is and ought to be afforded to the people of this country."

And they were of the opinion that the abolition of the duty on salt in British India would be not only a great boon to the people of that country, to which justice and humanity entitled them, but would also tend greatly to improve and strengthen the mercantile interests of this country by increasing the payments for cotton and other goods of English manufacture exported to this country. You will find, therefore, Sir, that the total abolition of the salt duty was strongly advocated for the benefit of the poor of this country. Sir, nothing is more humiliating to a country than that the breakfast of the poorest man of the country should be taxed. And nothing is more mean and melancholy meanness too on the part of a civilized government than for it to stand between the hands and mouth of the poorest man and say to him, "Pay me my salt duty and then eat your breakfast." And this Bill, Sir, is forcing on the poorest this iniquitous duty. I ask the Honourable the Finance Member, before he congratulates himself upon his surplus Budget, to say to the poor man that he has helped him in this particular way. A few minutes ago my Honourable friend Sir Basil Blackett read a letter which was anonymous. I thought he was reading a word which is different from what it actually was. Instead of "cheap cloth", he should have read "cheap salt". I think the word in that letter was "salt" and not cloth, or at any rate it ought to have been, and I think the letter addressed to him congratulating him upon 1s. 6d. contained not only a reference to the supply of cheap cloth to the masses but also cheap salt to the masses. In any case, Sir, please take it like that. Now, Sir, that is exactly the situation with reference to the salt duty. In this country it was the Honourable and much respected, all-India respected and revered Gokhale who sacrificed his whole life to

an agitation for the remission of the salt duty. I am sorry to find that none of those prominent men of this House have come forward within those ten people who have given amendments for the reduction of the salt duty to press and advocate this cause. The oldest Member of this House, the Member who has been sitting ever since the commencement of this House, my friend Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas, gave notice of a motion of a token cut when the Demand under Salt was before this House, though he had no occasion for moving it. There he said in brackets "total abolition of salt tax" and I thought that my Honourable friend Mr. Harchandrai Vishindas would make out a very strong case though it might not have been relevant on that occasion. Sir, the Honourable Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas said on the occasion when the cotton excise duty was being discussed on the floor of this House words to this effect:

"But we shall not retain this duty for the miserable rupees, annas and pies which it brings into the Indian treasury, which I repeat is tainted money."

Sir, if the money received from the cotton excise is tainted money, a hundred times more tainted is the money which you receive from the poorest man's salt, and I ask you to omit that before you omit any other thing. If the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett said in his speech that he had 5½ crores as surplus, it is all the net income of the salt duty. Take that figure and take the figure of the gross income of salt tax and deduct the expenditure, you have the identical figure: the amount you have saved as surplus is the amount which has been derived from the poorest man, over which you have been gloating. The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett takes credit and says he has reduced the salt duty. How did he reduce it? Only six months before that, he increased it and then decreased it. In 1923-24 he increased it and in 1924-25 he reduced it and claims as part of the credit that he has reduced the salt tax and done an immense good to the country. I have heard a story somewhere in Delhi about the way with these camels being very peculiar. All the maximum load is put on its back and the man plays a trick with it; he puts another stone on it and then throws it down and the camel thinks that the whole weight is taken off and it rises up. You have put the maximum duty, the maximum tax, everything on the people and then raised the salt duty to 2-8-0 for a year and then reduced it and you take credit and say "I stand for the masses, I stand for the poor. I have reduced the salt duty." Sir, that will give no credit to the Honourable the Finance Member. If truth-speaking, speaking the truth in all its nakedness, is Parliamentary—it is doubtful—I must say that the curse of the poor man will be over the Finance Member if before he lays down his office he does not reduce the salt duty to the irreducible minimum. I call upon, Sir . . .

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, is it permissible to curse an Honourable Member in that way?

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Sir, I am certain that the Honourable the Finance Member will see his way to reduce the salt tax to its irreducible minimum one day before he lays down his office and therefore as the first step towards that I say it must be reduced to 8 annas. Sir, I am supported in this by no less a person than Dr. Paranjapye who says in the Taxation Enquiry Committee's Report at page 138:

"There is abundant evidence that the discussions of recent years have resulted in much unsettlement of the market, considerable increases of price to the consumer and profit to the dealer with no advantage to the Exchequer. Dr. Paranjapye would like

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

to see that the rate is reduced to about 8 annas in normal times as the figures given above show that the consumption increases with a decrease in duty. He considers that this is a legitimate source for increased taxation in case of emergency and would therefore keep the normal rate very low. Also he thinks that any reduction in the rate should be appreciable, otherwise it would not benefit the mass of the people who buy their salt in very small quantities at a time."

That is why, Sir, I insist on its reduction to 8 annas, not to one rupee or 1—2,—it is not a question of mere words or of a nominal
4 P.M. victory; I ask that it should be reduced by a substantial amount, and that could only be if it is reduced to 8 annas. As I have said on previous occasions, there are other ways in which the Finance Member can see that the income is not affected. He has a right to increase the import duty on imported salt; he can certainly make up the income, and if there is any shortage in the average income which he is getting, he need not be sorry because he foregoes that income for the benefit of the masses of this country. Sir, one argument that is usually advanced with reference to the salt tax is that the salt tax is the one tax which is distributed over the whole population. Every man has to pay it. But the greatest disadvantage, the greatest drawback of such a tax is that the poorest man has to pay as much as the richest man, and if he knows the facts, the poorer the man the greater the amount he has to pay on account of his salt. The rich man gets his salt in so many other ways. He gets his salt in fruits and so many other directions, but the poor man has to use a greater quantity of salt than the rich man. Therefore, the duty on salt falls more heavily upon him. Sir, which is the tax in this country which is not paid by the poorest man? Is not income-tax paid by the poor? Who is it who pays the income tax? You may levy income-tax on the rich, but it is the debtor who pays it, not the creditor, not the sowcar, not the banker; it is the poor man who pays it. (You may shake your head.) You know very well that is all imposed on the debtor and from his pocket it proceeds, not directly to you but through the banker. Take any other taxes, court-fees or stamps or anything you please, and it is shared by the poorest man in this country. Therefore, it is idle to contend that the salt tax is the only tax that is distributed all over. Even the Duke of Argyle, one of the greatest advocates of the tax, said it must be proportionate to the capacity of the man who pays it. And the Taxation Enquiry Committee puts it at 8 annas per head at present and says, in its opinion, it is a great hardship on the poorest people. Therefore, Sir, the Honourable the Finance Member will, I hope, see that the salt tax is reduced gradually until it comes to total abolition.

Mr. President: I should like to know whether other Honourable Members who have amendments on the same subject desire to move them. There is one in the name of Mr. Prakasam who wants to reduce the salt duty to 10 annas. Mr. Nilakantha Das and Mr. Sesha Ayyangar want the salt duty reduced to 12 annas, and Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan and Pandit Nilakantha Das want it reduced to one rupee. Does Mr. Prakasam wish to move his amendment?

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): There is one amendment under item 14 for reducing it to 8 annas in my name.

Mr. President: The one for eight annas has already been moved by Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. Does the Honourable Member wish to move his amendment for ten annas?

Mr. T. Prakasam: I move, Sir:

“That in clause 2 of the Bill for the words ‘one rupee and four annas’ the words ‘ten annas’ be substituted.”

My Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar has said what has to be said on the matter. I do not think that by attempting to say more I will improve the situation and persuade the Honourable the Finance Member. The other day, when my Honourable friend Pandit Nilakantha Das was narrating the story of poor men living upon grass while this British Government is ruling here, I for one was really having my heart in my mouth when I was hearing that story. I expected the Honourable the Finance Member at least to say a word of sympathy in reply and ask whether there are human beings to-day actually living upon grass. No word of sympathy, no response came from him; so I do not think, Sir, that any appeals would persuade this Government or the representatives of this Government. My Honourable friend Sir George Paddison was telling us this morning that I was in a gloom. If I should not be in gloom when there are human beings under the kind care of labour representatives like Sir George Paddison and under the care of the Honourable the Finance Member who are actually living upon grass, in what other condition should I be?

Mr. President: That does not make out a case for 10 annas, but is an argument for total abolition.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Certainly, Sir, I am very sorry I did not move for total abolition. I regret it very much.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is entitled to support the amendment of Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar and yet move his own. He can vote for both when they are put.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Yes, Sir, I think I am open to correction for not having asked for something less than 8 annas; so I will not dilate very much upon it; but in moving this proposition I am only submitting that as a very great reason for the reduction of the salt duty, because these men are actually living on grass to-day. I would invite the representative of labour, and particularly the Honourable the Finance Member before he leaves the shores of India to get into the train and try and go with Pandit Nilakantha Das and verify whether there are human beings living on grass to-day before he goes and gives an account of his administration here in England.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member (Pandit Nilakantha Das) wish to move his amendment for reducing the salt duty to Re. 1?

Pandit Nilakantha Das: I should like to move the amendment under this head, but it would be better if I am allowed to do so, after the present amendment is put to the vote.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is entitled to move his amendment to reduce this salt duty to Re. 1.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Sir, my Honourable friend has already made a case for 8 annas and I should be very glad to support it and I am supporting it. But if that fails, then, as an alternative amendment, I shall move that the salt tax be reduced to Re. 1 and I shall move that on another basis. Am I allowed to do so?

Mr. President: Certainly.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: I gave notice of both and I wish to support both, but they are on different principles and stand on a different footing.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may explain to the House those principles. I cannot understand why Honourable Members who belong to the same party could not fix up one amendment and concentrate on it. Such a course would help to facilitate the business of the House and also avoid so much confusion which we see now. Of course I am only making a suggestion. Honourable Members are technically in order in moving all these amendments.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Sir, I do not move for Re. 1 instead of, but in the absence of, 8 annas, I speak for one—8 annas, with which I agree; but I move for Re. 1 because if all other amendments fail, then from the Government's financial standpoint I propose that some duty should be added to imported salt, so that the account may be balanced by making it Re. 1. I wish only to accentuate the principle that there should be a distinction between imported salt and inland salt so far as the duty is concerned. There is no other ground for which I put one rupee, for one rupee is little by way of reducing the salt tax. I simply move this with a view to emphasise the principle that there should be a distinction enunciated and recognised this year between imported salt the duty on which I propose to increase by four annas a maund, and to reduce the duty on native salt by four annas a maund, in order to balance the accounts only and nothing else. As for reducing the tax by a total omission, I support the amendment already moved; but on the principle, as I have explained, I move this motion, standing in my name.

Mr. President: There is one amendment in the name of Mr. Sesha Ayyangar for reducing the salt duty to twelve annas. Does he wish to move it?

Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar (Madura and Ramnad *cum* Tinnevely: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I formally move it. I move:

“That in clause 2 of the Bill for the words ‘one rupee and four annas’ the words ‘twelve annas’ be substituted.”

I am entirely in agreement with my friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, on the reduction of the salt duty. This amendment of mine has only this merit, that it is a golden mean between four annas which covers the cost of maintaining the salt establishment and of producing salt, and the present rate of Rs. 1-4. Upon that ground I beg to move this amendment.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): May I know one thing, Sir? What has happened to the amendment of Mr. Das? I would like to move my amendment to reduce it to Re. 1.

Mr. President: Mr. Das has already moved his amendment to reduce the duty to one rupee.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Then I support it, Sir. There is no doubt that the salt tax is a heavy burden on the poor people. But I think if it is reduced to eight annas the reduction would be too heavy at present in the circumstances as they are to-day. On that ground, therefore, I would reduce it to one rupee. I need not say anything more because much has been said already, and my only reason for moving my amendment or supporting the amendment of Mr. Das is that the reduction to eight annas would be too drastic and the reduction to one rupee would be more reasonable at present. Therefore I support the motion.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Sir, the amendment which stands in my name is similar to the amendment which has been moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar; so I rise to support his amendment to reduce the salt duty to eight annas. It has been said by my friend, Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, that the one rupee reduction would be more reasonable. I do not know how he calculates this year, that the reasonable sum to which to reduce the salt duty, would be one rupee and not eight annas. My idea is that salt should be as free as air and water. That is the theory of the great political economist, Mr. Fawcett. The salt tax is paid by every individual in this country, because there is no individual who does not consume salt. There is so much complaint against *Jezia* or the poll-tax which was imposed by one of the greatest tyrants in this country; but this salt tax is nothing less than that; the salt tax is even worse than the *Jezia* since it is an imposition upon every individual, unless he chooses to go without food. But it has been said that the production of salt costs one anna and six pies per maund and the Government has to keep up the machinery and so forth; so calculating everything, my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar about three years ago came to the conclusion that the duty reduced to eight annas would be the proper duty on such a thing as salt which is a necessity of life. That being so, I beg to submit that this duty should be reduced to eight annas. Sir, I am not going to waste the time of this House and the Chair also is not willing or rather does not view with approval that the valuable time of the House should be wasted in repeating the same arguments over and over again, which we have been repeating on the floor of this House year in and year out. But it has failed to make any impression upon the Members who are in charge of this Finance Bill. Be that as it may, Sir, but it is our duty here as representatives of the poor people of this country to enter our emphatic protest against an imposition of this nature which is worse than *Jezia*. With your permission, Sir, I beg to support the amendment which stands in my name and which has been so ably moved by my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.

Mr. Varahagiri Venkata Joglah (Ganjam *cum* Vizagapatam: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have only one word to say, and it is this. I am not going to repeat what has already been said on the subject. Sir, it has been represented to us that during the last four years we have been having surplus Budgets. I submit that surpluses are no surpluses, when oppressive taxation exists. When you say that we have this year a surplus Budget of 3½ crores, I would suggest that that surplus should be devoted to the reduction of the duty on salt to some extent at least. It has been repeatedly pointed out in this House, and especially by the late Mr. Gokhale in his speech on the Budget in the year 1902, that a surplus should in the first instance be utilised to reduce taxation. So that, I do not see why a surplus Budget should be shown when people are groaning

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under taxation on some of the very necessities of life like salt. I would therefore request the Honourable the Finance Member to devote the surpluses that were found this year towards the reduction of the salt duty. With these words, Sir, I beg to support my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.

Mr. President: Are there any other Honourable Members who desire to speak on this amendment?

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh (Chota Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Yes, Sir. I beg to support the amendment moved by my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. Sir, according to this Bill, the people are going to be taxed. But in imposing this taxation even the ordinary principle of taxation has not been followed. As far as I know, Sir, the principle of taxation is that the necessities of life should not be taxed, and I cannot understand why such an eminent financier as the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett is not going to follow this ordinary and simple principle of taxation in this Bill. This Bill, Sir, is based on the Budget, and for this Budget he has received numerous encomiums from several quarters, but I do not know why so much praise has been given to him for this Budget. If the figures on the income side are only* adjusted to those on the expenditure side, I do not think that it can be called a good budget. In my opinion, a good budget is only one in which the income of the country is adjusted to the needs and comforts of the people thereof, and so far as the Budget and this Bill are concerned, I think the needs and comforts of the people are entirely ignored. The simple reason for this state of affairs is that the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett does not know the country at all. As has been pointed out by several speakers who preceded me, votes are cast on behalf of the Government owing to ignorance. I may go even so far as to say that this Budget has been framed by a Member who too is utterly ignorant of the conditions of the people in the country. For his information and for the information of the House, I may tell them a short story as to the real condition of the people. Once during the non-co-operation days when I was touring in my constituency, I happened to be in a group of villages. I had to stop for the night there. There the people could not manage even a little oil for a lamp for a meeting to be held in any of these villages. A little fuel was collected, and with the help of the light which the fire gave out when the fuel was burning, lectures were delivered. Not only that, Sir. At night, they, the villagers of all the villages combined, could not manage even two or three seers of rice to provide us with our meals. At dead of night paddy seeds, which were kept reserved for agricultural purposes, were spent and rice was prepared and cooked for our meals. That is the condition of the people, and our Honourable friend, Sir Basil Blackett, must know that by this Bill he is going to tax people like these. Not only that, in my constituency and so far as I know in the whole country there are people who for more than six months in the year live only on leaves, roots and fruits from the jungles. I think that it is a disgrace to the Government and to this House that people like these are to be taxed by this Bill. I therefore hope that the whole House will unanimously agree that Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar's amendment be passed; and I hope Sir Basil Blackett, who has just spoken a good deal about his sympathy for the people and the masses of the country will agree

to this and not oppose it, and I say that if he has got a bit of sympathy for the poor of the country, he will not raise his voice against this amendment.

Mr. President: Sir Basil Blackett. Does the Honourable Mr. Kunzru wish to speak?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Yes, Sir. I can speak after Sir Basil Blackett, if he so wishes.

Mr. President: Mr. Kunzru.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Mr. President, I wish to offer a few general remarks in support of the position taken up by some Honourable Members that the salt tax should be reduced. Had we been given a little more time for the general consideration of the Finance Bill, it would not have been necessary for me to make these remarks at this stage. But since it pleased you, Sir, to shorten the discussion in regard to the first stage of the Bill, I am afraid this is the only occasion on which. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. I think there seems to be some misunderstanding in the mind of the Honourable Member. I waited to see if any Honourable Member rose to speak, and as no one rose, there was no alternative for the Chair but to put the question. The speech of the Honourable Member suggests that the Chair did not give sufficient time to the House to discuss the Bill on the motion that the Bill be taken into consideration. I think the Honourable Member is very unfair to the Chair.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Sir, I had not the least wish to cast any aspersions on the Chair, but you will remember that, after putting the motion relating to the Select Committee to the vote and disposing of it, you remained standing and, without sitting down, put the next motion, that is, the one regarding the consideration of the Bill.

Mr. President: When the amendment for Select Committee was disposed of, the Chair proposed the original question in the usual manner, and as no Honourable Member rose to speak, the question was put.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Very well, Sir, I shall be a little bolder in future.

Primâ facie, Sir, a motion asking for a heavy reduction in a budget which shows no surplus after the remission of the provincial contributions seems to be a matter requiring explanation. Not merely has the Finance Member remitted provincial contributions by about three crores and a half but he has practically promised to wipe out the remaining part of the provincial contributions, which is about 2 crores, in future. How is it then that the House, while realising all this, asks for a further heavy reduction of taxation? The position of the House, Sir, I believe is this. I have had opportunities of talking to many Honourable Members of the House on this subject and I believe that what I am going to say has their countenance and support. On several occasions the question of debt redemption has come before the House. . . .

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member must address himself to the question before the House, namely, the reduction of the salt tax.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I only wish to point out, Sir, by placing these general considerations before the House that the reduction of taxa-

[Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru.]

tion that the House asks for is a perfectly reasonable proposition. As I was saying, Sir, the question of debt redemption has been before the House for a long time. I will not repeat the arguments that have been brought forward in connection with this matter on more than one occasion here. But taking the provision made merely in connection with productive debt, that is, the debt incurred generally speaking in connection with Railways, we are providing for about 3 crores. The payments to be made in connection with the railway annuities and railway sinking funds and the new scheme for debt redemption brought into force in 1924 will cost us in the coming year about 3 crores. In the second place, Sir, there is the question of military expenditure. Since the Budget was presented last year, the standard expenditure, *i.e.*, the established charges, have increased by about a crore, and this in spite of the hopes which the Finance Member gave expression to last year that it would go down. The Finance Member, Sir, has had his own way with regard to the exchange. May we ask him to use his power for a better purpose and to exercise all the influence that he wields in the Government of India to bring about a reduction in military expenditure? Let him be an intrepid warrior in this cause and he will certainly earn God's blessing which he has not earned by sticking to the 1s. 6d. ratio. On these two counts alone, that is, debt redemption and military expenditure, there can be a reduction of 4 crores. Now, I know, Sir, that this reduction cannot be given effect to all at once except in regard to the provision for debt redemption, which is certainly under the control of the Finance Member. But the only way in which we can bring pressure to bear on Government, particularly in matters relating to finance, is to try to give effect to them at a time when we are asked to vote the money for carrying on the administration. Now, I said a little while ago that the Finance Member had agreed to remit about 2 crores of the provincial contributions in the near future. But, as I have explained, according to the view which has been expressed repeatedly by this House, a considerable reduction of taxation over and above the 2 crores which have to be remitted to the Provincial Governments can take place. I am not now, Sir, concerned with the exact amount of reduction that the Finance Member can give effect to immediately, although that too, in my opinion, is not small. But I do propose to vote for the general proposition asking for the reduction of the salt duty in view of the fact that the opinions repeatedly expressed in this House have not been given effect to, and partly, I may say, Sir, to strengthen the hands of the Finance Member himself, who I am sure is not pleased to come before us repeatedly and complain that military expenditure is rising. I am sure that while he will earn God's blessing by helping us to reduce the crushing burden of military expenditure we shall earn his blessing by pressing the matter on his attention and it is in the earnest hope that we are strengthening the hands of the Finance Member himself in his struggle against the Military Department that I propose to support the motion for the reduction of the salt duty.

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): I rise to support the amendment for the reduction of the salt duty, and in doing so, I want to acknowledge the great service Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar and the other Honourable Members on this side of the House have rendered to the country by bringing this important question in this form before the House. I want also to acknowledge the services that have been rendered

by the Back-benchers on this side in the cause of the masses on many occasions before. Some people in this House have been finding fault with the Back-benchers. I am not one of them. I think the Back-benchers represent the masses much better than even many of the Front-benchers, and I am free to acknowledge here the services that they render. Perhaps their speeches may not be so polished as those on the Front-benchers (*An Honourable Member*: "Question.") I do not say that for myself. I was expressing the opinion of some persons on the opposite side. The Back-benchers speak plain language, they open their hearts and I think they should be encouraged rather than otherwise in doing so.

Coming to the merits of the question, I plead guilty to the charge brought forward against the Front-benchers by Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. But I may tell him that if the Front-benchers have not tabled any amendments in this connection, they have not done so for fear of coming into competition with the amendments already proposed by the Back-benchers. This is a matter in which they have my entire support and I wish fully to associate myself with the remarks made by Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar in support of his proposal to reduce the salt duty to eight annas or, if that was possible, for the entire abolition of the duty. I do not sympathise with the first part of Mr. Kunzru's speech at all. It is no concern of mine to solve the difficulties which the Government may experience in making two ends meet in case this amendment be accepted by the House. This Government does not listen to us either with regard to the imposition of taxes or with regard to the spending of them, and therefore it is no part of our duty to see if the Government is at this stage, at the time of the consideration of the Finance Bill, put in any difficulty by the reduction of any tax that we should be very solicitous to see that they are not in any difficulty. I must be absolutely frank. Considering the way in which the Government trifle with this part of the House in relation to every question relating to the finances of the country, I have absolutely no sympathy with them. I stand entirely for the rights of the people. The finances of the country which come from the pockets of the poorest of this country ought to be managed according to the wishes of the people of the country. We have seen how the wishes of the people of this country are being trifled with in almost every matter relating to finance. And, if the finances are not going to be managed according to the wishes of the people of the country, we on this side of the House can have no sympathy with any difficulties that the Government may find themselves in. It is not for us to find money for the expenses which they sanction in defiance of our wishes. Of course, it will be our duty to find finances for those departments, for those expenses, which they run or incur in accordance with the wishes of the people. But if they sanction expenditure, if they carry on departments in the Government in defiance of the wishes of the representatives of the people simply by their fiat, by a vote of 39 elected Members against 65, then surely they cannot claim any sympathy from us, and it is not for us to care for their difficulties. I stand for the question of principle irrespective of the remarks made by Mr. Kunzru as to how the reduction in the salt duty is to be made up. That is the duty of the Finance Member. He will do it. He is paid for it. I stand for the principle and I support my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar in every word that he has said. I have one word more. In my judgment it would be much better if Honourable Members concentrate on one amendment instead of moving so many amendments. I am told that, roughly speaking, the amendment of 10

[Lala Lajpat Rai.]

annas suits the retail buyers more than that of 8 annas. If so, it will be much better to concentrate on that amendment.

I desire to add one word as regards the retail sale of salt. I find from experience that the sale of salt is carried on in conditions which impose great hardships on the consumer and on the general masses of the people. It is supplied to them at much higher rates. The expenses connected with the sale come to such a heavy figure that in some places practically double, treble and even four times the price is paid by the ordinary consumer than what is paid in the shape of duty. All this profit is made by the middlemen with the sanction and approval of the authorities. They give the monopoly of the sale of salt to different contractors in different provinces, which is dispensed as a kind of favour shown to them. I trust that the Finance Department will take steps to discontinue that practice of giving a monopoly to certain people whom the Government or the bureaucracy want to favour. Salt is a thing which is consumed by the poorest people and therefore even if the salt duty is not reduced, I hope the Government of India will take steps to see that the extra expense put on the sale of salt (which is practically paid by the consumer) is reduced to a minimum, if it cannot altogether be abolished. With these remarks I support the amendment of Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar and I suggest that we should concentrate on the 10 annas amendment instead of dividing ourselves on 8 annas. I want the House to concentrate on 10 annas and vote for it.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: With regard to the last point which my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai has introduced—the question of the methods by which salt reaches the consumer—I can assure him that the Finance Department is continually watching over the business with a view to securing that the middleman of whom he is complaining does not abuse his position. He made the suggestion that there is some favouritism about it. That is a suggestion which he would not have made if he had thought twice about it. That there are difficulties in securing that the retail sale of salt shall be undertaken in ways which avoid profiteering is well known to us all, but the Finance Department has that matter continually in mind and if Lala Lajpat Rai has some particular case which he desires to bring to my attention I shall be only too happy to see if anything can be done to improve the present position. But I believe that matters are more satisfactory now than they were at one time.

Lala Lajpat Rai: If I may interrupt the Honourable Member for one minute, I would say that I am very thankful for the remarks which he has made, but I want to point out that some years ago these contracts were given in the Punjab by way of favour to a very large extent, and that was to my personal knowledge.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I should be glad if the Honourable Member could give me definite cases which have come to his notice which substantiate the charge that he has made. It is perfectly true that at the time of the change of duty in 1923 and 1924 there were considerable difficulties in securing that the Government got any reasonable share of the result of increasing the duty or that the reduction of the duty came into the pocket of the consumer at all quickly.

I turn now, however, to the main question. The cost of reducing the duty from Rs. 1-4-0 to Re. 1, that is, by 4 annas, is 1·25 crores. If you reduce it by 8 annas the cost is 2·5 crores; and if you reduce it by 10 annas,

a figure which I understand is favoured by Lala Lajpat Rai, the cost is 8·12 crores; while a 12 annas reduction would cost 8·75 crores. I do not propose to pursue the suggestion that was made by Mr. Kunzru that we should find that at this stage by a reduction in military expenditure. I should, however, like to draw his attention to the fact that I do not think he is justified in saying that military expenditure has gone up by a crore as compared with last year. The estimate for the current financial year was 54·88 crores, and for the next financial year it is 54·92 crores, which is practically the same figure.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I was taking the budget figures and also taking the established charges, not the net charges, as I have repeatedly said in this House.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do not propose to pursue that point but will merely point out that the estimate for the current year was 54·88 crores, net, and the estimate for the next year is 54·92 crores. We have already had a discussion as to the possibility of reduction. I do not think I need add anything to what I have already said on the subject. Any reduction that is possible in military expenditure is obviously desirable, especially in my opinion if the resulting saving is used for beneficial expenditure for other purposes. I have done my best during my period of service as Finance Member to bring the charge for military expenditure down and I think the Government have a very fair recent record in that matter. But what Mr. Kunzru is now suggesting is that you should reduce the income of the Government of India so that none of the money that would be saved by the reduction would be available for expenditure but would go to the consumer of salt presumably. Nor do I propose to follow Mr. Kunzru into the suggestion that we should reduce the sinking fund in order to reduce taxation. That is a point which I have not the least intention of following now, but I would with all the emphasis at my command say to this House and to those who are responsible or may hereafter be responsible for the finances of India, that the last thing they should consent to do is to do anything short of the maximum in the matter of reduction of debt, whether productive or unproductive. That is another point which I do not wish to follow at the present moment. Certainly if this House were to carry a reduction on any of these motions the result would be a reduction in the available revenue of the Government by 3·12 crores in the case of a reduction of 10 annas. Lala Lajpat Rai says he is not concerned with the way in which the Government find that money. I would suggest to him that he is concerned because what the Government would do, it is perfectly clear, would be not to remit the provincial contributions to that extent. That is exactly how the money would be found. (*Lala Lajpat Rai:* "The sword of Damocles.") It is the sword of Damocles, and it is a sword that has hung over my head as well as over the heads of Honourable Members in this House ever since I have been Finance Member. You cannot at the same time have a reduced central taxation and at the same time get rid of your provincial contributions unless you are prepared to impose additional central taxation of some other kind. I have not heard it suggested that the House desires to impose additional central taxation to the tune of 3·12 crores in order to replace what would be lost by the reduction of the salt duty. Until the provincial contributions are clean gone this sword of Damocles, this dilemma, is always there. And it is

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

not more in my power to avoid it than it is in the power of Lala Lajpat Rai to avoid responsibility for his vote in this matter. The dilemma is there. Next year, if we are fortunate, or the year after, if we are fortunate, the question of reduction of taxation and changes in taxation can be approached by the Central Government without reference to this troublesome question of provincial contributions. But I submit it is quite impossible this year. We are budgeting for a surplus of 3 crores and 64 lakhs and we require 545 lakhs to do without provincial contributions in this coming year. We are making a very definite draft on the future even as things are. We obviously cannot afford to go further and to do without 312 lakhs of salt revenue and still give the provinces the relief which we all want to give them. I must therefore put it perfectly plainly to the House that if the House desires to reduce the salt duty to 10 annas by their vote and proceed to do so, they will place us and themselves in exactly the position in which we were placed two years ago, namely, that the alternative is to maintain the lower salt duty and do without reduction of provincial contributions or to restore the salt duty to its present figure. I am not responsible for the dilemma. The Honourable Member is not responsible. It is there in the facts of nature. My Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai said he is not concerned

Lala Lajpat Rai: It has nothing to do with nature in any case.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: With the trouble that it gives to the Government. He is very definitely concerned, because the trouble will be simply a non-reduction of the provincial contributions by that amount. May I turn just for a moment to what has been said about my want of sympathy for the poor man in Orissa? I think the Honourable Member who charged me of that does not remember what I said at the time. I did express sympathy and stated that all of us must feel a very real sympathy with people in that condition. But I also expressed the view that you cannot remedy that by this sort of notion of imposing a special protective duty in favour of salt on the Orissa coast against the rest of India and that the problem of the poverty of those for whom Pandit Nilakantha Das and others were speaking was not going to be remedied in this way; and if I am accused of lack of sympathy in a case where I knew I could not do more than sympathise I would suggest that a diet of sympathy is no more useful than a diet of grass. We shall come, I suppose, to that particular question later.

But to return to the main question, the House is being asked to reduce our salt revenue by 312 lakhs. I am inclined to maintain that if we had 312 lakhs available with which to reduce taxation, there are other taxes to which it would be desirable to give priority over the tax on salt. That is a matter which we may have to consider very carefully later. I would not

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: May I know what other taxes there are, Sir, which claim priority?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: There are a good many taxes.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Will the Honourable Member name one if he can?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I would suggest as an illustration that there is a certain amount of want of sincerity about this sort of argument. The Municipality of Allahabad imposes octroi duties on almost all the necessities of life, food grains, firewood, etc., and the cost of these octroi duties imposed by a Municipality which, I believe, is entirely in Nationalist hands, is very much more severe on the poor people than the salt tax. But there are really many other possible directions; what is after all a very small charge of 8 as. 6 p. per head per annum is not a duty which should be selected for abolition in advance of all others if we were in a position to reduce taxation, and I would suggest to the House that they should hesitate to commit themselves to the view that they are trying to commit us to now. They may possibly do so when the time comes, but to commit themselves in advance on a hypothetical case is, I suggest, a little unwise. I oppose these motions.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: May I ask one question? What about meeting the reduction of duty on this inland salt by adding some more duty on imported salt, as I have proposed?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do not know whether you, Sir, would like me to deal with it. I understood it was not before the House.

Mr. President: The question is not before the House.

The original motion was:

That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill."

Since which the following amendment has been moved

'That in clause 2 of the Bill for the words 'one rupee and four annas' the words 'eight annas' be substituted.'

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: The original motion was:

"That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill."

Mr. B. Das: I have an amendment.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will have an opportunity of moving his amendment. I am now disposing of the amendments for the reduction of the salt tax. Other amendments will follow in course of time.

Further amendment moved

"That in clause 2 of the Bill. for the words 'one rupee and four annas,' the words 'ten annas' be substituted."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—50.

Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Arifi, Mr. Yacoub C.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sessa.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chaman Lall, Mr.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Ismail Khan, Mr.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath

NOES—48.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur M'an.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhoire, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.

Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra
 Kanta.
 Lajpat Rai, Lala.
 Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
 Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.
 Sardar.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Natiq, Maulvi A. H.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. O.
 Prakasam, Mr. T.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvatham.
 Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Tok Kyi, U.
 Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.

Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Mr. K. O.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
 Sassoon, Sir Victor.
 Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: Before I adjourn, I should like to congratulate the House on the progress that it has made during the last two days. The Currency Bill is out of the way and we have made fairly good progress in the matter of the Finance Bill. Therefore I do not think it necessary to trouble the Honourable Members with a night sitting. With their consent, however, I propose to sit from 10 A.M. to 6 P.M. to-morrow.

The Assembly then adjourned till Ten of the Clock on Wednesday the 23rd March, 1927.

APPENDIX.*

Statement showing net expansion and contraction of currency from the 1st September 1924 to the 31st December 1926. (Figures from the 1st January 1920 to 31st August 1924 were given in reply to a question by Mr. Jammadas Mehta on the 23rd September 1924.)

(In lakhs of rupees.)

1st September 1924 to 31st March 1925—

Expansion—

Issue against Internal Bills of exchange under section 20 of the Indian Paper Currency Act	8,00
Issue against sterling securities	6,00
Total	<u>14,00</u>

Contraction—

Nil.

Net expansion	+ 14,00
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1925-26—

Expansion—

Issue against sterling securities	9,00
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Contraction—

Internal Bills of exchange withdrawn	8,00
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Net expansion	<u>+ 1,00</u>
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1926-27 up to December 1926—

Expansion—

Nil.

Contraction—

Transfer of sterling securities in London to the Secretary of State's balance	23,43
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Cancellation of Indian Treasury Bills in the P. C. R.	7,82
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Total	<u>31,25</u>
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Net Contraction	<u>—31,25</u>
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Net contraction from 1st September 1924 to 31st December 1926	<u>—16,25</u>
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* *Vide* page 2580 of these Debates.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Wednesday, 23rd March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Ten of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

CONNECTION OF AKYAB WITH THE MAIN RAILWAY LINE IN BURMA.

1127. ***U. Tok Kyi:** (a) Is it not the intention of Government to connect Akyab with the main railway line in Burma?

(b) If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state when the work will be taken in hand?

(c) Will Government be also pleased to state when they expect to complete the railway extension from Ye to Tavoy?

(d) Can the Kayan-Thougwa Railway be ready for opening to traffic during 1927?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). The possibility of such a connection has often been considered, but the difficulties are so great that I am unable to say whether, and, if so, when the work will be taken in hand.

(c) The question of extending the railway from Ye to Tavoy is now being examined by the Railway Board. It is estimated that the extension would take about 3½ years to build.

(d) No. Progress of construction was hampered on account of the floods of August 1926.

U. Tok Kyi: May I ask, Sir, with regard to part (d) whether the Kayan-Thougwa Railway can be opened next year, if not this year?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I am afraid I cannot say at the moment; I will look up what papers we have in the office and will let the Honourable Member know.

REMOVAL OF THE ARSENAL IN RANGOON TO MINGALADON.

1128. ***U. Tok Kyi:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the probable date on which the Arsenal in Rangoon will be removed to Mingaladon?

(b) Can the whole of the Cantonment in Rangoon be moved to Mingaladon before the end of this year? How do the Government propose to dispose of the cantonment land in Rangoon?

(c) Are they aware that roughly the land within the radius of half a mile from the Shwe Dagon Pagoda was originally pagoda land? If so, will they be now prepared to restore to that Pagoda all the land within the said radius taken up by the Army Department?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) It is hoped to make the move before the end of 1927.

(b) One Company of British Infantry, one Company of Indian Infantry and some other details will be retained in Rangoon. The area with the exception of a small portion required to accommodate the above detachments is being handed over to the Local Government in exchange for the land required at Mingaladon.

(c) The Government of India are not aware that the facts are as stated, but the matter is primarily the concern of the Local Government.

SECOND MASTERSHIP IN THE GOVERNMENT MOINIA ISLAMIA HIGH SCHOOL, AJMER.

1129. ***Rai Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda:** (a) Is it a fact that the vacant post of second master, Government Moinia Islamia High School, Ajmer, has been filled up by the appointment of a very junior Moslem teacher on the staff of that school, overriding the claims of a number of senior teachers on the staff of that school as well as those on the staffs of other Government High Schools in Ajmer?

(b) If the answer be in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state its reasons for such action?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) and (b). The second mastership was filled when it fell vacant by the promotion of the fourth master. The third master who alone of the staff was superseded had no training qualifications. The selection was considered the most suitable possible.

APPOINTMENTS IN THE AJMER-MERWARA EDUCATION SERVICE ON RS. 100 AND OVER.

1130. ***Rai Sahib M. Harbilas Sarda:** How many appointments are there in the Ajmer-Merwara Education Service carrying a salary of Rs. 100 or over? How many of them became vacant during the last three years and how many were given to Muhammadans and how many to Hindus?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: There are at present 32 appointments in the Ajmer-Merwara Education Department carrying a pay of Rs. 100 or over. Out of these 8 fell vacant during the last three years. 3 of these vacancies were filled by Hindus and 5 by Muhammadans.

GRANT OF A SITE FOR AN ISLAMIA HIGH SCHOOL IN THE CANTONMENT OF PESHAWAR FOR THE CHILDREN OF RETIRED MILITARY OFFICERS.

1131. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (a) Do Government know that there is no Islamia School, with a hostel in the central place in the Cantonment of Peshawar for the education, including that of theology, of the children of the retired military officers living in and outside the town of Peshawar?

(b) Is it a fact that the present Islamia School is situated in an unhealthy locality of the town and is unsuitable for the requirement of the ex-military officers in various respects detrimental to their children's education?

(c) Is it a fact that a representative deputation consisting of Khans and Nawabs and a big majority of the Indian ex-military officers of Peshawar waited upon the Honourable the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, and the General Officer Commanding the District a few months

ago for the grant of a site for the construction of an Islamia High School in the Cantonment for the convenience of the Indian ex-military officers of the North-West Frontier Province?

(d) Did the General Officer Commanding refuse to grant the site applied for on the ground that it was desired to be left alone as a sanitary cordon?

(e) Is it a fact that owing to the extension of the railway station at Peshawar a large area of the land declared to be a sanitary cordon is already being allotted to the Railway Department besides a large number of buildings already existing in that locality?

(f) Are Government aware that the site applied for by the retired Indian military officers of Peshawar is situated in close proximity to the town whereas the military lines are situated at a considerable distance from the city wall?

(g) Do Government propose to consider the matter and meet the desire of the officers mentioned?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes, Sir.

(b) The present Islamia school is situated in an exceptionally healthy position, a long way from the town. Government have received no complaints from ex-military officers or others about its unsuitability as a place of education for their children.

(c), (d), (e) and (f). Government have no information.

(g) I will inquire into the matter and inform my Honourable friend of the result.

USE OF A PART OF THE OLD KACHERY MOSQUE IN PESHAWAR CANTONMENT FOR THE DUMPING OF MANURE.

1132. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (a) Do Government know that the Cantonment authority of Peshawar is using a part of the old Kachery Mosque in Peshawar Cantonment for the dumping of manure?

(b) Are Government aware that a special Committee convened under Cantonment Board Resolution, No. 21, dated 25th August, 1926, recommended that the area should be cleaned up and planted with grass?

(c) Will Government state whether the recommendations of the special Committee were carried out?

(d) Do Government know that the objectionable use of the Mosque in question is still being continued by allowing the manure to be kept there?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) and (d). No, Sir, not now.

(b) Yes.

(c) The site has been cleared and steps are being taken to regularise the tenure in accordance with the wishes of the Muslim community.

MUSLIM GRAVEYARD OUTSIDE DABGARI GATE IN THE PESHAWAR CANTONMENT.

1133. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (a) Will Government state whether the area of the graveyard situated outside Dabgari Gate, in Peshawar Cantonment was granted to the Muslim community for burial purposes after purchasing land for Cantonment purposes?

(b) If so, has information been obtained according to the instructions contained in the Army Department letter No. 80482-3-A.D., dated the 22nd July, 1925, showing compensation paid to the owners?

(c) Is it a fact that according to the Cantonment plan prepared by the Survey of India Department during 1866 the graveyard existed long before the advent of the British in Peshawar?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a), (b) and (c). It would be necessary to consult the local authorities in order to obtain the detailed information asked for. I will make enquiries if the Honourable Member wishes, but I may say that it has now been decided to grant the site to the Muslim community in perpetuity, free of rent, and there seems to be no need to go into matters of ancient history.

APPOINTMENT OF A RETIRED OFFICIAL TO PERFORM THE DUAL DUTIES
OF SUB-REGISTRAR AND A SPECIAL MAGISTRATE OF THE MUNI-
CIPALITY OF PESHAWAR.

1134. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (a) Do Government know that a retired official whose hands were already full with duties of sub-registrar entrusted to him was subsequently entrusted also with the duties of a special magistrate of the municipality of Peshawar by the District authority?

(b) Are Government aware that the work of running both offices by one man being very heavy the retired official has to hold his court till late in the night every day involving a good deal of inconvenience to the public and to legal practitioners not to speak of the remarkably low percentage of outturn of work?

(c) Do Government know that the Bar Association and the Muslim Association of Peshawar protested against the appointment of a retired official to run two offices?

(d) Will Government state what action has been taken by the local authority to relieve the public of the unnecessary trouble and loss of money in engaging counsel at high fees for conducting their cases at night?

(e) Are Government prepared to consider the question of appointing another retired official for one of the two honorary appointments solely in the public interests?

Mr. E. B. Howell: Enquiry is being made from the local Administration regarding questions Nos. 1134 and 1145 and replies will be given to the Honourable Member as soon as possible. It is much regretted that the information required is not available to-day.

EMPLOYMENT OF MUSLIMS IN THE OFFICE OF THE CONTROLLER OF
MILITARY ACCOUNTS, PESHAWAR DISTRICT.

1135. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (1) Do Government know that the number of accountants and clerks serving at present in the Military Accounts Department is altogether about 4,275, of whom about 370 are Muslims?

(2) Do the Government of India know that the Financial Adviser, Military Finance, instructed the Controller of Military Accounts, Peshawar District, to notify the Muslim Association, Peshawar, when any vacancy occurs in his office requiring to be filled by direct recruitment?

(3) Will Government state how many vacancies occurred in that office during 1926 which were filled by direct recruitment and how many of them were Muslims furnished by the Muslim Association and how many were non-Muslims? If no Muslim was appointed, will the Government state why the Financial Adviser's instructions were not carried out?

(4) Will Government state whether the question of the position of minority communities as regards the clerical establishment which was under the consideration of the Government of India last year has been decided by the Government of India. If so, how?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (1) The number of Accountants and clerks (including temporary establishment) at present serving in the Military Accounts Department is about 4,000 of whom about 350 are Muslims.

(2) The reply is in the affirmative.

(3) There were no permanent vacancies during 1926 in the office of the Controller of Military Accounts, Peshawar District, which were filled by direct recruitment outside the temporary establishment already employed which was itself undergoing reduction. The second part of the question does not arise.

(4) Yes. Orders were issued to all Departments of the Government of India in February 1926 applying to the clerical establishments in the Government of India Secretariat and the offices subordinate thereto the policy already stated in general terms.

SMALL NUMBER OF MUSLIMS EMPLOYED IN THE TRAFFIC AND OCTROI DEPARTMENTS IN THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE SECTION OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1136. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (1) Do the Government of India know that the staff employed east and west of the Indus at present in the Traffic and Octroi Departments in the North-West Frontier Province section of the North Western Railway administration contains comparatively a smaller number of Muslims?

(2) Is the numerical strength of the Muslims in that Province 95 per cent.?

(3) Will Government state the number of North-West Frontier Province Muslims who have been taken for training for the posts referred to above during the past five years?

(4) How do Government account for the remarkably small number, if any at all of the North-West Frontier Province candidates having been admitted for training?

(5) Will Government state if there is any objection to the North-West Frontier Province being allotted a percentage of Muslims to be taken every year for training in various sections of the North Western Railway?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I would refer the Honourable Member to the Resolution passed in this House on the 10th March 1923, which embodies the policy accepted by Government. I would also refer to my reply to unstarred question No. 3 put by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub on the 27th January 1927. The Agent of the Railway has been made aware of the policy of Government and they have no doubt that he is giving effect to it.

TRANSFER OF THE POWER OF TRYING CASES UNDER THE CANTONMENT ACT TO MAGISTRATES UNCONNECTED WITH CANTONMENT BOARDS.

1187. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (a) Do the Government of India know that the City Magistrates who represent the District Magistrates on Cantonment Boards in the North-West Frontier Province are *ex-officio* Members of the Boards and are performing two functions combined, *vis.*, as Members of the Board sanction prosecutions of accused persons for offences under the Cantonment Act and as Magistrates themselves try the same cases exactly as was the case when formerly Cantonment Magistrates used to do the executive and judicial work themselves?

(b) Do Government propose to take immediate steps to transfer the powers of trying the cases under the Cantonment Act to a Court having nothing to do with the business of the Board?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) and (b). The Government of India have no information whether the facts are as stated in the question. The matter is within the discretion of the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, North-West Frontier Province, to whom a copy of the Honourable Member's question and of this reply will be sent.

ACTION OF THE CANTONMENT AUTHORITY IN PESHAWAR IN REGARD TO BUNGALOW NO. 2, ROOS KEPPEL LANE.

1188. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (a) Do Government know that the Cantonment Authority of Peshawar is appropriating on a 5 years' repairing lease under the House Accommodation Act Bungalow No. 2, Roos Keppel Lane, for Royal Air Force officers which is already leased to a Royal Air Force officer and which is always available for occupation by that Department?

(b) Are Government aware that this procedure is against the terms of section 8 (2) of the Act and that it unnecessarily harasses the owners and creates anxieties among the house owners?

(c) Are Government prepared to have the arbitrary action of the Cantonment Authority stopped for the future?

Mr. G. M. Young: Government are aware of the case, and have called for a report from the military authorities. I will communicate the result to my Honourable friend.

ATTEMPT OF COLONEL J. MORAN, MILITARY ESTATES OFFICER, PESHAWAR, TO TAKE POSSESSION OF A PIECE OF LAND ATTACHED THE ABU TURAB SHRINE.

1189. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (1) Do the Government of India know that the attempt made by Colonel J. Moran, I.A., Military Estates Officer, Peshawar, to take possession of a piece of land attached to the Abu Turab Shrine outside Edwards Gate of Peshawar City has created anxieties and sensation in the minds of the Muslims of Peshawar town and abroad?

(2) Do Government realize the gravity of the situation which will hurt the feelings of the Muslim public there?

(3) Do Government propose to take immediate steps in the matter?

Mr. G. M. Young: (1) No, Sir.

(2) and (3). Government are not in possession of the facts, but I have made enquiries and will let the Honourable Member know the result as soon as possible.

**INCREASE OF THE PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIMS IN MINISTERIAL SERVICE
IN THE OFFICES OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS AND OF THE
MILITARY ENGINEERING SERVICE, NORTH-WEST
FRONTIER PROVINCE.**

1140. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (1) Will Government state the number of Muslims and non-Muslims employed in ministerial service in the offices of the Executive Officers and of the M. E. Service in the North-West Frontier Province and whether vacancies are filled by direct recruitment or by a test examination?

(2) In the former case are Government prepared to lay down a uniform system of recruitment by a test examination?

(3) Will Government state what action they propose to take for increasing the percentage of Muslims in those offices which may be consistent with their numerical strength?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) to (c) I have made enquiries and will let the Honourable Member know in due course. All candidates for appointment to the permanent clerical establishments of the M. E. S. are required to pass a departmental examination. They are not recruited by direct appointment. Government are at present considering the question of communal proportions in Command and district headquarters and other offices of the Army in India. They will also consider whether it is desirable to issue instructions regarding communal proportions in the clerical establishments of Cantonment Boards. But I would remind my Honourable friend that Cantonment Boards are municipal bodies, consisting of elected non-official members as well as officials.

TRAINING OF CADETS ON THE TRAINING SHIP "DUFFERIN".

1141. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of years for which each cadet will have to undergo training on the proposed training ship in Indian waters before he is entitled to receive the training ship leaving certificate?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the age at which cadets will be admitted for training on the training ship?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state the fees which each cadet will have to pay annually for receiving training on the training ship?

(d) Will Government be pleased to state when they propose to give legislative effect to the recommendation of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee in regard to the employment, by the steamers plying on the coast of India, of cadets from the training ship on their obtaining the necessary certificates of competency as officers on their steamers?

(e) Will Government be pleased to state the steps that they have taken or propose to take for the training of engineer officers for steamers?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a), (b) and (c). Government will shortly issue a Prospectus for the Training ship which will contain the information which the Honourable Member requires.

(d) Government do not consider that any need for such legislation has arisen.

(e) Government are examining the question of providing facilities for the training of Indians for engineer officers on steamers.

APPOINTMENT OF MILITARY OFFICERS AS HIGH COURT JUDGES.

1142. ***Lieut.-Sardar Muhammad Nawaz Khan:** (a) Will Government please state whether officers seconded from military employ who have held, for more than five years, judicial office not inferior to that mentioned in section 101 (8) (c) of the Government of India Act are eligible to become Judges of a High Court?

(b) If the answer to (a) is in the negative, will Government please give reasons for this invidious distinction?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) and (b). There is no legal bar to the appointment of such officers as High Court Judges.

INTER-DEPARTMENTAL TRANSFERS OF MEN IN THE SECRETARIAT AND ATTACHED OFFICES, ETC.

1143. ***Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:** 1. (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether those assistants either in the Secretariat or the attached offices of the Government of India who have not passed the Staff Selection Board's examination are held eligible for inter-departmental transfer in the same grade?

(b) If the answer be in the negative, will the Government be pleased to give the reasons?

2. (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the permanent assistants in the attached offices of the Government of India who have put in meritorious good service and have long experience are transferred to the departments of the Imperial Secretariat?

(b) If not, why not?

(c) Is it not a fact that they have a favourable scale of service in the Imperial Secretariat?

3. Will Government be pleased to state if it is not a fact that assistants in the attached offices or in the Secretariat are actually doing the work of assistants (lower or higher division) and drawing the pay of the lower or routine division irrespective of the work turned out by them of a superior character? If yes, why?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: 1. (a) Yes.

(b) Does not arise.

2. (a) and (b). If there is a vacancy in the upper division of a Secretariat Department and there is a qualified man in the lower division of the same office the department generally prefers to promote that man and not to take a man from outside. There is nothing in the rules to prevent the transfer of an assistant in an attached office who is qualified for the

upper division, but in practice vacancies are generally of short duration and apart from the consideration already mentioned they cannot be offered to permanent men in other departments.

(c) The scale of pay sanctioned for the upper division of the Secretariat is higher than that for the attached offices.

8. It is a fact that some assistants and clerks sometimes have to do a higher class of work than that which strictly appertains to the division of which they draw the pay. This is due to the fact that neither the quantity of work of a higher class at any one time nor the number of men in different divisions can be related to each other with mathematical precision.

CONTRIBUTIONS BY GOVERNMENT SERVANTS TO THE *KHADI* FUND.

1144. ***Mr. M. S. Sessa Ayyangar**: Will Government be pleased to state if Government servants are as a matter of fact precluded from contributing to the *Khadi* (*khaddar*) Fund and, if so, why?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have no precise information regarding the *Khadi* Fund, but if it is a political movement Government servants are debarred from making contributions to it under Rule 23 of the Government Servants' Conduct Rules, a copy of which is in the Library of this House. The Government of India have issued no special orders relating to the fund.

PROPORTION OF COMMUNAL REPRESENTATION IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE IN THE NORTH WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

†1145. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the proportion of communal representation in Government service contemplated by the Honourable the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, a year ago has been fixed and if so, what and on what basis?

(b) Is it a fact that the Chief Commissioner, North-West Frontier Province, had under his consideration last year the question of fixing the ratio of various communities in the services? If so, what are his final conclusions, if any?

ARTICLE IN THE *MUSLIM OUTLOOK* REGARDING THE FORMATION OF A WHITE LEAGUE IN NEW ZEALAND.

1146. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan**: (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to an article published in the *Muslim Outlook* under the heading "Formation of a White League in New Zealand"?

(b) If so, did Government take any steps to inquire what were the objects of this League?

(c) Are Government aware that there is a fairly large number of Indian settlers in New Zealand?

(d) Do Government propose to use their good offices with the Government of New Zealand to see that the Indian settlers are not adversely affected by the propaganda of this League?

Mr. J. W. Shore: (a) Yes.

(b) No.

(c) According to the census of 1921 the number of Indians in New Zealand is 606.

(d) No. Government have no reason to believe that the League has influenced the attitude either of the Government or the majority of the people of New Zealand adversely towards the Indian community in that dominion.

ARTICLES IN THE *MUSLIM OUTLOOK* REGARDING THE PITIABLE PLIGHT OF MR. SALAMAN, A NATIVE OF AMRITSAR, NOW RESIDENT IN AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND.

1147. ***Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to two articles published in the *Muslim Outlook* of Ladore in its issues dated 12th and 18th February, 1927, wherein the pitiable condition of one Mr. Salaman, a native of Amritsar, and now resident in Auckland, is vividly described?

(b) If so, do Government propose to take any action in the matter to alleviate the sufferings of Mr. Salaman at a very early date?

Mr. J. W. Shore: (a) Yes.

(b) The Government of India do not propose to make representations in Mr. Salaman's behalf as this would amount to questioning the decision of the law courts in New Zealand in a matter of purely individual concern.

RESERVATION OF COMPARTMENTS ON THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1148. ***Mr. Muhammad Ismail Khan:** (a) Is it a general practice with the North Western Railway to agree to reserve compartments and then to break their promise without giving any previous notice of the fact or stating the cause thereof?

(b) If any such cases are brought to the notice of Government do they propose to make an inquiry and discourage the recurrence of such cases?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) No, the rule is that reserved compartments or carriages are not guaranteed but when such are available and when there is sufficient room on the train reserved accommodation will be supplied. if not less than 48 hours' notice is given to the station master of the station concerned.

(b) I am sure the Agent will look into any specific case in which the rule that I have quoted is not observed, if it is brought to his notice.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Are the Government aware that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, M.L.A., asked the station master at Kirkee to reserve two second class compartments for him and when he arrived at the station with his ladies he found that the station master had forgotten to arrange for the compartments and he was put to very great inconvenience?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I think the Honourable Member had better address that question to my friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President: The Assembly will now proceed to elect members not exceeding fourteen in number to serve on the Standing Finance Committee for the financial year 1927-28. There are 24 candidates whose names are printed on the ballot papers, but one of them, Lala Lajpat Rai, has withdrawn his candidature. Ballot papers will now be supplied to Honourable Members in the order in which I call them.

(The ballot was then taken.)

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL—*contd.*

Mr. President: The House will now resume further consideration of the Finance Bill, clause by clause.

Clause 2, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Mr. President: Before we take up other clauses of the Bill, I think it would facilitate business if I first take the Schedules to the Bill. If these Schedules are settled, the passing of the other clauses of the Bill will merely be then a formal matter. Therefore, with the consent of the House, I propose to take Schedule I. The question is that Schedule I stand part of the Bill.

In connection with this Schedule, there are several amendments both in regard to the reduction of the rate on letters and reduction of the rate on postcards. Amendments No. 26 to No. 31 all relate to the reduction of the rate on letters. I am not sure whether Honourable Members desire to discuss the question of reduction of the rate on letters. If they do not, I shall take up the question of reduction of the rate on postcards.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Not on this side

Mr. President: Then I take up amendment No. 32.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move:

“That in Schedule I to the Bill in the proposed First Schedule to the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, for the entries under the head ‘Postcards’ the following be substituted:

‘Single	...	Quarter of an anna.
Reply		Half an anna.’”

‘Sir, ever since the rate of postcards was increased from a quarter anna to half an anna, there has been a very strong feeling of discontent among the people that the little means of communication that was open to them has been withdrawn: it is a matter that is well known; it is also admitted in the Moral and Material Progress of India for 1924-25,—I mean the feeling that exists in the country is well represented there. Sir, I press this upon the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra with a little previous apology, that I do wish to press this question of the reduction of rates of postcards, although I might have equally strongly argued for the increase of salaries for the subordinates of the Postal Department. That postcards have been popular in this country goes without saying. If you compare the figures of 1913-14 with those of 1921-22 you will find that there has been an increase of 42·2 per cent. in the use of postcards as against 32·7 in

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the use of covers and envelopes. But the moment the charge was increased, in 1922-23 we notice a sudden decline in one year by 17 per cent. In 1921-22, the total number of postcards used by the country was 648,470,982. Now, Sir, in the next year, 1922-23, the number of postcards used was 528,628,419. In subsequent years, we find an increase by a very small percentage as a matter of sheer necessity; if you drive the people to extremes, of course it is impossible that they should not—even at an unbearable cost—make use of the only means of communication which lies in their hands. So we find a very small increase in 1923-24, when the figure was 531,906,208, and in 1924-25 542,365,050 postcards were used. If you compare the rate at which it had been progressing in the earlier years, when we had the quarter anna postcard, you will find that this increase in the use of postcards is not out of love but sheer necessity and therefore it is that we do not find a very gradual development in the manner and at the pace with which it had been progressing prior to that. If therefore you compare the figures of 1921-22 with the figures of 1924-25, you will find that there is a reduction in the use of postcards to the extent of 106,105,882 and I ask you to add to that 72,210,984 which have come away from the letters to the postcards. Just as when you increase railway fares, second-class passengers will go into the third class, and first class passengers into the second class, so you will find that those who were using envelopes had recourse to postcards when the rates were increased, and so you find 72,210,984 going over in that manner. Therefore, the total loss or deprivation of the use of postcards comes to 178,316,866 for those who had been using cards prior to the raising of the postal rates. Therefore, Sir, it is a matter for serious consideration by the Government as to whether, in the interests of pure finance, it is proper and admissible for Government to deprive a large number of people of the use of postcards—the one means of communication between distant places for the poor in this country. If in the usual course the progress had been made, by this time the figures of postcards used in this particular year ought to have been 720 millions. Now, Sir, what is it that has made the Government increase the rate of postcards? It is because there has been an enormous increase in the expenditure of the establishment. There has been a large jump in the expenditure and the Retrenchment Committee—the Inchcape Committee—had dealt with it on page 93 of their Report. They give a table of the staff and salaries and other details for the years 1913-14 and 1921-22 and 1922-23 in paragraph 6 and then they say:

“ This table shews that, whereas the total staff employed has increased from 104,603 in 1913-14 to 122,444 required for 1922-23 or by 17 per cent., the cost of salaries has increased from Rs. 2,80,76,544 to Rs. 6,11,12,970 or by 118 per cent. This large increase is mainly due to the recommendations of the Postal Committee of 1920 under the Chairmanship of Mr. Heseltine which resulted in an increase of over Rs. 150 lakhs in the cost of salaries of the clerical, delivery and menial staff for 1921-22. In addition, the pay of the supervising and operating staff of the Telegraph Branch was revised upon the recommendations of a special Committee appointed by Government in the same year, involving a further expenditure of Rs. 35 lakhs. The recommendations of these two Committees have therefore resulted in an increase of Rs. 185 lakhs in expenditure.”

Having thus increased the expenditure the remedy adopted by the Government was to make more revenue by raising the postal rates and not by retrenching expenditure and making postal communication easy for the

people. It is something like cutting the head according to the cap. Then the Committee says:

"The number of officers employed has increased from 514 in 1913-14 to 679 or by 32 per cent, whereas the number of other staff has only increased by 17 per cent. The Director General has agreed that one of the 6 Assistant Directors-General might be dispensed with, saving Rs. 20,000."

Therefore, Sir, I ask you to note that what immediately led to an increase in the postal rates is not that we have not been able to work and serve the public with the ordinary postcards at a quarter of an anna but because you enhanced the expenditure. You increased it to a very extravagant scale and in order to meet it the Government had recourse to increasing the postal rates. The Inchcape Committee suggested as one of its chief recommendations that the expenditure should not exceed Rs. 8,82,00,000 but, Sir, Government budgets for an expenditure of Rs. 10,79,83,000. I submit that the increase of expenditure at this extravagant rate is no justification, is no consolation to the people when they are deprived of their postal communication. It is argued that the postal rate in this country is much cheaper than in any other country on the face of the globe. They compare it very often with the penny postage in England. Sir, considering the income and the other assets of this country, is it proper to say that it bears the same proportion as it does to the earning capacity of the people in England? What is the postal rate now in England? It is only 9 pies according to the 18d. ratio and we have to pay here 6 pies, and therefore the difference is only 3 pies. Is that a sufficient difference, I ask, between the capacity of the people in this country and the capacity of the people in the other countries? I further submit that the purposes for which the post offices are used in this country are different from the purposes for which they are used in Great Britain. In Great Britain, which is a highly commercialised country, it means business and every postcard brings money to them. But here, Sir, conditions are different, the customs are different, the usages are different and the people of this country use postal communication for various purposes which hardly bring them money. Probably it makes them loss money rather than gain money. There are, I would say, 3 or 4 kinds of purposes for which postcards are used in this country. One is social amenities. In this country, Sir, for every good thing or bad thing, for every auspicious or inauspicious thing in any particular house, a communication has to be made to all the relations, not by advertising in the papers under the birth and death column or the domestic occurrences column but writing to each relation with all respect and with all love and courtesy. That has to be done. Supposing a child is born in a family, by the time it reaches the 16th year there are 16 ceremonies to go through and in every one of these cases every Hindu is expected to invite all his relations by a postal communication when they are away from that particular village.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): Do they do it?

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Yes, they do it. It is done not with an R. S. V. P. on the card as you do it here but with a heartfelt and cordial invitation to attend. This is the custom which prevails in this country and the poorer people observe it more than the richer because the richer people are not mistaken if they do not invite any relations. They are considered as occupying too high a social position to condescend to invite them. But the poorer people would be blamed and therefore I am

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sure Mr. Joshi will realise it much better. Then, Sir, we have got the village people who have day after day to send petitions to the Collectors, the Tahsildars and Revenue Inspectors about assessment, about remission of assessment and so many other things. Does that not involve so much expenditure on their part? And thirdly, Sir, come the litigants. Day after day they have got to go to courts and it is not the vakil that pays the expenditure but it is the client. Whether the client writes or the vakil writes, the expenditure is borne by the client, and therefore, in that manner also, a good deal of expenditure has to be incurred by the ordinary people. Does all this bring money or take away money? Then there is a little trade. It does not involve much communication by post because the trade of most of these persons is confined from one village to another which they do by bullock carts and probably hereafter they are expected to do it by motor transport if the scheme comes into force. But whatever it may be, Sir, these are the various purposes for which postcards are necessary in this country and it is therefore idle to contend that people are not put to any suffering by the increase in the rates of postcards.

Next, with regard to the argument that the Postal Department must be so commercialised as to be self-supporting and no expenditure under the Postal Department should be thrown on the general tax-payer, I will say that in this country it is very difficult to draw a line between the various items of taxation which the Government levy and the particular heads under which these items fall. There is not one man whether literate or illiterate—the illiterate man goes to the literate man for getting his letter written—there is not one who has not got to write a letter at all, and therefore it is more universal than so many other Departments the expenditure for which fall on the heads of the poor people and the poor tax-payer. For instance, Sir, suppose you post 100 constables in Delhi, Bombay or Calcutta, for road traffic and for directing the traffic this side or that side. Which special tax-payer bears it? Is it not the general tax-payer that has to bear all this expenditure though it is of absolutely no use to him? On whose head falls all the expenditure that we have incurred under the head Aviation? Is the general tax-payer benefited by it? Has not the general tax-payer been paying for all these things? If these things are legitimate, so far as the postcards are concerned, it is 100 times more legitimate that all people should share if there is to be a loss and I contend that there cannot be any loss if the Department is really commercially managed in the manner in which purely mercantile men will manage it, making the expenditure proportionate to the income and leaving also a surplus. If these are the commercial principles which ordinary commercial men follow, and if this Department also follows such highly economic principles, I contend there can never be a loss. In the past profits have been shared by all and the losses also have been shared by all. It is therefore not necessary for us, now that we have commenced to commercialise a year ago, that we should have the other tax-payers kept aloof from the person who uses the postcard and thus make a different census of those who use postcards and those who do not use postcards and apportion the expenditure of the Postal Department upon those who have at any time used the postcard. That argument does not stand. I need not again repeat and ask which tax-payer is benefited by the Ecclesiastical Department that is maintained in this country, and is not the general tax-payer paying for

the expenses of that Department? Therefore it will not be proper that this objection should be put forward.

Then it is said that if there is a reduction in the rates of postcards there will be an increase in the use of postcards which will involve more work for the Postal Department, and therefore it is not economical to reduce the rates on postcards. I cannot appreciate the force of such an argument, that because more people will go in for the use of postcards therefore you must prevent them from using them and thereby not increase the difficulties in managing the Postal Department. That should not be the criterion. On the other hand, Government must try to make it more and more popular every day and be prepared to face the situation by making the service more easy for communications. What we find is a mere chopping off of the village service here and there and nothing more is done in the direction of retrenchment. If there are village postmen, they are reduced to a small number; that is all what is done whenever retrenchment is taken up. I will give the figures. In 1920-21 the staff consisted of 102,885 and managed a service of 1,242,615,619. In 1921-22 the staff was 106,372 and the Post Office managed a service of 1,262,392,269. In 1922-23 with a staff of a 107,067 the Department managed a service of 1,036,474,486. When the traffic was larger the staff that managed the service was less in number. When the traffic has decreased and the establishment is larger, still the complaint is that if the rates for postcards are reduced the Department will have to entertain more and more establishment. That, Sir, is an argument which I cannot understand. I do not here advocate a reduction of rates under envelopes or covers or money order commission or insurance rates, but I am asking the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra to pay that much consideration to the necessities of the people by reducing the rates of postcards to their original condition, namely, from half an anna to a quarter of an anna.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Ambala Division: Non-Muhammadian): As you know, I am a new Member to this House and the inexperience and diffidence of a new member counselled me that discretion lay . . .

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): But you know the postcard all right.

Mr. President: Order, order. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: Very doubtful. Discretion lay in the pursuit of that chimerical attribute of the prospective Indian currency, the proverbial golden silence. But the importance of the subject, however, emboldens me to break this constraint and lay my view-point before you.

There is one standpoint from which I wish the House to consider this question of the reduction of the postal rates. A very high authority whose name is a household word in educated India once remarked that the Government of India was too wooden, too mechanical and too antediluvian. Those words were spoken—and they have been proved to be too true—by a statesman whose name is dear to every Indian heart. That statesman tried to lay the foundations of good-will, truth and imagination in this selfish, sordid and matter of fact world. He did his best to modernise the administration and gave it a humanising and lively touch. How far he succeeded and how far his successors have been true to the truth he pledged on their behalf is a matter on which history will give its verdict. It is premature to predict, but it is hardly fair for contemporary opinion not

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to express itself. In all seriousness of the situation I beg to submit that the administration, too wooden as it was and as it is, became alive to its duties and responsibilities only during the course of the regime of that farseeing and just man and since then it has become all the more callous, unresponsive and even tantalising.

Sir, man, constituted as he is, is moved by desires and objects. Desire is the real emancipation from inertia. The object of a certain act is the sole determining factor of all direction, intensity and amount of energy applied in achieving that desire. If you want to find out why a person is behaving in a particular way you can understand it best if you know the object of his pursuit. Now, my humble suggestion is that if you wish to know whether postal rates in this poor and destitute country are to be reduced you have only to find out what object the Postal Department have in view in regard to the administration of this Department. Sir, the administration of the Government of India is carried on not with the set object of the benefit of the unfortunate inhabitants of this country but with some other object. Since the pronouncement of August, 1919, a ray of hope was entertained by gullible people that there will be a real change in the angle of vision, that in the administration of the country there will be some humanising touch. But, Sir, year after year the conviction is growing abroad that this is not to be. During the short space of the last two months this fact has been demonstrated beyond all doubt. We know that when the Government wanted the Post Office for its administrative needs the department never thought that it was a commercial department at all and that such undertaking could only be justified by prospective profit. The department was run at a loss. Post offices were opened, but now, Sir, I can anticipate the reply of the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra, that since postmen and subordinates of the postal service are to be respited you cannot have the postal rates reduced and that this department is a commercial proposition and as such, unless it pays its way, you cannot expect a reduction. Sir, this mad pursuit after object and utility may be illustrated in more than one way. Education in this country was provided because the Government of the country could not be carried on by foreigners without the assistance of Indians. The railways were constructed as they were necessary from strategic and military viewpoints. In fact, all those things which have a beneficent appearance have grown in this country incidentally as bye-products of the necessities of the hour and have only subserved the main purpose of the rulers. That in God's Providence these bye-products are destined to play a different part is an aspect which either never struck those responsible for the main aim or was so unavoidably incidental that it could not be helped. If these undertakings, the railways, the post office and the telegraph and many others proved beneficial to the public at large the rulers do not grudge this. If by a subterfuge or deception the real object could be concealed for an ostensible one, so far so good. It is in this manner that utility for particular objects, whether Imperial or trade interests, has been the real moving force and not the public weal. So, the only criterion that we have got to gauge things from is utility from the Government point of view. If it is good for the stability of the Empire that rich and influential people should be supported Government have no hesitation in doing so. Let people not be deluded that any regard for them is the motive for the Government. If, Sir, in fixing 1s. 6d. the fixed wage-earner is profited temporarily this argument is

trotted out not that the Government is really solicitous for his welfare but because incidentally he can be used as an argument and then, Sir, this bargaining and huckstering spirit permeates every act of the Government to such a degree that people are certainly justified in calling it a commercial concern rather than a political government with a divine object or dispensation behind it. Sir, I appeal to Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra that in the administration of this department this commercial spirit may be eschewed. Let us have a taste of the change of heart in this peaceful department whose sole aim should be the service of the people. Let it serve all administrative needs, political needs also, for letters can be censored and information gleaned. But let Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra turn himself from a mechanical machine of the Government of India into a human Indian. Let him conceive all the postal reforms not in a spirit of helping those only who are vocal and influential but for the voiceless millions of his countrymen who will be directly benefited by the return to the pice postcard. Sir, this is a department of universal good. The poor people, the poorest in the land, though deprived of all good things of life, have their relations, their secrets and their communications and have thus opportunities to avail themselves of the services of the postcard. I know the postal rates obtaining in the world will be compared with Indian rates and it will be said that they are comparatively cheaper; but, Sir, will the Honourable Member quote a single country in which the labourer gets 5 annas a day? Can he quote a single country in which illiteracy is so great as in India where the postal rates are cheaper? Sir, this department is a civilising department and ought to be run on humanitarian grounds. Imagine the difference when a constable, a tahsil chaprasi and a postal peon go to a village and the reception which is given to them will mark out the difference between this department and other departments. The postal peon is received with real love as bringing news of the dear beloved ones, bringing money orders or articles required, for value of course, whereas the tahsil chaprasi comes to demand land revenue and the police constable to arrest somebody or to impose some burdens. Thus the postal peon is the messenger of peace and good-will, and let his visits be more frequent as a consequence of the reduction of postal rates. When India is bent upon having compulsory elementary education, it is high time that the postal rates should be reduced. In this connection I would like to quote a paragraph from the speech of Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra appearing on page 2595 in the reports of last year, which runs as follows:

"Now, Sir, if you want progress, if you want education, it is important that the postal rates should be reduced before you have the means of providing education." Sir, a heavy tax upon communication is to be deprecated but in a country like India it is to be condemned in the present state of things as calculated to stifle the growth of literacy and education. The present rates, it is undoubted, have reduced letters to an appreciable extent. In 1921-22, 650 millions were sent; in 1924-25 only 510 millions, thus causing a diminution of one-fifth. In fact the postal rate is the test of the sincerity of the Government to help the poor people of this land. The pice postcard, familiarity with which had enshrined it in the affections of the people, will be a real boon to the people of India and will be appreciated more than the remission of the provincial contributions or the remission of the export duty on hides or reduction of the duty on motor cars. It will strike the imagination of the people and induce more confidence in the Government and its institutions. The reduction of postal rates will stimulate letter

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writing, produce a sense of liveliness among the people and promote a sense of respectability in themselves and confidence in the administration of the country. I therefore appeal to the Government Benches to accept the amendment and prove to the distrustful public that there is a real change of heart and economic utility is not the sole concern of the Government. I know that the reduction will cause a loss of about a crore or 80 lakhs to the Government. I wish that the Government Benches would have made it possible for Members on this side of the House to be in a position to suggest the ways and means of getting out of this difficulty.

(At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair, which was occupied by Mr. Deputy President)

But unfortunately the amenability to influence, the responsiveness is quite absent from this wooden and soulless system that it is not possible to do so. If the proposal of the Honourable Pandit Kunzru were attended to, as submitted by him yesterday, money could be easily found. Sir, I am one of those who regard this department as one which has its share in what is called nation-building and I for one would never grudge if subsidies are paid to this department from the general revenues of the country. The Telegraph Department is in unholy liaison with the Postal Department and if a judicial divorce could be obtained it ought to be sued for. In the end, Sir, with your permission I would repeat that this department needs more life, more humanity, more sympathy and more change of heart. If this department is to take its proper share in the building of the nation, in dispelling the ignorance and illiteracy of the people, in bringing real relief to the people, the postal rates should at once be reduced. With these words I support the amendment.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative) I rise to support the motion which has been moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. The point is this

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra (Member for Industries and Labour) Will the Honourable Member kindly speak louder?

Mr. M. S. Aney: In a few minutes the Honourable Member will probably ask me to speak a little less loudly. Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar has already explained to this House how the enhancement of the postal rates has since 1922 gradually reduced the use of the postcard in this country. The great difficulty that has been put before us by the Government is that the revenues of the Government will be considerably reduced and that it will be impossible for the Government to run the Postal Department in the efficient manner in which they want to run it. That is the stock excuse that has been put before us for a long time, but we have to consider the history of this postal rate. We shall find that there was a time when we had our postal rate at just the point to which we want to reduce it now, and during that period the Department was being run as efficiently as it is being run to-day. It is on account of certain emergencies that this rate was enhanced and if the emergency has ceased to exist the first claim for reduction is of those items, the duties on which have been raised on account of that emergency. For some years we had deficit Budgets but immediately after the period of deficits was over, it was the duty of the Finance Member first to take into consideration those matters in which it has become

necessary for him to enhance the duties and to increase the taxation. If the taxation were increased for a specific purpose, to meet a particular contingency, the disappearance of that contingency was the proper occasion for the Government to consider the question of bringing the duty to its old level. On the other hand, what do we find? As soon as

11 A.M. there was a surplus, we were called upon to consider schemes altogether extraneous, and those schemes had to be met. We were called upon to consider the question of giving effect to the recommendations of the Lee Commission, and the surpluses were first distributed for the sake of meeting an enhancement of $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores in the salaries of the civil servants

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): What portion of that $1\frac{1}{2}$ crores came out of the Central Budget?

Mr. M. S. Aney: My point is that the enhancement of salaries of the civil servants was made from the Indian revenues; and had it not been possible for the Indian revenues to show a surplus, the question of giving effect to the Lee Commission's recommendations could not have been considered at all. That is my position. The second thing is this. The Government of India were prepared to give effect to the recommendations of International Conventions and have been incurring a loss of crores and crores for the sake of giving effect to those recommendations; for example, although I think on broad moral grounds that it was a proper step, still the fact remains that this country was willing to suffer a loss of revenue in connection with the opium sale. I understand that position perfectly well, but my first contention is this, that before we take any burdens of this nature and are prepared to reduce our revenues for other purposes, the primary claim of the poor people of this country must be taken into consideration, and from that point of view I think it is necessary that these postal rates which have been raised on account of certain causes during certain difficult times should claim immediate attention and now be the first item in consideration for reduction, and the people of this country ought to get the relief. The War and its after effects are frequently referred to as being responsible for retention of enhanced taxation, but the War is over, and matters are being adjusted to the pre-war level in Europe . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Have the prices come down to the pre-war level?

Mr. M. S. Aney: They may not have; I admit that they have not exactly come down to that position, but all the same, it is a matter which it is necessary for the Finance Member to consider, as to whose claims are prior. Whenever he has got a surplus to be distributed, he must see who has got a prior claim upon that surplus—whether those who are highly paid or those that are over-taxed; and from that point of view the question must be approached, and so I think in the matter of postal rates it is no use telling us that the revenue will be reduced and it will be impossible to run the Department in an efficient manner when at the same time Government is undertaking fresh burdens of extra expenditure; I think that the Government should in that case consider the question of retrenchment still more closely if it becomes necessary, but this relief *should* be given and not withheld any longer. The next point which I wish to bring to the notice of this House in this connection is that these postal rates are in existence for so long a period as five years and more; as a matter of fact,

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the present amendment only relates to postcards and no reference is made in it to reductions in rates for letters. So what would be the exact loss to the revenue? Is it not possible for the Government to put up with that loss by exercising proper economies in other directions? That is the point for the Government to consider. It is no use telling us that we cannot consider that point, that it is impossible: I say that it is the duty

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I told the Honourable Member yesterday that we should take it off the provincial contributions.

Mr. M. S. Aney: That is the point which I wanted to touch also. Honourable Members in this House may be remembering that the Honourable the Finance Member was very impatient of repetition of arguments when the discussion of the Currency Bill was going on, and probably the Honourable Members might also be remembering that when the Honourable Pandit Malaviya was quoting certain extracts from his evidence before the Royal Commission, the Finance Member was irresistibly tempted to interrupt the Honourable Pandit and said that the passage in question was quoted twice, but the Honourable the President said that that passage could bear repetition. I am also to-day fired of hearing the repetition of argument by the Honourable the Finance Member; whenever there is any question of reduction of taxation or relief to be given, he says that any relief in regard to provincial contributions will not then be given and that they will have to be ignored. That argument we have been hearing in this House not to-day but for the last four years. That argument has been consistently adduced; the bogey to deny relief in regard to the provincial contributions has been continually dangled before our eyes. I want to say in the first place that the provincial contributions stand on an entirely different footing, and that their remission is not merely an obligation on the Government of India but it was a duty imposed under the Meston Award upon the Government of India, and it should have been given effect to long before. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: But they are not now being remitted.

Mr. M. S. Aney: But there are so many other things. My point is this, that the provincial contributions have been partially remitted, and the Government of India ought not to rely upon charity or resources of the Provincial Governments for the sake of expenditure which they want to go on incurring. They ought to manage their affairs in such a way as not to depend upon the revenues of the Provincial Governments in order to maintain all this costly paraphernalia. (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:* "Hear, hear.") The problem which the Government of India had to solve, if they wanted to give a fair chance to the reforms, was to make use of these contributions only for some limited period but within that period to have so arranged their whole expenditure as to bring it within their means and be entirely self-reliant and self-supporting irrespective of any charity and assistance from the Provincial Government. (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:* "Hear, hear.") For seven years they did not do it, and it is just for the sake of making out a case before the Statutory Commission that the Government of India have been "giving every possible assistance to the people to make the reforms a success": they are doing it now or

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Will the Honourable Member kindly consider the fact when he makes a charge of that sort, that the Government of India have made it their policy ever since the Reforms to reduce the provincial contributions; they have stated it year after year, and they have been working on that policy, and that charge is one which ought not to be made.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I believe there is nothing in this charge which I should retract. I say it is the first year now when the provincial contributions have been temporarily remitted, (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:* "They have not"), and then

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: They have not been temporarily remitted, thanks to the Honourable Member's vote yesterday.

Mr. M. S. Aney: My point is this. In 1929 the Statutory Commission is to come, and if the provincial contributions are remitted at least temporarily, it is in the seventh year of the reforms; that is a fact which I want this House to bear in mind, and that it is for the sake of making out a case that the Government of India have been "giving every facility to work the reforms" that this position is

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I desire to say that that charge is entirely untrue and ought not to be made.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I only want to show what the Government of India have done. (*One or two Honourable Members:* "Withdraw, ' withdraw.") In view of the fact that before the Muddiman Committee the responsible Ministers and other Members had been making a charge against Provincial Governments that sufficient co-operation had not been received by them, and particularly that they were handicapped in the matter of revenue, —in view of that charge it is necessary for the Government of India also to show that there has always been a desire on their part to co-operate in these matters, and I believe it is from that point of view that Honourable Members ought not to be carried away by the consideration that in case we carry this amendment the remission of provincial contributions is likely to be lost. It is their moral duty to remit the provincial contributions, and that the Government of India must depend upon the revenue available for the sake of managing the Central Government.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Will the Honourable Member provide us the revenue?

Mr. M. S. Aney: I believe so many taxes we have been paying; and they are at the disposal of the Government of India—that is my contention. Now, Sir, what I wanted to bring to the notice of Honourable Members on this side of the House is the veiled threat that is given by the Honourable the Finance Member in regard to this matter (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett:* "Not veiled") that we are likely to lose a remission of the provincial contributions. But I maintain that is a matter which ought not to dissuade us in the serious consideration of the amendment before the House. On the other hand, there is another obligation of which I wish to remind the Honourable the Finance Member in this connection. During the time of the debate on the Currency Bill we have been repeatedly told "If you go back to 1s. 4d. provincial contributions will remain." I say, Sir, whatever we may do with the Finance Bill, 1s. 6d. is now passed and if we remember aright the position that has been explained to us was that relief relating to provincial contributions could be given if 1s. 6d. was

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passed. The ratio of 1s. 6d. having been already sanctioned by this House, the Honourable the Finance Member stands committed to that position and he will have to adjust himself in a different way. (Laughter.) On that point he cannot go back. That position becomes perfectly clear. What I mean to say is this, that so far as postal rates are concerned, probably that loss of revenue will not be so serious as we imagine it to be, because we do not touch the letters. There is also the possibility that the sale of postcards will materially increase if the rates are reduced. Taking all these things into consideration the public loss will be of such a nature that it will be possible for the Government of India to somehow or other manage the whole affair. It is not possible for me to suggest how it should be managed. It is for the Member in charge of the Department to see to it. I am sure once he agrees to this, it will not be beyond the range of his ability and capacity to do so. For these reasons, Sir, I heartily support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have spoken so very often and at such great length on this particular question during the last six years that I do not propose to take up much time of the House. My only justification for intervening in the debate at this stage is that none of the previous speakers seems to have attempted to go to the basis of the Government case in this matter. The Government case has been that the Postal Department is to be treated as a commercial department, and therefore if any proposal for the reduction of rates results in a serious loss to that Department, the general exchequer cannot be expected to subsidise the Postal Department. That is the rock on which the Government case is founded.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: It has to be wrecked.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: And it is no use for Members year after year to bring up proposals for reduction of rates without first of all meeting that point. I have spoken so often on this question that the Honourable Member in charge, I think, knows perfectly well my views. Briefly speaking, I do not consider that this is the right attitude that the Government of India should take up now. When the Postal Department was begun to be worked in the public interests about 60 years back, a declaration of policy was made by the Government of those days. That policy was laid down to be that the Postal Department was never to be looked upon as a fiscal department, that the Postal Department was to be considered to be a public utility department, to be worked in the interests of the people, and in considering the rates to be fixed for postage, the only consideration that the Government should bear in mind is whether the particular rates would have any prejudicial effect on the volume of postal traffic. It was clearly laid down by a previous Finance Member that in determining the postal rates, Government must see whether the volume of correspondence was affected in any way, and that was to be the sole criterion. My Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar has already pointed out that the volume of correspondence, so far as postcards are concerned, has suffered a very great shrinking, and here I maintain that Government are guilty of having made a departure from the policy which was declared as long as half a century back. My next point is that the system of commercialised accounts which has been introduced since 1921-22 gives undue credit to the Telegraph Department, and the Postal Department is saddled with certain amounts of

expenditure which cannot properly be charged to that side of this combined department. I repeated this charge on more than one occasion in the past; and last year when considering the Finance Bill my Honourable friend Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra made a suggestion that this question might very well be gone into and examined carefully by a Sub-Committee of the Public Accounts Committee. I should like to know from my Honourable friend whether steps have been taken for the purpose of having a Sub-Committee constituted of the Public Accounts Committee for that purpose.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Please read the last report of the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: But, Sir, I maintain that if my Honourable friend had made proper use of the Standing Committee attached to his Department, and if this matter had been referred to that Committee, certainly he would have been in a better position in this House to-day if he could point to the support of that Committee for the Government case.

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division Non-Muhammadan): Standing Committees never meet.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Our grievance is that these Standing Committees are not given the work that was contemplated to be done by them and my Honourable friend knows very well that he has made very little use of his Standing Committee.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No. But the question of accounts is one which more appropriately falls within the sphere of the Public Accounts Committee.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I know that certain labour questions are occasionally referred to that Committee. When we have been discussing this question in this House so often and when there is a great divergence of views between non-officials and the Government on the question of postal rates, I should have expected my Honourable friend to refer this very important question to that Committee for opinion. Sir, I should like to point out that there is nothing inherently wrong in our demand that the Postal Department should, if necessary, be subsidised by the general exchequer. Last year I pointed out that in the United States of America they have adopted a deliberate policy to that effect and for very many years the Postal Department in the United States has been subsidised by the general exchequer.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Does the Honourable Member know the reason why that is done?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: We are concerned with the fact.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Very well.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Sir, I am concerned only with the fact that the Government of the United States of America does not treat the Postal Department as a commercial department, and I have already stated that in the past the policy of the Government of India was also not to treat this Department as a commercial department. I may here mention that there are certain items of expenditure which have been for the first time charged to this Department which never found a place in the past accounts. I refer to one of these items, namely, the interest charged on the capital account amounting to over 50 lakhs. If my Honourable friend

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the Finance Member is a little less particular about the academic correctness of his system of commercialised accounts, these 50 lakhs will be available to us for effecting this reduction in the postcard rates.

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna; Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have tabled another amendment and I would like to say a few words. A tax when once levied will not be so easily abandoned by any Government. We cannot expect the Government of India to take up any reasonable attitude in the matter without pressure being put upon them. The justification for any tax lies in the capacity of the people to pay. With regard to this postal rate, whatever justification there may have been when it was increased from a quarter anna to half anna, there is no reason why Government should have been resisting for such a long time to take it back to the original rate of 3 pies. Who are the people that are largely affected by this? I can say, Sir, with some practical knowledge, having visited thousands of villages in my province, if not in every other province, how the poor people have been feeling the burden of this rate.

[At this stage Mr. Deputy President vacated the Chair, which was resumed by Mr. President.]

No doubt the upper classes would not feel it; but it is a tax that has been really oppressive on poor people, and that is proved by the figures which the Government have got in their records.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: What does the Honourable Member mean by a 'tax'?

Mr. T. Prakasam: I do not think the Honourable the Finance Member could find so much trouble to understand the meaning of the word 'tax' when I have been talking on postal rates.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I understand postal rates, but I do not understand the word 'tax' in this connection.

Mr. T. Prakasam: To me, Sir, it is a tax; to very poor people who are paying this burden it is a tax. It is an English word which is in the dictionary of the Honourable the Finance Member.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants Chamber: Indian Commerce): A charge for public service is a tax.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Anything that is levied in a direct form or indirect form and that becomes oppressive is a tax.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I get this clear? A charge for service is a tax?

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I am not giving way, Sir, because I do not like these interruptions.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: A charge for public service which is the monopoly of Government.

Mr. T. Prakasam: This is what is stated by the Honourable the Finance Member in his budget speech with regard to rates:

"The Indian Postal and Telegraph Department is treated not as profit-earning institution, but as an organisation whose energies are directed to supplying postal and telegraph facilities to the general public in as full a measure as is compatible with the fundamental principle that the department should not be a burden on the general tax-payer."

I submit that there has not been much improvement in the postal service in the villages in the country. They have not been given facilities to get their letters at least twice a week. I have known villages in which a letter would not reach even after 5 or 6 or 7 days. If only those who are in charge of the administration of this country would take some trouble and go and live in a village and see how these things are going on, they would understand. The greatest misfortune is that they have not been in touch with the people. The machinery has been worked from here; it works from the bottom to the top and the top are absolutely ignorant. So there is absolutely no justification for having, this, increased rate, in view of the fact that the Postal Department has been making a profit. When it makes a profit what is it that is done? The profit is used to meet the losses incurred in the Telegraph and other Departments. They are not really used for increasing the facilities by the establishment of post offices in villages where they have not got them. So, I submit, this is a rate which should not be allowed to be on the Statute any longer. The Honourable the Finance Member was telling us about the increase in prices. Have they gone down? Well, I do not know whether they would go down hereafter with this 1s. 6d. ratio; and what is the proportion of the increase in prices to the increase in this postal rate? The increase in prices was about 50 per cent. whereas the increase in the rate on post cards by making it half an anna when it was 3 pies was more than 100 per cent. And this is not the way in which the Government should be always looking at things. If it were their own Government in their own country, the Government would not be incurring the expenditure at the top which they are incurring here. Is there any country in the world where the rulers have been incurring so much expenditure with regard to all the people who have been employed at the top, with such oppressive taxes on the poorest people who are not able to bear them? I do not see any justification at all for continuing this. As regards the ways and means, we are all as much aware as anyone else that Government should have money to carry on the administration. But the administration must be reasonably conducted and the expenditure must be reasonable. So long as the expenditure is increased from year to year by crores and crores of rupees on the recommendation of every committee that is brought into existence, and the recommendation of every committee that has been put into action, there is no way for this country. And I will say, Sir, that a threat is offered every time by the Finance Member. What about the provincial contributions? "If you speak one word about this, well, your provincial contributions will not be remitted. So you have to bow to this." That is what he says. Provincial contributions will have to be looked to independently. These things have nothing to do with the provincial contributions. Provincial contributions can be easily remitted by resorting to some other course and by reducing the expenditure under some other heads. I therefore submit that this reduction must be made by the House.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, although it is quite natural that we should all sympathize with the amendment moved by my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, practical considerations of great importance make it difficult for me to support this motion. Sir, I have no quarrel with the principles of taxation enunciated by Mr. Duraiswamy and my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy. I consider that the Postal Department is a public utility department, and if it is a public utility department, I would like this service to be rendered to the public at the cheapest rate. Not only that, if I was sure that the facilities of this department would be made available to an equal degree to all the people in the country I would go so far as to say that the services of the Postal Department should be placed at the disposal of the public free, as free as we agree to give education, at least primary education. Sir, therefore, from the point of view of mere principle, I am quite in favour of giving postal services to the public, not only at the cheapest rate but even free. But, Sir, when we propose to give postal services at the cheapest rate, and if we agree, free, we must see whether all the people in the country, whether the poorest class of people in the country, in whose name we speak, get the benefit of that service. It is quite possible for some Honourable Members to say that no man in the country is prevented from making use of the Post Office. It is true that nobody is sent to jail if he does not make use of the Post Office, but is it possible, under present circumstances, that all the people in the country should take advantage of the postal facilities? In the first place there are many places in our country, and their number is really the largest, which do not enjoy postal facilities even one-tenth of what we enjoy in towns and cities in India. Sir, in a town like Bombay we get our letters 8 times a day, but if you go to a village the person in the village gets his letter once a week.

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadan): Do you mean to say he should not even get that?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I mean to say he should get his letters 8 times a day as we get our letters 8 times a day, and as long as we cannot do that and we are not doing it, it is useless to say that we are pleading the cause of the poorest people in the country.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Is it?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: It is first necessary that all postal facilities should be given equally to all people, and then certainly make them cheap and make them even free. But if we do not do it, what is the result? The result is that we are prepared to tax a certain class of people for the benefit of a certain other class of people. Sir, I quite agree that the Postal Department being a public department should be run by Government and Government should give the benefits of that Department cheap and even free. But, is the letter the only public utility? There are several other public utilities which Government could and should undertake. The first and the greatest public utility which the Government should undertake is the production of food which people require more than a postcard. Let Government undertake the production of food and distribute that food cheap.

Mr. President: How is that relevant to the subject before the House?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Sir, I am trying to explain the principle which has been enunciated by many Members here. There are persons who have enunciated the principle that the Postal Department should be run at a loss. I am not against that principle at all, but if that principle is to be applied, then certainly I should apply that principle first to the production of food. Let Government undertake the production of food and distribute that public utility which is of greater importance than even a post-card. Not only that. Why should not Government produce cloth and distribute it to the people which is also of greater importance than post-cards? Sir, it is merely from the point of view of principle that I am not against it.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): He wants the abolition of the Post Office. On that basis the Post Office has to be abolished.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I do not want that, but I want the Government not only to conduct the Post Office but several other departments as well. I therefore think purely from the point of view of principle, I am not against Government making a sacrifice, if the burden of that sacrifice is to fall upon a class of people who can bear it. Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Prakasam has very clearly and very rightly enunciated the principle of taxation. If the Post Office makes a loss say, of 50 lakhs, how is that loss to be met? It should be met by taxation and he enunciated the right principle, namely, that those people should be taxed who are able to bear the burden of that taxation. I shall be quite ready to make the Post Office free if the burden of making the Post Office free is going to fall upon the class of people which is able to bear that burden; but are we quite sure of that? We are not quite sure. If we examine our system of taxation we shall find, and the Taxation Enquiry Committee has come to the conclusion, that the burden on the poorest class of people is greater and that burden is thrown by several taxes—the salt tax, which fortunately yesterday we succeeded in reducing though we have not as yet succeeded in abolishing it, the tax on kerosene, the tax on sugar, the tax on matches and several other articles. As long as the tax on those articles of great use to the public is there, and as long as we know that that burden is greater than it ought to be and is greater in this country than in any other country according to the view of the Taxation Enquiry Committee it is not right that we should throw the burden of giving cheaper postal rates to us at the cost of the poorest people in the country. Sir, that is my main argument. If the Postal Department makes a loss, the burden of that loss will not fall upon the class of people which is able to bear that burden, but it falls upon the class of people which is not able to bear that burden. Now, Sir, it has been said, and said by most people, that the higher postal rates fall upon the poorest classes. I know there are poor people who use the Post Office although but rarely. That question is open to enquiry. My own impression is that most of the income which the Postal Department makes is made in large cities like Bombay, Calcutta and other big cities and in the towns and that it is not made in the villages. I am quite willing to have that matter enquired into. I would therefore suggest to the Honourable Member in charge of this Department that this important question of the reduction of postal rates should be examined by a committee. Let that committee find out who really pays the postal revenue, and if it is found out that that postal revenue is paid by the poorest class of people I

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shall not only vote for the reduction of the postal rates but I shall vote for making the postal service free. But we must first make an enquiry into that question and find out the facts; and if the facts go to show that reduction of rates is necessary, let that be done. I was therefore very glad when my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy suggested that this question should be considered by the Standing Committee of the Department.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: It was to decide the question of accounts, not this question.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Well, Sir, the question of accounts is important no doubt but the reduction of rates is of greater importance. I would therefore suggest that the Honourable Member in charge of this Department should place this question before the Standing Committee of his Department, or, if the Assembly does not appoint a Standing Committee for the Department, I suggest that he should place this question before the Standing Finance Committee and let the Standing Finance Committee go into the *pros* and *cons* of the question and make a report to this House. I would like to make one more suggestion and it is this. If the Postal Department is not to be run at a loss it is quite possible for us to be able to take some risk as regards loss, if we build up a reserve fund. In our Railway Administration we have now established a reserve fund in order that we should be able to take the risk of reducing our railway fares, and I think it is a very useful practice. The Postal Department has been making profits for several years. Unfortunately those profits have been consumed by the Telegraph Department and the Telephone Department which ought not to have been subsidised by the Postal Department. If those reserves had been maintained I am quite sure we would have been in a position to take the risk of reducing the rates even to-day. But, Sir, I do not wish to quarrel with the past. I suggest to the Government of India that hereafter whatever profits they make out of the Postal Department should be kept in a reserve so that, if not to-day, in two or three or four years' time, we may be able to take the risk of reducing the rates for postage. I hope, Sir, that the Honourable Member in charge of the Department will accept my suggestions.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to support the amendment that has been moved by my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. A similar amendment also stands in my name. Sir, I will not tire the patience of this House by reiterating all those arguments which have been used on the floor of this House ever since the postal rates were enhanced and we have been asking for a diminution of those rates. But, Sir, I must reply to one or two suggestions which were made by my friend, the Labour Member, as we call him, Mr. Joshi. He said that he was opposing this amendment from practical considerations, though towards the end he ended by supporting the proposition that there should be free postage throughout the country. We do not go so far as that; we do not ask Government to go so far as that at the cost of the general taxpayer. He was arguing in a vicious circle when he said that this will not benefit the poorer people but will benefit only the well-off and other people. At the same time he was saying that postal facilities are not given to the people who live in villages, while more facilities were given to those who live in towns like Bombay. Coming as I do, Sir, from a Bengal village, which is not only my home but where I actually reside, I can claim

to have more experience of village life, and I think I should be failing in my duty if I did not say that more than any other department, the Postal Department is of service to the masses living in the villages equally if not to a greater extent, as it is to the masses who live in the towns. My friend, Mr. Joshi, says that there ought to be free distribution of cloths and food before we can have free distribution of postal stamps. I beg to remind him that his constituency, as I should say—if there is any constituency for him—that is, the labour people, are generally drained from the villages to the towns. An Honourable friend tells me that his constituency is the Government of India. If that be so I have no quarrel with him; but I believe that he was at least trying to champion the cause of labour; and if that be so, I may remind him again that this labour is drawn from the remotest villages of every part of India; and when the adult male labourer goes out from his own village to a distant place, like the Assam tea gardens, for whose coolies Mr. Joshi ought to be the champion—I do not know whether he is their champion or not—he must write at least one letter a week to his family in the village. So, Sir, Mr. Joshi was certainly not championing the cause of the masses, as he wanted to impress this House by arguments that he was, when he was opposing this amendment. I can of course see the reasons why he was opposing the reduction of postal rates unless his demands are conceded probably. I will not go so far as to say that there are other considerations behind it; but whatever it may be, Sir, I beg to say that this reduction at least of the rates of postcards is necessary for the benefit of the masses and no one can ignore that fact.

One other consideration. I beg to submit before this House, about the amalgamation of the various other departments, namely, the Telegraph, Telephones and Radio with the Postal Department. I would have been very glad if my friend, Mr. Joshi, had spoken on this because these Telegraph, Telephone and Radio Departments are not used by the masses but by the better classes. He had not a word to say against the amalgamation of the Departments

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I say that I had already protested against losses in the Telegraph and Telephone Departments being met by the Postal Department?

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Now, Sir, we know it for certain that whatever surpluses we have from these postal rates, they are all swallowed up by the deficiencies in the Telephone and Telegraph departments . . .

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I had protested against it.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Thank you. I am glad you protested. The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra in the year 1925 said that it is true that according to the estimates produced for the year 1925-26 the postal branch of the Department shows a small surplus—I do not know whether it is a small or a large surplus—and the Telegraph Department shows a small deficit. He also entertained a hope that it will be more on the postal side in years to come, and I hope it is at least more now, which entitles us to ask for a reduction.

Then the other argument which is adduced and which has always been advanced by the Government about the combination of the various departments was that oft-repeated arguments that the various services rendered

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by the Department are intimately connected with each other. Now, Sir, I may submit that it is a mere *ipsi dixit* of the Honourable Member in charge of the Department, and when he brings in the analogy of the United Kingdom on this point, I beg to submit that whenever it suits the Government Benches to bring in any parallel about the procedure in the United Kingdom, they bring it forward without any hesitation, but they forget that we do not here enjoy the same powers as the Members of the House of Commons do, and that we have no control over the purse which is enjoyed freely according to their sweet will by the Members of the Government Benches and distributed by them as they like. (*An Honourable Member*: "You mean the Treasury Benches".) With these few words. I beg to support the amendment about the reduction at least of the price of postcards and reply postcards.

Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay: European): Sir, I do not want to take up many minutes of this House on this hardy annual, but I should like to appeal to the House not to be carried too far away by sentiment. We had a lot of sentiment last week in favour of that so-called "natural" ratio of 1s. 4d. and we had a good deal of sentiment yesterday, rather than sound argument, for the reduction of the salt tax, and if this goes on, Sir, we shall cease to be a business Assembly. We have got a national expenditure and we have therefore got to have a national income, and in considering these matters, whether it is a question of postal rates or income-tax or salt tax, it is essential that we should consider the expenditure of the country before cutting down income in any way which may appeal to the House at a particular moment. I should like to congratulate my friend Mr. Joshi on his 8 deliveries in Bombay. He is very fortunate, and he must be living next door to the General Post Office, because I generally get my letters only two or three times a day. Mr. Joshi referred to the rural post offices not being a paying matter as compared with those in the towns, and those remarks were applauded by the Honourable Member in charge. I do not know whether Mr. Joshi argued from that that the rates for postcards in towns should be reduced and not in the rural areas, but that seemed to be the logical conclusion of his remarks. Sir, the last Assembly was inclined to accept the principle that the Post Office was a commercial department, and that its revenue ought to balance its expenditure, and I hope that principle will also be accepted by this Assembly, because if we are going to reduce the postal rates to such an extent as to show a heavy deficit in this Department, a deficit which has to be made up in some other way, I think we should be going back and not forward. The Postal Department is recognised in most countries of the world as a business department, and I think the Incheape Committee said that the Postal Department was a department which ought to pay its own way, and it will not pay its own way if we reduce the rates in the manner suggested by many Honourable Members in the numerous motions which they have put down.

Mr. Neogy referred to the fact that, before arriving at the loss on the Postal Department, the interest on capital outlay, which amounted to over 50 lakhs, was put in as a charge. I do not know whether figures have ever been given as to how exactly that interest is arrived at, or rather I should say as to how the block amount is arrived at on which that interest is calculated, but if these figures are available, I think the House would be interested to know them. I know a point was discussed in this House

a year or two ago as to whether it is right, in arriving at the block amount, to take the present value of the postal buildings, etc., or their original cost, or whether neither should be taken, having regard to the fact that these buildings were paid for year by year out of past revenues, and I think it was accepted then that you had to consider this Department as a business department which the Government was taking over and you had to consider the total block account, having regard to what the buildings, etc., had cost and what their real value was at the present time, in arriving at the correct charge of interest to debit to the Department.

Finally, Sir, I should like to refer, in connection with this attempt to cut down postal rates, to the number of new post offices which are to be opened. That is a very material factor in assisting the people of the country, particularly in rural areas, and I think it would be a great mistake at this time, before one has provided for the great expense in developing new rural post offices, it would be a great mistake, I say, to tamper in any way with the postal rates at the present time.

Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan Roy: (Bengal Mahajan Sabha: Indian Commerce): Sir, I believe I shall be failing in my duty if I did not associate myself whole-heartedly with my Honourable friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, in the amendment which he has moved. I had also given notice of a similar amendment. Sir, as a matter of fact, it is well known to us under what circumstances the postal rates came to be enhanced. My Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, has pointed out that postal rates were enhanced to meet the exigencies of the situation when the Honourable the Finance Member was confronted with a deficit Budget. I congratulate the Honourable the Finance Member on the prosperity Budget which he has been pleased to place once more before the House. An opportunity has now been given to him to show some favour to the poor who, I feel, ought to be relieved from the burdens which have been imposed upon them.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: There is no surplus money.

Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan Roy: I am coming to that. I shall point out, as has been shown by Mr. Neogy, that the Postal Department is not running at a loss. I do not agree in the view that the Postal Department should be run on commercial lines. On page 238 of the Finance and Revenue Accounts, I find that the revenue from postage and message revenue accounts has been shewn as Rs. 5,79,23,844, and miscellaneous revenue amounts to one crore, 19 lakhs odd. The total revenue comes to Rs. 6,98,44,810, which shows that there is a profit of Rs. 48,88,401. It is the Telegraph and Telephone Department, as was pointed out by my friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, which is running at a loss. The net loss is due to the fact that these three departments have been amalgamated. Sir, I appeal to the Honourable the Finance Member and the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra that, taking advantage of the fact that they have a surplus Budget to present to the House so far as the Postal Department is concerned, they ought to relieve the poor by reducing the postal rates at any rate. I think the Government will not have much to lose if they reduce the rates to a quarter of an anna because the sale of cheap postcards will be considerably stimulated and increased by this fact.

Sir, I do not think I should be justified in taking up much of your time but I should, before I conclude, refer to the observation which has been

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made by the Honourable the Finance Member in the course of the debate on this question. He has said, "How is the deficit, how is the loss of revenue to be met?" My answer is this that the Government will not lose at all if the postal rates are reduced to a quarter of an anna because by reason of such reduction the sale of the postcards will considerably increase. If as a matter of fact the Honourable the Finance Member is faced with a loss of revenue, by all means do not abolish the export duty on tea and hides, do not reduce the import duty on motor cars and the duty on tyres and tubes which are meant for the rich. With these words, Sir, I wholeheartedly support the amendment of my friend.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh (Meerut Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I had no mind to speak on this amendment though I sent an amendment in my name for the reduction of the rate of postcards, but, as the Honourable Mr. Jqshi has pointed out that the postcards are not generally used by the poor people, I consider it my duty, Sir, to point out that his idea is wrong. I refer, Sir, to the annual report of the Postal and Telegraph Department. From that we find that in the year 1922, when the rate on postcards was put up, the number of postcards used was 650 millions. In the next year, 1923, there was a reduction in the number of postcards used to 525 millions. In the case of letters, we find, Sir, that the number used in that year was 610 millions and it was reduced to 510 millions in 1923. I have worked out the ratios and I find, Sir, that in the case of postcards there was a clear reduction of 80 per cent., while in the case of letters the reduction was 83 per cent. Then again, Sir, we find that the number of postcards used in 1925 increased to 540 millions while the number of letters used increased to 530 millions, which means, Sir, that in the case of letters the percentage has gone down by 87 per cent. while in the case of postcards it has gone up only by 83 per cent. This clearly shows that those persons who were using postcards are not using postcards to the same extent as they would have used them if the rates had not been increased. This clearly also shows, Sir, that postcards are generally used by poor people and letters are used by richer people. If we take the number of those people, Sir, who when the rates were raised were using letters and began to use postcards as they naturally would do, then the percentage will be further reduced from 80 per cent. to something like 75 per cent. This shows clearly that the postcards are generally used by the poor people. Unfortunately we are living in a country in which the number of poor people is much more than those of the middle class or the rich people, and when any relief is sought to be given to the poor the main argument is that a large amount of money will be needed to give that relief. But in case the relief has to be given to the middle class people or the rich people, then naturally the amount required comes to a lower figure and the Government takes it up. What do we find? The whole of the Finance Bill is a clear indication that Government wants to give relief to the rich people rather than to the poor. This is why we find that there are proposals to reduce the duty on motor cars and to abolish the duty on tea. If there is no money to be found, the Government can find money by retaining the present duties on the above articles. So there is enough money. The other point that I want to make is that if the Postal and Telegraph Department is to be a business department, why should not the Indo-European Department be conducted on business principles? If that Department is not making a profit, then why not raise the rates till the time it becomes

a paying department? I do not know what is the difference between the Postal Department and the Indo-European Department. There is one more point which I want to make. From the speech made last year by the Honourable Member in charge of the Postal Department, we were given to understand that if the literacy improves then he will consider the point of lessening the rates in the Postal Department. He said:

"If you want progress, if you want education, is it important that the postal rates should be reduced before you have the means of providing education?"

May I remind him that in these six years the literacy of the country has increased by something like 15 per cent., and in that case this is just the time when we should demand that the postal rates should be reduced. With these remarks I support the amendment.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: It is the fashion for some Members in this House to run down anything that may come from this part of the House when they do not agree with it, by calling it either political or sentimental. My Honourable friend, Mr. Cocke, began by criticising the work in this House during the last few days as being based on sentiment. Whatever is not appreciated by my Honourable friend Mr. Cocke as being in his direct interest or as being in the interests of those whom he represents here, he perhaps looks upon as sentimental. I am afraid that he will find in this House such hardy annuals as the quarter anna postcard for ever until we secure a quarter anna postcard for the masses of India. I therefore do not sympathise with his surprise that this subject should come up from year to year.

Mr. H. G. Cocke: I did not express any surprise on that subject.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I feel that the quarter anna postcard is the first thing which is justified, if by nothing else, by the results of the half anna postcard since it was introduced. On mere business principles and based on cold calculations alone one may feel a little surprised that the Honourable Member in charge himself did not think it fit to press for this before now. The report of the Postal and Telegraph Department for the year 1924-25 contains a chart and you find that since 1921-22, when I believe the postcard was doubled to half an anna there has been a steady fall in 1922-23, 1923-24 and 1924-25. In fact the annual increase during these years has been at a much lower pace than in the previous five years that are given in this chart. This by itself shows that in raising the charge for the postcard Government actually stifled the healthy increase in the use of postcards, to say nothing of the value of the postcard as a means of education generally throughout the country. From the mere fact that that is the one item which allows the poorest to get into communication with each other I should have thought that that would have been the first item to come in for favourable consideration by Government as soon as finances permitted. My views are known to the House as far as the prosperity nature of the Budget for next year is concerned. I however wish to take the Finance Member and those who congratulated him on the presentation of this prosperity Budget at their words. If they have a prosperity Budget I suggest that reduction in the charge on the postcard is the first duty that should devolve on the Government of India as far as the masses of India are concerned. The question may be asked where is the revenue to come

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from? Well, it has been indicated that the amalgamation of the Postal Department, as far as accounts are concerned, with the Telegraph and Telephone Department is unfair to the user of the Post Office. I do not know whether the Honourable Member when he gets up to reply will give us figures of these, but I am sure that even a little increase in telegraph and telephone charges would not be minded by this section of the House if the masses of India could be secured their quarter anna postcard.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Will it bring in more revenue?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Has the half an anna postcard brought in proportionately more revenue? It would not matter even if the return were a little smaller under Telegraphs for some time. Who uses the postcard and who uses the telegraph service is the question. Is it that the section which uses the telegram is more vocal and perhaps more influential that you dare not touch them? After all it is the duty of this section of the House always to stand up and plead for those whose means prevent them from using anything dearer than the quarter anna postcard. So far as the question of finding revenue for the quarter anna postcard is concerned the figure that would be involved by way of smaller revenue is put at rupees 70 to 80 lakhs. As against that you see from this chart that you can safely count upon a substantial increase in the use of postcards at a quarter of an anna. My Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar has given very elaborate figures and I do not want to repeat them. I have made a very rough calculation before I rose to speak. I think you can put the loss of revenue by reduction of the volume of sale of postcards at about 60 lakhs of rupees. To secure this there are two options. Either increase your charges on telegrams and telephones if need be and get a part from that or—and this I think is one which this side of the House should press for—that the interest charge debited to this Department is one which should not be allowed to continue any further. I am a bit surprised, Sir, as to why the Honourable Member in charge did not protest against this debit and did not bring this question to this House before he quietly gave in to the Finance Member; the capital expenditure in the past or most of it was incurred out of revenue: if the taxpayer's money has been used and does not carry interest, I really fail to see how the Finance Department is entitled to charge any interest on it. Only such amount as is raised by a loan, if figures about it are known, should I think be allowed, but what has been used in the past out of revenue should never be tolerated to carry interest in debit to this Department. I therefore feel that a substantial part of the 50 lakhs which is debited to the revenue of this Department for interest should be taken off and should be given credit for against this quarter anna postcard

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: May I inform the Honourable Member that the debit for interest charge is mostly to the Telegraph Branch of the Department and not to the Postal Branch. We are trying to separate the accounts of the various Branches.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Do I understand from the Honourable Member that there is no debit to the Postal Branch at all for interest?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I should say very little.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: What is it—may I know? I therefore submit, Sir, . . .

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The interest charge is Rs. 8,58,000.

(Laughter from the Official Benches.)

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I do not claim to have studied the point as much as the Finance Department; the Finance Member need not clap, we are all gathering information here, Sir.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I was congratulating my colleague.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Oh, I see, on the fact that he knows some figures (Laughter). But the point is, has postal revenue money in the past not been used to finance and build up even the Telegraph Department? I would like an examination of the figures from this point of view. I suggest, Sir, that if this is not sufficient we may turn to the Telegraph Department and ask those who send telegrams and who must use them to pay a little more in order that the masses may get the quarter-anna postcard. I further feel, Sir, that those who claim that this is a prosperity Budget ought to recognize that the first claim on a prosperity Budget and on a surplus is of the masses who will be most directly benefited by the quarter anna postcard. I think it was my friend from Bombay who said that the Inchcape Committee recommended that the Postal Department accounts should be kept on a commercial basis. I think the accounts of every Department of the Government, which is run for the sake of a public service, should be kept on a commercial basis. But the whole question is, are you going to benefit those who want more up-to-date services, those who want a little more luxurious services—you may, for instance, call the telephone service such—are you going to benefit them at the expense of those whose paying capacity is the smallest in the whole land? And the first claim for consideration is of the user of the postcard. For these reasons, Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting this amendment.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra (Member for Industries and Labour): Sir, this is not the first occasion on which it has been my painful duty to oppose a demand made by a certain section of this House for the reduction of postal rates. I had to face a similar demand twice last year and I gave my reasons for opposing the demand to the House in full on the 9th February, and again on the 16th March, last year. I do not propose to take up the time of the House by repeating in detail the arguments which I had used on those occasions and I shall confine myself to some of the broader aspects of the question.

I may at the outset mention that the cost of this proposal to halve the rate for single postcards and for reply postcards will on the present volume of traffic amount to about Rs. 90 lakhs a year.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Not allowing for expansion?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I shall deal with every aspect of the question if the Honourable Member will be patient. But even with that volume of traffic, the loss will be more than Rs. 90 lakhs, for a reason to which reference was made by my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. As soon as the present difference between the

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initial rate for letters and the rate for the postcard is increased, a certain volume of traffic which is now carried by the letter mail will come down to the postcards, and therefore the loss on the present volume of traffic will be increased to about Rs. 1 crore a year.

Now, Sir, I come to the point to which reference was made by my friend Sir Hari Singh Gour. It is often urged by supporters of a demand for reduction in postal rates that if we reduce the rates the traffic will go up so enormously that the revenue yielded by the additional traffic will not only suffice to meet any additional expenditure required to deal with that extra traffic but will leave us with a substantial sum of money which will reduce our estimate of loss from that figure of a crore of rupees to an almost negligible figure. I shall in the first place deal with the first part of the argument and in doing so I shall reply to the statements which have been made by various Honourable Members of this House who have spoken before me including my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. That part of the argument is based on the fact that on the increase in the postal rates in 1922 there was a large fall in the traffic in both letters and postcards, and it is argued that this reduction was mainly due to the increase in the rates which made it impossible for the poor man to afford the enhanced rates and compelled him to curtail his correspondence and the use of the postal service. If, however, the course of the postal traffic in recent years is examined a little more closely, the fallacy of the argument becomes apparent. Before the War, in the five years ending 1913-14 the average annual growth in the traffic was estimated at 17 million for letters and 14 million for postcards. In the three years ending 1920-21, the growth was estimated at 141 million for letters and 99 million for postcards. Will any of my Honourable friends seriously contend that the abnormal rise in these three years was due to a sudden increase in the poor man's correspondence? It must be remembered that the period was one in which the level of prices in India had reached its peak and generally speaking there had not been a corresponding rise in the poor man's earnings. The abnormal growth in the postal traffic in the three years was due to another cause with which most of us are familiar. It was due to the trade boom which followed the Armistice. We are also all aware that that trade boom was followed by a trade depression which reached abysmal depths in the year 1922-23. It is no wonder then that the estimated traffic in letters fell by 100 millions in that year and the traffic in postcards fell by 125 millions. That, however, is the true explanation of the abnormal rise and the abnormal fall in the traffic in the years 1918-19 to 1922-23, and I submit that the poor man does not enter into the picture to any material extent.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: He comes in nowhere.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Further evidence in support of my contention is furnished by the fact that the receipts from the sale of postage stamps in April 1922, amounted to Rs. 56 lakhs as against Rs. 72 lakhs in April, 1921, though the increased postage rates had not come into force till the 24th of April, 1922. Indeed the facts in regard to postal traffic in the years 1918 to 1923 simply bear out the experience of other countries, namely, that the principal factor controlling the volume of that traffic is the condition of business throughout the country and not the poor man's correspondence. I think quite recently we have been faced with a similar experience in connection with the reduction of railway

rates. When the railway rates were reduced in 1926-27, it was anticipated that it would bring in a very considerable volume of extra revenue, but owing to dullness in business we did not manage to realise the anticipated increase of revenue.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: You will do so now.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I do not know.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Let us try.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I was surprised to hear my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas say that there had been a steady fall in revenue since the postal rates were reduced in 1922. After that large fall, so far as I can make out, there has been again a steady rise. In the three years ending 1925-26 the average annual increase in the traffic in letters was estimated at 10 million and in postcards at 9 million. I am not sure that this rate of growth will be substantially enhanced with the reduction of postal rates, unless there is a substantial improvement in the conditions of business in the country, in which case the traffic will go up automatically irrespective of any reduction in rates. Be that as it may, and this is very important, I have no doubt in my mind that it will not be possible to efficiently handle any additional traffic at a cost materially lower than the value of that traffic at present rates, unless we try to sweat our large body of subordinate employees by extending their hours of work beyond the present standard of 8 hours a day, by increasing the length of the beat and the weight carried by the postman, and by reducing the conveniences which these subordinates now enjoy in various directions. I am sure that none of the Members of this House will advocate such a course of action, and the only effect of a substantial rise in the traffic, with the reduction in rates, will be a further increase in the figure of annual loss which I have already given to the House, for the traffic itself will be unremunerative, and any growth in it will add to the loss.

Now, Sir, I shall turn to another aspect of the subject. I was rather surprised to hear my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar talk about further retrenchment. On several occasions in the past I have explained to the House that in 1923-24 more was done by the Department in the direction of securing real economies than was recommended by the Incheape Committee.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: By the reduction of 74 village postmen?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: If the Honourable Member will kindly refer to the speech I delivered in the House on the 10th of March last year he will find that we arrived at that result not simply by reducing a few postmen but we had also to make other drastic retrenchments. It is, however, obviously impossible to restrict the expenditure of the Department or of its Postal Branch to the level of 1923-24. The expenditure must go up automatically with the growth in the volume of traffic. The only way in which further retrenchment of any considerable magnitude can be effected is either by reducing the numbers of the staff or by reducing their emoluments. The House may take it from me that action in either direction is impossible in the case of the Postal Branch, though following the recommendations of the Ryan Committee we intend to try to introduce a cheaper class of clerk for sorting work. It may interest the House to know that while the total volume of postal

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traffic, including parcels and money orders has gone up from 1,081 millions in 1913-14 to 1,310 millions in 1925-26—that is by over 21 per cent.—the strength of the staff, exclusive of the Audit Office and of the road establishment which fluctuates with the opening of railways and motor services, has increased in that period from 74,000 to 88,000 or less than 20 per cent. Indeed in their zeal for keeping down expenditure the authorities have in certain cases in recent years allowed the strength of the operative staff to fall below the requirements of traffic, with the result that the operatives had to work longer hours than those prescribed. This is the state of affairs which is supported by the interim figures that were quoted by my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. It led to complaints from the staff in regard to which questions have been asked in this House from time to time and which formed one of the principal items of grievance that I undertook to examine personally on a suggestion of my Honourable friend Mr. Jinnah made on the floor of this House on the 12th February 1925. It was the other day that my Honourable friend Mr. Ram Narayan Singh referred to the hardships suffered by postmen in certain rural areas in his province, and he suggested that if an improvement was not made in the conditions prevailing the efficiency of the service would suffer. In a sense he was perfectly correct, although I have not yet had an opportunity of checking the facts which he mentioned in this House. As the result of the examination which I promised to make in February 1925, provision was made in the Budget for 1926-27 for additional staff in cases where relief was urgently required and the process is being repeated in the Budget for 1927-28. It may further interest the House to know that out of the 88,000 men mentioned by me and a road establishment of 17,000, only about 300 are in receipt of a pay of Rs. 300 and over, and 32 are in receipt of a pay of Rs. 800 and over, only a dozen of these 300 officers possessing non-Asiatic domicile. I am mentioning these figures because loose statements are made that the Department is top-heavy and employs a disproportionate number of officers on high rates of pay. It is true that the number of officers who are in receipt of a pay of Rs. 300 and over is now higher than it was in 1913-14, but that is mostly due to the fact that the pay of officers who in 1913-14 were getting Rs. 250 to 300 has now been raised above the latter figure.

As regards reduction in the emoluments of the staff all but 3 per cent. of which are in receipt of a pay of less than Rs. 300 a month, it is obvious from the debate which took place in this House on the 10th and 11th March last that this is not possible, and that what is probably required is an improvement in the pay and allowances of a large number of the low-paid staff. Some Honourable Members who have spoken have attacked the principle which we have been consistently following in regard to the financial arrangements of the Department. This fundamental principle, as mentioned by me on several occasions in the past, is that the rates charged by the Department for the various services rendered by it to the public should be so adjusted that on the whole their yield would just suffice to meet the expenses that the Department must incur to maintain the services on a reasonable standard of efficiency. In other words, taken as a whole the Department should pay its way and it should not be receiving, carrying and delivering letters and mails and telegrams of its customers at the expense of the general taxpayer. I should like

at this stage to reiterate an observation which I have also made on previous occasions. These postal rates are not a tax on communications. They are not a tax at all. They are simply charges levied to meet the expenses of services rendered. It has been at times argued by some of my Honourable friends that in the application of the principle we ought not to mix up the Postal Branch of the Department with the Telegraph and Telephone Branch. I submit, Sir, that we are fully justified in the view which we have consistently held in the matter. It is a generally accepted principle in all important countries of the world that the Post and Telegraph Department should have control over all means for the transmission of intelligence. I know that the position in the United States of America is different, but if my Honourable friends will care to read the reports of the Postmaster-General in that country they will find that there too the adoption of the principle has been strongly advocated. The justification of the principle is obvious, because the various services rendered by the Department are intimately connected with one another, the telegraph and telephone and radio providing merely for a more expeditious method of communication than the postal service. As I mentioned in this House the other day, the principal customers of the Department who contribute to the small surplus in the Postal Branch are men engaged in business of various categories, and they are interested in the telegraph and telephone services as much as they are interested in the postal service. It is, however, not necessary for me to dwell on this aspect of the question at any great length, for our latest calculations indicate that in 1927-28 there will be a small surplus of Rs 8 lakhs in the Postal Branch of the service and small deficits of Rs 6 lakhs and Rs 3 lakhs, respectively, in the Telegraph and Telephone branches of the service. I may in this connection observe that the deficits in the last two cases are to some extent due to the concessional rates which we grant to newspapers as a means of disseminating intelligence and in which the House the other day decided to make no further reduction at present in view of the financial position of the Department. As I said the other day it will not be possible to obtain a true picture of the position until the accounts in the new form and with complete adjustments are available for three or four years. I know that on the present occasion, my friend Mr. Neogy has challenged the financial principle to which I have referred. The answer to Mr. Neogy, I think, was furnished by my friend Mr. Joshi. He asked if the postcards of the poor people are to be carried free, why should not these poor people be supplied with free food and free clothing. I think my friend Mr. Joshi made that observation simply, and perhaps unwittingly to bring out the absurdity of the contention of my friend Mr. Neogy

Mr. N. M. Joshi: No, no.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Now, Sir, my friend Mr. Neogy also referred to the position in America, and I asked him whether he had at all cared to study the real position in America. After the remarks which fell from my friend Mr. Neogy in regard to America last year, I tried to study some of the Reports of the Postmaster-General in that country. ~~For that~~ I give him a quotation from one of these Reports:

"Postage rates should be fixed and readjusted from time to time with a view to an equitable distribution of the total charges among the senders of different classes of mail on a basis that will promote the greatest usefulness of the service as a whole and secure a total revenue approximately equal to the total expenditure."

[Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra.]

(Several Honourable Members: "What does it show?"). In the year 1918 the accounts of the Post Office in the United States of America yielded a surplus of 64 million dollars. In the next year this surplus rose to 74 million dollars. Thereupon they reduced their rates, with the result that there was a deficit in the year 1924 of 14 million dollars . . .

Lala Lajpat Rai: They never ran the telegraph service as a Government concern.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I think I have already referred to the position in regard to the telegraph service in America. I am now dealing with Mr. Neogy's arguments in regard to the postal service. Why do they permit that deficit in that country? The reason is that official letters are carried free of charge under frank. In India we abolished that arrangement long ago. If that arrangement had continued the effect of it would have been that we would have been running the Postal Branch of the Department with a subsidy of a crore of rupees a year from the general taxpayer because the amounts received from the sale of service stamps aggregate about a crore of rupees a year.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I give a quotation to my friend about the policy which determines this matter in America? It is a policy which "operates the Post Office on a service basis with primary regard to the general well-being rather than to the purely financial results obtained from such enterprise."

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Honourable Member has given me a quotation, and I have given the House another. If we want to look at the matter from different aspects, we can never get a complete picture; but I have brought out the fact from another quotation, that they do not wholly overlook the financial considerations in the United States of America. There is a subsidy from the general tax-payer to the postal service in that country and the reason for that is that official and certain other correspondence is carried under frank or free of charge. The value of this concession was estimated before the War at something like fifty million dollars. The correspondence carried free of charge includes what is known as Parliamentary correspondence. I hope, Sir, that I have succeeded in making it clear to the House that, consistently with the principle that the postal service should be self-supporting, it is not yet possible to make any reductions in our existing scale of postal rates. As I explained to the House the other day, the principle is of the greatest advantage to the Department from the point of view of the maintenance of its efficiency and the development of its operations. It has enabled me to devote additional funds to removing certain legitimate grievances of the staff which were impairing their efficiency. It has helped me to open more post offices in the current and last years, mostly in rural areas, than had been possible in the preceding nine years. As I told the House the other day, the number of post offices, including experimental offices, which we hope to open in the two years 1925-26 and 1926-27 will be 1,400 as against 780 in the preceding nine years. I think it is necessary that I should say a few words about these experimental post offices. It has been explained several times on the floor of this House that they do not pay their way. Still, they are opened and maintained by the Department to the extent that its finances

permit in order to make postal facilities available to poor people in the rural areas,—a measure which I know is considered by this House, and by my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour in particular, to be of the highest importance and value to the economic development of the country. As I urged the other day, if the principle of running the Post Office on a self-supporting basis is discarded, and I have to depend on subsidies from the yield of general taxation, it is obvious that both efficiency and development will be seriously jeopardised, as the Post Office will in that case receive, along with other applicants, the claims of some of whom may be considered to be more deserving and pressing, only a share of any benefactions which the Honourable the Finance Member may have to distribute out of his budget surplus. I would again appeal to the House not to lend its support to any proposal which may have disastrous consequences on the efficiency and development of the Department.

The arguments which are adduced by supporters of the demand for reduction in postal rates are, so far as I have been able to follow them, as follows: The rates were raised at a time of financial stringency and they should therefore be reduced. I think my friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar drew attention to the fact that the rates had been raised because it was found necessary to increase the pay of the subordinates very considerably. Has that contingency disappeared? Did not my friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, the other day, among others, press me to make further improvements in the pay of these subordinates? My Honourable friend, Mr. Prakasam, who is one of those who are to-day supporting this demand for reduction in the rate for postcards, also pressed the other day that something more should be done for these subordinates of the Post Office. I submit, Sir, therefore, that the necessity for the enhanced rates of postage still exists.

The other argument used is that the present rates are too high; they hit the poor man: they impede progress in the development of the country. I think my friend, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, referred to the dumb millions of India in this connection; and I think my friend Mr. Joshi replied to him, stating that he did not understand how these dumb millions were going to write postcards if there were no post offices in the neighbourhood at which they could post these postcards. I wonder whether there is nobody in this House who seriously believes that under existing conditions of prices and wages, our present rates for postcards are too high. I doubt whether there is any country in the world which maintains an inland postal service extending over such a wide tract of country, and of the standard of efficiency which we have in India, at cheaper rates than are charged in this country.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: What is the postage in France?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Much higher, Sir.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Much lower.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: No, Sir. (*An Honourable Member:* "At the present rate of exchange?") At the present rate of exchange,—that is another matter. But at the rate for the gold franc it is higher.

Lala Lajpat Rai: What is the average income of a Frenchman as compared with an Indian?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: It is not a question of the average income, Sir. The point is how are we going to meet the expenditure? Here comes in the argument suggested by my friend Mr. Joshi. If the average income of the poor man is very low, why should not the State intervene and provide all these poor people with free food and free clothing?

Lala Lajpat Rai: A very good argument—because you cannot provide them with cheap food, therefore they shall not have cheap postage as well.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: We are giving them postal facilities as much as it is possible to do so.

Mr. C. Duraiswami Aiyangar: You do not feel it desirable to put it as your own argument. You only quote it as Mr. Joshi's argument.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have already given my argument. I am quoting Mr. Joshi as supporting my argument.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Somebody must produce this income before the State can distribute it.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Then where is this income going to come from, before the State is going to provide this subsidy of a crore of rupees for the benefit of the so-called poor man who wants to write postcards? As I have already shown, it is not the poor man who will benefit but it is the business man who is going to benefit.

Now, Sir, I wish to pursue the poor-man argument a little further. It is true that from 1881 to 1921 that postcard was carried in India for one pice. But, have not prices increased enormously since those days? We know that in recent years the index number of the cost of living of the labouring classes in the Bombay Presidency has gone up from 100 in 1900 to 181 in 1925. I think one of my Honourable friends argued that if the prices have gone up by only 50 per cent. the price of the postcards should not have been raised 100 per cent. As I say, the price of the postcard was fixed at the pre-war rate of one pice in 1881. If you compare the rise in prices from 1881 to 1921 you will find that the rise is certainly not less than 100 per cent.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: What was the price level when you raised it from one pice to two pice? That is the material consideration. That is the criterion.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: That is not the criterion. I will explain that to my Honourable friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta. As the price level went up from 1881, we did not increase the wages of the subordinate employees of the Post Office correspondingly and as a result of not giving them that increase, it was possible for us to carry the postcard at the rate of one pice up to 1921. Does it follow from that that the same condition of affairs should be allowed to continue? It is that lag in the rise in wages, as compared with the rise in prices, about which my Honourable friend Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, a great economic expert as he is, has often talked on the floor of the House.

Lala Lajpat Rai: Why does the Honourable Member talk of the subordinate employees? Why can't he talk of the higher paid officers?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have, little while ago, pointed out that there are only about 30 officers drawing pay of over Rs. 800 out of a whole staff of over a lakh. I thought the Honourable Member had listened to what I said. It has often been said that this Department is top-heavy.

Lala Lajpat Rai: All Departments are top-heavy.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: This Department is not top-heavy. I am concerned at the present moment only with the Indian Postal and Telegraph Department.

Lala Lajpat Rai: We are concerned with the Government of India.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I am not going to indulge in any political discussions at the present moment; I am concerned more with an economic question. Sir, but if prices have increased enormously since 1881, have not wages also gone up? We know that "economical wages" of ordinary labour in rural areas in the Bombay Presidency have gone up from 100 in 1900 to 325 in 1925, and "real wages" from 100 to 180. As the wages of these poor men have gone up more largely than the prices in the same period, I do not see where the difficulty arises on their part in paying two pice for a service for which they used to pay one pice before the rise in prices and wages. In regard to the other part of the argument that the present postal rates hamper progress in the development of the country, I think it will be clear from what I have said that the continuance of the present rates is the surest way of securing the development of postal facilities in rural areas, which is the most effective way of helping the poor man; and that any reduction in the present rates is sure to impede that development.

To my mind, the only real reason behind this demand for a reduction in postal rates is one of sentiment. We know that a similar demand was made in England some time ago; and it had to be explained by the Postmaster-General and the Chancellor of the Exchequer that a reversion to the pre-war rates was not an economical proposition. Quotations from the speeches of these authorities were placed before the House on previous occasions and Honourable Members will be able to find them in the official reports of the debates. I would implore Honourable Members not to allow considerations of sentiment to outweigh the more important considerations which I have placed before them, and I would ask them not to pursue this question of reduction of postal rates until they are satisfied that it is an economic proposition.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That in Schedule I to the Bill in the proposed First Schedule to the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, for the entries under the head 'Postcards' the following 1 P. M. be substituted:

'Single Quarter of an anna

Reply Half an anna.'

The Assembly divided.

AYES—53.

Abdul Haye, Mr.
 Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sesha.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
 Gllab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
 Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
 Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra Kanta.

Lajpat Rai, Lala.
 Mehta, Mr. Jammadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi Sayyid.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Natiq, Maulvi, A. H.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Prakasam, Mr. T.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
 Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhuvan.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan Bahadur.
 Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Tok Kyi, U.

NOES—61.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur Nawabzada Savid.
 Ayangar, Mr. V. K. A. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha Gopalaswami.
 Bhoze, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr. W. M. P.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Hussain Shah, Savad.
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
 Ismail Khan, Mr.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.

Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Lindsav, Sir Darcy.
 Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath.
 Mohammad Ismail, Khan, Haji Chaudhury.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir Alexander.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur Makhdum Sved.
 Ran, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
 Sassoon, Sir Victor.
 Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
 Svkes, Mr. E. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Yonge, Mr. G. M.
 Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: Order, order. The question is: .

"That Schedule I do stand part of the Bill."

(At this stage an Honourable Member was crossing the floor of the House.)

Order, order. The Honourable gentleman should not move about when the Chair is putting a question.

The question is:

"That Schedule I do stand part of the Bill."

The motion was adopted.

Schedule I was added to the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That Schedule II do stand part of the Bill."

Of the amendments to this Schedule, I propose to take the amendment standing in the name of Mr. Prakasam—amendment No. 46 on the paper—first. Mr. Prakasam.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Sir I move:

"That in Part I of Schedule II to the Bill amendment No. (3) be omitted."

(At this stage an Honourable Member passed between the Chair and the speaker, and was called to order.)

Sir, No. (3) relates to carriages and cars. The reduction of the duty on cars and other articles from 30 per cent. to 20 per cent. is not justified. We have already a sufficient number of cars and motor service in the country. (Laughter.) (*An Honourable Member:* "No.") My Honourable friend over there laughs. I would only request him not to forget how many taxi cars are running every day empty in the city of Calcutta without finding work and I would also invite those friends who take a different view at least to my province where they would find so many cars all over the villages wherever there are roads. Even roads are not being maintained now, as they have become too many. So my submission is that we are not prospering very much, not rolling in wealth; it is not so much motor service that is wanted now for us immediately, but there are other services which are required. The duty that we get on this is not to be reduced. I move the amendment, Sir.

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimutulla (Bombay Central Division: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to oppose the amendment moved by my friend Mr. Prakasam and I do so after having thought very carefully over the question and over the proposal made by Government. The reason why Government have come forward with this proposal is to give facilities to have better roads, and as the roads department is a provincial subject, the amount of the 10 per cent. reduction of duty will be employed by Provincial Governments for bettering roads; and therefore I say, Sir, it is a matter of regret that my friend Mr. Prakasam should have thought it advisable to ask for the deletion of No. (3) of Schedule II.

Maulvi A. H. Nattique (Central Provinces: Muhammadan): Will the amount of this reduction go to the provinces?

Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla: It is the Local Governments to raise the tax, for development of roads, equivalent to that which is now thought to be reduced. In this connection, Sir, I may be permitted to remind this House of the debate which took place in the Council of State at the instance of my friend the Honourable Mr. Mahmood Suhrawardy, and speaking on that debate Sir John Bell has made out a very strong case that it is absolutely necessary for Provincial Governments to utilise this money and to have better roads for the transport of motors. He says:

“ Given good roads, there is an enormous field for the development of motor transport in India. In the United States of America there is one motor vehicle registered for every 7 persons in the country, in Great Britain there is one motor vehicle registered for every 76 persons in the country, and in India there is one motor vehicle registered for every 1,500 persons in the country.”

I would suggest to my friend that instead of omitting the item he should come forward for making it 10 per cent. instead of 20 per cent. In a paragraph from an editorial in the *Times of India* of Saturday, the 19th March, it is clearly put forward that the public, both for business and other pleasures, are becoming increasingly dependent on motor transport, and any improvement in means of transport must redound to the advantage of India as a whole. The motor is no longer a luxury, it has become an everyday necessity, calling for the provision of adequate facilities for its present use and future development.

Sir, this House will recognise that it is not possible for the railways to extend their lines if the line is not a paying proposition and it is on this account that roads are necessary in order to have better facilities for the agricultural classes. I will give a concrete instance, Sir, which I put forward before the Railway Committee, namely, a project to have a railway from Manmad to Malegaon. The Railway Department worked out the project and I was told it was not a paying proposition. It is a distance of 22 miles and there is a regular motor service. Therefore it is high time that we encouraged such services to provide facilities for the travelling public rather than keep this duty for the Government of India instead of allowing it to be utilised by the Provincial Governments. Another question which I may place before this House is that there is also a motor transport service from Manmad to Dhullia. If you want to go to Dhullia by rail it is very difficult because you have to go to two intermediate stations first. I hope my friend Mr. Prakasam will not press his point, but on the contrary will ask for a reduction. As I have pointed out, this is not a luxury and we want more facilities for transport, and I hope this House will not carry the amendment.

Pandit Nilakantha Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I am glad that at last Government have been disarmed; they will not put forward the argument that it is only the interested rich man pretending the cause of the poor man just as it was perhaps argued in the case of the Currency Bill. No Mr. Rahimtulla has said in favour of the Government measure. And when during the budget discussion I was listening to the speech of my friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, he seemed to entertain the idea that when the people still have recourse

to their country carts it is not the time for us to give facilities for bringing in more motors. It has been said if motors become cheap it will give some handle to the Provincial Governments to put a heavy license on them and thereby put some money into their pockets, which they may make use of for improving the roads. How does that cheapen motors for the use of the masses, I do not understand. Then again as a theory it may be a very good thing. But I should rather think, before giving Provincial Governments that handle, it is better to propose here that out of this 30 per cent., a portion should as a beginning for some years be given to the Provincial Governments for spending in improving and making roads, so that after the roads are put in order to some extent, we might think whether we should reduce these duties. Then again there is another point. As to motor lorries and omnibuses, they are already taxed at 15 per cent. These are the only things required, I believe, for the transport of agricultural produce and other things. Now we are going to reduce the duty on motor cars which are called in our country generally pleasure cars. In 1921 this was one of the items that were selected for taxation, as Government wanted money badly and items of luxury were selected for new taxation, and this was evidently therefore selected as one of the items of luxury. Then again in 1921 it was 20 per cent. and in 1922 on that ground it was made 30 per cent. Five years ago these pleasure cars were an item of luxury. I do not understand what improvements in the condition of the people justify their being regarded as articles of necessity to-day. Whether roads should come before motor cars or motor cars should come before roads is a curious question. There is, I know, in the atmosphere to-day a certain theory of economics which says first increase your wants and then the supply will come of itself. Of course I am not one who has been yet able to persuade himself to support that theory. I have not been one of that school.

When this duty was increased it was on the basis that India was importing these cheap cars from America, which was a fact. It was mainly for cheap cars that the reduction of duty should be meant, for my Honourable friends on the other side will not object if 30 per cent. is put upon high-priced cars, and cheap cars were made only 20 per cent. in the Bill. Therefore these cheap cars are only meant primarily in this amendment and these cheap cars were imported by India in great numbers from America. The Fiscal Commission clearly says there were certain requests from British manufacturers that they would be in a position to manufacture cheap cars and as a matter of British preference the duty on those cars should be reduced; and the Fiscal Commission also recommend or suggest that this should be taken into consideration. Then there was another request from Canada to the same effect. Canada said, "We are giving certain facilities to Indian products in our market, and it is natural that India should put a smaller preferential duty on motor cars, cheap motor cars that now come from the United States and which we shall be able to manufacture and supply to India." I do not know if it is at all an article of necessity—that is my first point. Nobody knows of any common man in India who considers a pleasure-car an article of necessity. I do not speak of omnibuses and motor lorries; they are excluded from this amendment. (*The Honourable Sir Charles Innes*: "Not omnibuses.") I understand they are excluded. Well I do not know any common man in India who considers a pleasure-car an article of necessity. The time, if it

[Pandit Nilakantha Das.]

will ever come, has not yet come. Then again I do not know whether this reduction of the duty is not proposed as British or Imperial Preference which has been clearly stated by the Fiscal Commission. On these two grounds particularly, I support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Prakasam.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Member for Commerce and Railways): Sir, I think that I can assure the Honourable Member at once on the last point he has raised, namely, that this is another example on the part of Government of trying to introduce what he calls British preference. There is no question of British preference about it at all. This proposal has been made by Government on the recommendation of the Taxation Enquiry Committee and the Honourable Member may know that the Taxation Enquiry Committee consisted of six gentlemen, four of whom were Indians. I see no reason on earth why these four gentlemen should go out of their way to propose what the Honourable Member calls British preference. Just let me explain very briefly to the House what is I think already familiar to most of them,—the position in regard to this motor taxation. In 1921 and again in 1922, when we were faced with very heavy deficits, we were compelled to put on heavy taxation, practically on every article we imported. We put on particularly heavy taxation on motor cars, not so much because we regarded the motor car as a luxury but because we took the view that a person who could afford to have a car could afford to pay a heavier tax,—or at any rate that he could afford to pay it better than a great many other people. But we have long recognised that our duty on motor cars are much too heavy. They are not only subjected to this extremely heavy duty of 30 per cent.; the Honourable Member must remember that in addition they have to pay a petrol tax; that petrol tax only two years ago was six annas a gallon; it is now four annas a gallon. In addition the motor car user has often to pay license fees to Local Governments; he very often has to pay municipal and other local taxes. We have long recognised, therefore, that our taxation on motor cars is too heavy, and indeed that it is operating as a tax on transport. Now, the Taxation Enquiry Committee, as the Honourable Member will find in paragraph 419 of their Report, use the following words:

“At the same time it must be remembered that India is very inadequately supplied with railway facilities, and the introduction of motor transport services in many provinces has brought the rural classes, into closer touch with the cities. Motor lorries are also displacing bullock carts where there are good roads. It is difficult to exaggerate the political and economic advantages of rapid means of transport in India, and the development of motor transport services should, in the opinion of the Committee, be encouraged by the Government. If the two propositions are accepted, first, that an increase in motor transport would be for the benefit of the country, and second, that motor vehicles, specially those of the heavier types, are items in respect of which local authorities are entitled to take a fair share of the taxation, then it would appear that sooner or later a reduction of the import duties is desirable.”

We think that this is a favourable opportunity for making a beginning with the reduction of these import duties. We propose to reduce the duties on cars from 30 to 20 per cent. and the duty on tyres and tubes from 30 to 15 per cent. Now the reduction of duty on tyres and tubes will of course assist those motor busses and motor lorries to which Mr. Nilakantha Das referred. As regards the reduction of the duty on motor

cars I should like to explain to the Honourable Member that we find it absolutely impossible in practice to differentiate between what I may call the taxi and the ordinary motor car; consequently taxis are now assessed at 30 per cent. Further, these taxis, or at any rate the chassis of these cars, are now being imported into India in large quantities and they are being fitted locally with bodies in India and they are being converted into small motor busses, which are running about, as the Honourable Member truly said, all over the country; and that is precisely the development which we in the Government are so anxious to encourage. Only recently I happened to go to my own district in Madras on the West Coast and there I found that cars sold in the district were being fitted locally with bodies and in almost every station at which the train stopped the train was met by a fleet of these small motor busses bringing passengers from the interior to the railway station and taking them off. Surely I think that my two Honourable friends from Madras will agree that that is a development which Government should not in any way repress. That is the sole reason which actuated the Government in bringing forward this amendment. We think this is a favourable opportunity to make this move. Our statistics of imports of motor cars show that in the last two or three years there has been a great impetus in the imports of motor cars. We want to stimulate that impetus; we want to stimulate these imports and we believe that if these proposals are accepted by the House the imports of motor cars and the use of motor transport in India will be so stimulated that we shall recover in a year or two whatever revenue we are sacrificing at the moment, and in this budget year we estimate our loss at only Rs. 10 lakhs.

Now, let me give the House an example of successful action in that way. Two years ago the Government came forward with a proposal to reduce the petrol duty from six annas to four annas. We were told at the time that we were taking risks and that we were sacrificing revenue which we could ill-afford to lose, and we then told the House that we were quite certain that in a very short time we should recover all the revenue lost merely by the increase of consumption. And this is what has happened. In 1924-25 when the duty was 6 annas a gallon, we made out of the excise duty on petrol 78 lakhs of rupees. In 1925-26 when we reduced the duty to 4 annas a gallon, that is by 33 per cent., there was such an increase in consumption that we lost only 2 lakhs of rupees. The revenue collected was 76 lakhs, and in the first 11 months of the current year the revenue from petrol duty is 86 lakhs; that is to say, not only have we recovered what we lost, but we stand to gain 8 to 10 lakhs in addition. We are quite certain that that is what is going to happen if the House accepts this proposal. It may mean in the current year a loss of 10 lakhs. But believe me we will get the amount manifold in future years because we shall have done something to stimulate the use of our motor transport all over the country and thereby we shall have improved the communications and transport facilities of the country. Sir, I oppose the motion.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That in Part I of Schedule II to the Bill, amendment No. (3) be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Two of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Two of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Mr. President: The question is :

“ That Schedule II do stand part of the Bill.”

There are several amendments on Part II to this Schedule. Of these, I propose to take up amendment No. 57 and amendment No. 61, the one standing in the name of Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar and the other standing in the name of Mr. Mukhtar Singh, each dealing with one distinct and specific issue. Mr. Rangaswami's amendment deals with the hide duty and Mr. Mukhtar Singh's deals with the tea duty. These two amendments will practically cover all other amendments to Part II, I therefore call upon Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar to move his amendment.

Mr A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Sir, I beg to move :

“ That in Part II of Schedule II to the Bill amendment No. 1 be omitted.”

This, Sir, is a motion to retain the export duty of 5 per cent. on hides and not repeal it. Sir, I had occasion to refer to this matter during the course of the General Budget debate and I need not again emphasise the fact that the hides and skins industry in my province is one which requires the special consideration of the Honourable the Finance Member and, may I add, Sir, the special help and protection of my Honourable friend, Sir Charles Innes, who knows the position in Madras. I do not want, Sir, to go back to the history of this matter. Honourable Members are aware that, so far as the hides and skins industry is concerned, that industry is mainly concentrated in the Madras Presidency, and to a large extent also in Northern India and Bombay. The great majority of the output of the tanners where hides are half-tanned are exported to the other countries. Some of it is being used for purposes of manufacture in this country, but the bulk of it is exported. The exploitation of untanned hides in this country has long been a matter upon which the Government as well as the public were deeply concerned and, during the period of the War, the Government very properly considered the leather industry in this country and the manufacture of tanned hides and skins as a key industry, as Sir Charles Innes once described it in a debate in this House, and concluded that that industry legitimately required protection at the hands of the Assembly. Those were days, Sir, when a policy of protection was to some extent treated as a matter of heresy and yet it was merely as a post-war measure that the Government intervened at that time to impose the duty of 15 per cent. in 1919 with a rebate of 10 per cent. for the hides tanned within the British Empire. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes pointed out that the object of imposing it at that time was to retain this key industry within the Empire.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: May I mention that I was not in the Government of India at the time.

An Honourable Member: Sir George Barnes.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I am saving, Sir, that Sir Charles Innes described it in 1928 as an effort to keep this key industry in this country made by Sir George Barnes in 1919.

Sir, in March 1923, this duty was reduced to 5 per cent. in spite of the protests of the people who were vitally affected by it, namely, the skin and hide merchants in Madras and in other parts of the country. I do not know, Sir, why the Finance Member should have now thought fit to pretend to give this so-called relief to the tax-payer of a few lakhs of rupees in respect of an industry which very sorely needs protection and help and which stands to be ruined in my province if this proposal of the Government is carried. Sir, this matter of the removal of the export duty on hides is a matter on which the Associated Chambers of Commerce in Calcutta have all along been vitally interested. Their repeated agitation in this matter has had the effect of reducing the original duty to 5 per cent. and now again we find the Government yielding to the clamour of the vested interests represented by the Associated Chambers of Commerce and not of the interests of the vast mass of Indian merchants and Indian shippers in Madras. Sir, this is not the first instance in which any proposal that the Associated Chambers of Commerce think fit to put forward is immediately accepted by the Honourable the Finance Member and put into Bills which, when they are sent out to the Select Committee and examined, are found to be full of flaws with the result that motions for Select Committees have had to be withdrawn. I say, Sir, that this attitude on the part of the Finance Member, namely, that the last word upon these matters lies with the Associated Chambers of Commerce or with the representations which they may make to him when they meet him from time to time on his tours, has proved extremely detrimental to the interests of Indian industries as well as the general economic interests of India. The proposal to repeal the export duty on hides is justified on the ground that the Fiscal Commission recommended the abolition of the duty and the Taxation Enquiry Committee also have done so. Sir, so far as this is concerned, the position taken by the Taxation Enquiry Committee as well as by the Fiscal Commission is that this industry requires protection, but there is an objection in principle to the levy of an export duty because generally its incidence is less certain than that of an import duty. I submit, Sir, that the question whether an import duty could be levied of a protective character on this industry in this country or not is a question which I do not want to discuss now. But I may point out that so far as this industry is concerned, an import duty cannot satisfy the requirements of the case. It is obvious, Sir, that in respect of an industry the bulk of whose goods have to be exported, an import duty cannot be levied on manufactured leather goods imported into this country for the reason that in this country the manufacture of leather goods has not been on such a scale that it can be adequately protected by an import duty so as to prevent the importation of manufactured leather goods. The only means, Sir, by which the tanning and skin industry in this country can be protected is to encourage the industry such as it is to exist and to carry on its trade as it is. The real point is this. The principle that an export duty should not be levied cannot be applied to an industry of this kind. The import of finished leather coming into this country being very little as compared with the export of hides from this country, the country should be made to consume hides tanned in India by making exported leather dearer by the export duty. Sir, I suggest that that is the only way in which protection can be given to this industry at this stage. It is not necessary for me, and I think it will be admitted on the other side, to state that this tanning industry in this country is in an extremely depressed state.

[Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.]

The depression was due to the after-effects of the War, and it has not yet recovered from the depression. An argument has been used in the course of the controversy that the duty has failed to resuscitate or revive this industry. That argument was answered in 1923 in this House by pointing out that the real reason for the depression in that industry was the general trade depression which existed at that time, and the main cause being the general trade depression the fact that the duty did not operate as effectively as it might have under other circumstances has been completely ignored. What I want to state now is that the trade just now shows signs of revival. In Madras the tanning industry is just rebuilding its shattered fortunes, and I say it is most unwise at this time to go and nip in the bud this industry again and ask all these 500 and odd tanners in my province to shut up, to scrap their plant, machinery and all and then when trade gets into a better state in respect of raw hides, ask them to begin again and to start manufacture of tanning hides. If there is one certain means of destroying this industry in my province it is this repeal of the export duty. I do not want to say that there may not be found other ways of protecting this industry to make it thrive. If that is so, I submit it is the duty of Government to refer this matter to the Tariff Board and ask them to make proper proposals for the protection of this industry. But it is not right for them without examining the matter to straightaway ask that this export duty should be taken away at once and then to leave this trade at the mercy of the market in which it is bound to go to rack and ruin. I also state that the real position as regards the tanning industry in my province has been grossly misunderstood. One argument that has been urged in this connection is that all the inferior hides that would otherwise find an outlet for export have been discouraged from being exported by the existence of this duty and therefore there is much loss of wealth in the destruction of these inferior hides. I submit that that is not so. Whatever might have been the case at the time when the 15 per cent. duty existed, that case does not exist now where there is only 5 per cent. duty. And it has also to be recollected that these inferior hides as a matter of fact find a market in this country, rather than in outside countries, and therefore the contention that these inferior hides are put out of the market cannot be advanced at the present time when the duty is only 5 per cent. There is another aspect of this matter which has been communicated to me by Sir Gordon Fraser, and that is this:

"The hides industry in Southern India has been in a bad way for the past few years, and it would be a great pity to withdraw the duty just as there are prospects of improving the industry by the introduction of tanning with the aid of wattle bark. Up to recently all tanning was done by Avaram bark but the cost of this is too heavy to allow the Madras tanners to compete with the Continental manufacturers who buy the raw hides in Calcutta. With the aid of wattle bark it is hoped to cheapen the production in India and so be in a better position to compete. Unfortunately at present there are very small supplies of wattle bark available in the country, the bulk of which has to be imported from South Africa. Government at present charge an import duty of 15 per cent. and this is a serious handicap. Now Sir Basil Blackett proposes to withdraw the export duty on the raw hides but leaves on the import duty on a raw material like wattle bark. I therefore should strongly suggest that he should withdraw the import duty on wattle bark and retain the export duty on raw hides."

Sir, then there is only one other point which I desire to make in this connection. It is well known that prior to the War the bulk of the

export of raw hides was done through the manipulations of a German ring. After the War that ring ceased to exist and there was depression all over the Continent. We have reason to believe that this ring has been again formed and I want to put it to the House to examine what will be the effect upon the great tanning industry in this country if this ring is fully resuscitated and is made to buy up all the raw products leaving the tanning industry in this country in a most precarious position. This ring would not take our hides in the semi-tanned state in which they are to be exported, because they want to take only the raw hides there, tan them themselves, make them into manufactured articles and send them back. We want on the other hand that our tanning industry should go on from the stage of semi-tanned exports to that in which we may find that the bulk of the leather that is available in this country is made into manufactured goods. If we want to do that, are we going to allow this ring to operate again and allow their efforts to take away all the raw hides from this country in an unmanufactured state to succeed, to the detriment of a great and valuable industry? So far as my own province is concerned, this is one of the chief industries that have existed there for a long time and it is an industry in which my Muhammadan countrymen particularly, as also Hindus, are very much interested. I do not want that anything that we do in this House should stand in the way of the very small industrial beginnings that we have been making and carrying on for a number of years from having a fair chance. The Industries Department has been in existence for a number of years. I do not know if this Department has been of much help to the tanning industry. Whatever that may be Government have now accepted the principle of protection of the industries of this country. The Government have admitted that this is a key industry, one of the key industries of this country. This was proved during the War when the Government took over the control of the leather manufactured in this country and placed the whole of the manufacturers and tanners in this country under the control of the military authorities. Knowing as we do that this is a key industry, it is up to the Government not to yield to any representation that may be made by particular shippers of raw hides at Calcutta or elsewhere and to see that the industry is protected by every means in their power. Whether they will find any better means of protecting the industry or not is a question which they are bound to examine but in the meantime do not take away the very small benefit that you are now giving to that industry, because, if you do, the ruin of that industry is certain. I appeal to the Finance Member that this is only a question of a few lakhs. It is not going to make much difference, as he told me yesterday, in the estimates if this duty is retained this year or till next year. Let him bring proposals next year if he is able to think of a proper substitute for it, but if he cannot, let him not take away the help that exists now.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: He is always glad of more money.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Therefore it seems to me strange that the Honourable the Finance Member should now come and affect to relieve the tax-payer of a few lakhs; but when we know that this proposal has at the back of it the Associated Chambers of Commerce, I say, Sir, we know that the Indian industries are not the industries that are at the back of it. I appeal to the Finance Member not to insist

[Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.]

upon putting this amendment to the Finance Bill; after all, it is not really important for a Finance Bill nor is it relevant to its objects. I therefore move my amendment.

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar to the amendment No. 1 in Part II of Schedule II of the Indian Finance Bill. The Government of India have always encouraged us in producing raw materials and in exporting it to other countries; they have never helped us in the industrialization of the country, and, Sir, in this respect the tanning industry is by no means an exception. Sir, it ought to be a matter of common knowledge that India produces the best raw hides in the world, and for a long time they have merely been exported to the United States of America, to Germany and to other continental countries.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Did the Honourable Member say that India produces the best raw hides in the world?

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra: Yes, but I will come to that soon.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I only want to know what he said.

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra: I want the Honourable the Commerce Member to have a little patience. These foreigners, Sir, never cared for our tanned leather and were interested only in having our raw material. The United States of America, Germany, France and Italy imposed heavy tariff duties to exclude our tanned material from their markets and so our tanned leather could not be exported. What came to our help was not human sympathy but the Great War. During the War, owing to military requirements a number of tanning factories came into existence in this country. When the War was over, our Government was pleased to show some kindness. Realizing that, if no encouragement was given, the new industry might dwindle and disappear, they imposed 15 per cent. export duty on raw hides as a protective measure. Those who were interested only in the export trade raised a tremendous clamour, and the whole question was hotly debated in the year 1921 in the Legislative Assembly; but, Sir, because the Government of India were faced with a heavy deficit in that year, they did not agree either to reduce or to abolish the export duty. But, in the year 1923 they could not resist the constant pressure and they reduced it to 5 per cent. Now, Sir, after only three years we have come to the stage of abolition. Unfortunately for us, Sir, in the year 1921-22 there was a great depression in our exports; but this had nothing to do with this export duty. Trade conditions were abnormal owing to the world's slump in hides. Further the depression was due to the fact that Germany, which was one of our best importers of raw hides (*The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:* "Question.") failed to purchase owing to her economic collapse just after the War. (*The Honourable Sir Charles Innes:* "Question.")

Then, Sir, came the Fiscal Commission and it reported that the export duty should be abolished. The Taxation Enquiry Committee has also taken this view and the Honourable the Finance Member has referred to it in his support. But I want to state that Dr. Paranjpye and Sardar Jogindra Singh, the only two persons in the Committee in whom the House

can repose full confidence, have differed from the other Members. (Hear, hear.) Says the Report:

"Dr. Paranjpye and the Honourable Sardar Jogindra Singh consider that the experience of the last few years cannot be regarded as conclusive on account of the abnormal conditions due to the War and its after-effects. They consider that a vigorous effort should be made to encourage the Indian tanning industry, and that the export duty should not be given up."

Now, Sir, I submit that these two members have taken the correct view and the development of this industry is quite possible. My grounds are these. We produce, as I have just said, the finest raw material. As my Honourable friend Sir Charles Innes has questioned that statement, I am going to read for his benefit from what Sir Logie Watson, a tanning authority of Cawnpore, said in 1921 on this subject. He is reported to have said:

"I do not know of any country, Sir, producing buffaloes in the numbers in which they are produced in India. We find a few stray ones in Egypt and occasionally around Constantinople and Smyrna. But I have never seen them in numbers in any other part of the world, and I say therefore that India has a monopoly of buffaloes and as a monopoly we ought to protect it to our advantage. I am not aware, Sir, that any other country in the world produces cow hides of the qualities and kinds that India produces. But I am subject to correction. Sir, I am intimately acquainted with China hides. China does not produce the same class of cow hides as India does."

I believe this conclusively answers the Commerce Member's interruption. Besides having fine raw material we have got certain other advantages. Acacia pods and bark, Indian sumach; the tanner's cassia, mangroves, and myrabclans are the materials which are required for tanning, and I submit, Sir, that these are also available in India. The only thing that stood in the way of our tanning industry in the past was a lack of expert knowledge on the part of our tanners and good management. Given these two things, I am of opinion that the tanning industry of India can be developed to an enormous extent.

It has been said that on account of the export duty the export trade in raw hides has suffered. I want to point out that this is not so. In 1920 we exported 70,000 tons of raw hides. This was a year of boom for raw hides and therefore an abnormal year. 1920-21 on the other hand was the worst year for the trade; we exported only 24,000 tons of raw hides. But in 1921-22, the figure went up to 40,500. In 1922-23 it just came down a little to 45,700 tons. In 1923-24 it went up to 48,900, in 1924-25 it was 47,700 tons.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: May I just remind the Honourable Member that he is quoting the figures for hides and skins, and not hides? We are only concerned with hides.

Fandit Dwarka Prasad Misra: Separate figures are not available and, therefore, I have to mix them up.

Now, another point is whether our tanning industry is actually developing or not. This can be known from the annual exports of tanned hides from this country to foreign countries. In 1919-20 we exported 28,000 tons of tanned leather. As I have said, this was an abnormal year. In 1920-21 when there was depression, it came down to 6,000 tons. In 1921-22, it went up to 10,800 tons; in 1922-23 to 14,600 tons and in 1923-24 to 18,000 tons. From this it is clear that the industry is developing and that in the future there is a great prospect for this industry. Now, Sir, for the year 1924-25 I have not got the figures as far as the export of tanned

[Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra.]

leather is concerned, but the Government publication "India in 1923-24" says:

"There was a welcome revival in the trade of tanned hides and skins, the total quantity exported increasing from 10,300 tons to 14,600 tons; and the value rising from Rs. 392 lakhs to Rs. 506 lakhs. The United Kingdom took the bulk of the exports."

Then, Sir, the report entitled "India in 1924-25" goes further:

"The trade in tanned hides and skins showed a continuation of last year's revival. The total quantity exported was more than 18,000 tons valued at Rs. 5.90 crores. Among individual tanned hides, cow hides showed the largest increase; rising from 8,530 tons valued at Rs. 1.99 crores to 11,466 tons valued at Rs. 2.77 crores. As in previous years, the United Kingdom was the principal market, taking 93 per cent. of the tanned hides and 65 per cent. of the tanned skins."

It is quite clear from this that, given an opportunity, this industry can be developed to a considerable extent, but as I have said in the very beginning, Government are more anxious to exploit our raw material than to encourage an industry in this country. With these remarks, Sir, I support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Iyengar.

Sir Walter Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated

3 P.M.

Non-Official): Sir, my Honourable friend from Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly made, I think, some rather unnecessary remarks about the Chambers of Commerce. I think if he has a good case to argue on its merits, he might argue it on its merits. I think that was the only blemish in an otherwise quite fair speech, from his point of view. This from my point of view is not a matter of Chambers of Commerce *versus* anybody else; quite frankly there are conflicting interests and within the Chambers of Commerce that I represent opinions are divided. But the majority are in favour of the withdrawal of the export duty on hides. We are not discussing skins to-day at all. Sir, I mentioned the other day which were in favour of withdrawal and which were not. I might perhaps have added that the Bombay Chamber, as a Chamber, was neutral and did not vote either way. The majority are in favour of the withdrawal of this duty in the interests, as they see it, of the trade of the country. The object of this duty, as was explained by the Finance Member in the Imperial Council in 1919, was to protect Indian tanneries which were started during the War. Now there is a point to be emphasized there, that it was to protect the tanneries started during the War. The tanneries started before the War have on the whole been very successful in India and need no further protection. If it could be shown that the tannery industry as a whole needed protection to-day I should say, as I did originally on the Steel Bill, that the proper way to protect it would be by a system of bounties; but the protection does not appear to be needed for the reasons I have stated. The new tanneries have certainly had a very uphill battle, but the evidence I have is that the protection which has been given by this export duty has not been successful in its object and has, on the other hand, hampered an export trade. Now interests differ so much on this question. There are certain ports that have an export trade where there are no tanneries. If you take Bombay, Bombay has a considerable export trade in hides, but it also has its tanneries. Cawnpore has its tanneries, but it has no export trade at all as a port, so that obviously interests differ. As I see it, the object was to encourage the tanning of hides within the country, but what has happened? I do not want to quote a lot of figures because my Honourable friend Mr. Misra quoted some, and after all they are rather dull to listen to, but the point from the statistics is this.

that, before the War we used to export on an average something like nine to ten thousand tons of hides, tanned or dressed, to a value of between 150 and 180 lakhs. Now if we turn to the figures of the post-war years we find that between 1921 and 1922 exports had fallen to about 6,000 tons, which was the figure mentioned by my friend Mr. Misra, of a value of 146 lakhs. In 1922 they reached the same level in bulk as before the War, namely, 10,000 tons, and, owing to the high prices of skins the value had gone up to 231 lakhs. Now if we take the figures—I will not go into details—for 1925-26, we find that the exports for that year were 12,000 tons, an increase in 12 years of only 20 per cent. Therefore, our export trade, showing a figure like that, can hardly claim that an export duty has been very successful! On the other hand, our imports of hides—here we are dealing with much smaller figures—have gone up. Our imports of dressed leather and so on have gone up. If the import is increasing in this way then that might be regarded as an argument for some form of protection, but even if it were it would not affect the argument for the export duty. Now surely it is an economic proposition with which we can start that an export duty falls upon the producer. Who is the producer of hides? The producer of hides is the agriculturist and in a place like Burma, where there is no tanning industry, when cattle die—if you have an export duty—it merely means that the man whose cattle died gets less value for the hides. The Taxation Enquiry Committee and the Fiscal Commission have both been very definite that this is a tax which ought to be removed. I do not think my Honourable friend Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar has made any case at all for keeping it on except in certain districts. Well, as I pointed out, the tanning factories are very few in India and they are in very few places, but your export duty if you keep it on applies to every port in the country. Now is it right that every place in the country should suffer for these few factories that are in existence in special places, and if a duty is necessary to protect them then an export duty is not the way to do it. You must admit that if you have an export duty, and supposing it is to protect your factories to some extent, it is also going to affect your consumer of hides in the country. You have further to consider this point, that India only uses the best of India's own hides. The Indian tanner cannot use the really poor hides and those are the hides that are exported to a very large extent. As I pointed out, we are only exporting to-day about half the hides that we exported before the War. Do we want to lose that, or do we want to encourage it? And if the duty is proved to be, as it is claimed in so many places to be, an adverse factor, then why not abolish it? My Honourable friend Mr. Lamb from Burma is anxious to give you a few facts and figures appertaining to Burma, so I will not trench upon his ground, but the point I found is this, that the agriculturist now is unable to sell a great many of these hides upcountry. The hide trade apparently is bad and it has not paid; the hide prices have not been able to cover the cost of expensive railway freights down to the ports for export. Do not forget that the best hides are used in India and it is the other stuff, that India has not been able to make a success of in tanning, that goes out. These hides go out very largely in a half-dressed or half-tanned condition where they can be treated in foreign countries but not here. The world demand for hides also is not what it was and therefore you cannot afford to be quite so independent as you could. There has been a considerable falling off in the actual consumption of leather. The same number of boots are not worn as used to be worn; people wear shoes where formerly they wore boots; I think, so far as I have applied my mind to it, the case for the

[Sir Walter Willson.]

withdrawal of the export duty is a very good one. It was put on, as I told you, for the purpose of encouraging the factories which started during the War. If, as my friend from Tanjore says, they are having a bad time of it, (Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: "All of them.") that proves my point that it has failed in its object and therefore on the economic ground that it is a bad tax and falls upon the producer, I support the Finance Bill and oppose the amendment moved by my Honourable friend.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty (Salem and Coimbatore *cum* North Arcot: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my Honourable friend from Madras. Sir Gordon Fraser, who knows something about the tanning industry in Madras and who for some time was a Member of this House, has sent telegrams to some of the Madras representatives on this proposal of the Honourable the Finance Member to abolish the duty on hides,—and in the message that he has sent he concludes as follows:

"Cannot approach Sir Walter Willson as the Calcutta Chamber favours withdrawal of the duty on hides."

Finding that it will be of no use to approach Sir Walter Willson on this question, he has made a frantic appeal to the Madras representatives to do something to protect this very important industry in Madras. I am not prepared to argue that the export duty on hides can be justified purely on fiscal or economic grounds. To my mind there are very cogent arguments that might be advanced against an export duty imposed upon an article which is not a monopoly commodity. In such a case the burden of the duty would generally fall on the producer of the article itself. But the question of the duty on hides should not be viewed purely from that stand-point at present. In 1919 Government imposed an export duty of 15 per cent. on raw hides; and this measure was deliberately adopted as a measure to protect the Indian tanning industry. In 1923 the duty was reduced to 5 per cent. and I submit the step that the Government took in 1923 was not justified in so far as they had not satisfied themselves that the time had come when the industry did not need protection any longer. Even now the Honourable the Finance Member, who has made this proposal to withdraw the export duty, has not told us whether in his opinion the tanning industry of India does not require protection any longer. Sir, the question of the export duty on hides is mixed up with the question of protecting the tanning industry in India. If we are convinced that the tanning industry does not require protection at all, certainly we would be justified in abolishing the export duty. But that is a matter on which the Finance Member has not expressed any opinion; and it is a matter upon which I am not competent to express a final opinion. What I submit is that before any steps are taken to withdraw the export duty the whole matter, whether the tanning industry does require protection, must be examined. I understand that the tanning industry has already applied to the Government to have this question referred to the Tariff Board; and my submission to-day is that, until the question is examined by the Tariff Board, and until some definite conclusions are arrived at whether the industry does require protection or not, it would be unwise to withdraw the export duty on hides. If the duty is to be withdrawn, it is up to the Finance Member to prove that the

industry does not require protection or to place before the House other proposals to protect the tanning industry. I would, therefore, submit to him, Sir, that the export duty ought to be retained until the whole question is examined by the Tariff Board and definite conclusions are arrived at whether the tanning industry in India requires protection or not.

Mr. W. S. Lamb (Burma: European): Sir, I rise to give my whole-hearted support to the proposal of Government. Figuratively speaking, Burma, for whom I speak, will require a much thicker and tougher hide than that of a rhinoceros if it were to be protected from such measures as this duty which we are now discussing. When I spoke on the general discussion of the Budget, I said that the firms in Burma who are engaged in the hide trade were more or less irretrievably ruined. That, Sir, is a plain statement of fact. The two firms who are now dealing in the hide business have been losing steadily for several years. They have really held on in the hope that this duty would be removed and they would be given an opportunity for recouping their losses. The other day the senior of the bigger of the two firms wrote to me thus:

"I may assure you that with full knowledge of the continued harm the tax will do not only to ourselves but to Burma, I will have to hand over the whole of my concern to the bank, and that means the loss of a power which commercially and politically has helped Burma and Burmans a great deal during the last 40 years."

It has been represented that in the world trade depression, hides, like other things, have suffered, and we are told that, especially in India hides are no longer required for soldiers' boots and other goods. In some degree, no doubt, these factors are responsible for Burma losses. But there is not the slightest doubt that in the case of Burma this 5 per cent. duty is the millstone that by itself, on the authority of the Finance Member, poisons relations. The hide business in Burma has never been a very profitable one; even on a considerable turnover, the profit is very small. As is well known, the hides in Burma are distinctly inferior to those exported from India. At no time and in no country can Burma command anything like as good a price as the Indian hides, and, as my friend Sir Walter Willson pointed out, inferiority does not commend itself to the Madras tanners. In this connection, in speaking of the inferiority of the Burma hides, I would draw attention to what the Fiscal Commission have said:

"There can be no doubt that the duty has, as we should have expected, injured the producer and served to aggravate the depression. We have received evidence that the duty has been particularly injurious to the trade in low-quality hides (which as a matter of fact the Indian tanners do not require). The Indian tanners wish to retain for themselves the high-class hide for which, even with the export duty, there is some demand abroad. But in order to obtain this advantage, the trade in low-quality hides, which depends almost entirely on their support, has been seriously injured."

So much for the duty, Sir. Burma suffers in a peculiar manner, more or less entirely its own. Writing in June of last year, the firm which has the largest trade in hides in Burma wrote to this effect:

"We are not novices in the business and it is no pleasure for us to write like this but we humbly submit that on the top of other taxes to pay 5 per cent. on a fictitious turnover is a burden no business should be called upon to bear or certainly not a business such as hides alone. We say fictitious as the Government of India makes the value of our hides, not us or our buyers, and as an indication of its correctness we will take existing values as imposed by them on two articles, namely, dry cow hides and goat skin. (I am not dealing with the second.) Other hides suffered in about the same ratio as dry cow hides. The Government valuation, 6 as. 6 pice, per pound, paid irrespective of quality for the purposes of averaging as above. We have taken our average and on the last cabled advice the value is about 6 pence per lb."

[Mr. W. S. Lamb.]

That is 6d. per lb. sold in Italy or Europe, after cost, insurance, freight and everything else had been paid, so that actually the incidence of this duty is not 5 per cent. but somewhere nearly 10 per cent. on the actual value. Well, that is one severe handicap. There is another one which entitles, and has always entitled, Burma to a special measure of sympathy. That is due to the fact that, whereas it is possible to ship from Bengal and other Indian ports to Europe, to Italy where these particular hides are taken, for 45 shillings per ton of 50 cubic feet, from Rangoon or other Burma ports to Italy transshipping is necessary at Port Said, and the freight rate, instead of being 45 shillings, is 135 shillings per ton weight. Well, making a comparison, if you presume 75 cubic feet to a ton of hides, you will find that Burma freight rates are actually twice what they are from India. So that, even if in the first place Burma had been left out when this duty was put on, it would have hurt nobody because it would not have paid an exporter to send his goods down to Rangoon for shipment to those points.

I spoke, Sir, of existing firms: actually now there are only two. But when conditions were more favourable than they are now, two other firms of very high standing with lots of money behind them actually took up this tannery business, went to a great deal of expense, made a great number of experiments, installed very expensive and valuable plant. They did not last more than a year or two. And it is more or less—at least I am advised that for one reason or another, unavoidable reasons, so I am told—it is impossible to undertake tanning in Burma. Consequently we are entirely dependent on export. I should like to give Honourable Members some figures. In the three years before the War Burma shipped to Europe, mainly to Italy, the following quantities:

	Tons.
1910-11	6,000
1911-12	6,000
1912-23	7,000

—a total in three years of 19,000 tons.

Coming to the last three years, the figures for export are:

1923-24	2,000
1924-25	3,000
1925-26	4,000

and in the ten months of 1926-27, 2,600 tons only. Madras takes skin—we are not discussing this—and hides. They take only salted cow hides amounting in the last two years to some 900 tons per annum so that the Madras tanneries cannot be said to be doing Burma any good. Now, Sir, in conclusion I should like to quote from a letter from the firm to which I have referred:

“For some years now we have been working with reduced staff and cut down salaries and wages to an irreducible minimum. We find that since the incidence of the tax we have paid under this heading no less a sum than Rs. 6,39,745 and since 1920 we have made a net loss of no less than Rs. 8,21,153, or in other words, we have exhausted our capital, liquid and otherwise, in trying to compete with the above dreadful handicap. It is no longer a question of bad trade. The trade will not buy Burma hides at prices which will permit us to pay the above, taxes, freight and other expenses and leave sufficient to make it worth while for the ordinary jungleman or supplier to flay the dead cattle. Salaries, Directors' remuneration, wages, cooly hire, etc., for the whole of 1925-26 come to less than we paid in export duty alone. If this tax cannot be abolished then we must inevitably close down.”

This is from the firm which has been established in Burma for some 50 years. They have no other interest than that of hides. They do something like 80 or 90 per cent. of the hide business in Burma and the case I have given may properly and legitimately be taken as representing Burma's case. I strongly support the Government proposals.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Sir, I gave an amendment which covers both tea and hides. This is particularly half of my amendment and I support it. As to the economic aspect of the question, from the point of view of export and import duty, protection of the Indian leather industry, the question has been well put by my friends Mr. Iyengar, Mr. Chetty and Mr. Misra and though I am equally interested as Madrasis, in all kinds of protection of the leather industry for my constituency has one of the biggest tanning factories in India, the Utkal tannery, which is on the brink of ruin so to say—I should much like to save it—there is another and a larger economic aspect of the question indirectly affected here, which I should specially like to point out. It is something like a bye-product of this measure of legislation which I am afraid has escaped notice. Hides are of two kinds. One is hide of live cattle and another, hide of dead cattle. (*An Honourable Member:* “Live?”) Yes, when they are killed, slaughtered. (*Another Honourable Member:* “They are not live.”). They are slaughtered. I beg your pardon. Then hide made of slaughtered cattle is the better stuff, and the other kind, the inferior stuff, is practically the only hide exported now, because the superior stuff, which makes better leather with less cost is required for the native tanning industry. The little of the inferior stuff which is being exported outside bears this customs duty; consequently the export is dull, for foreigners do not buy hides of slaughtered cattle on account of the export duty. Now, if you abolish this duty altogether, the hides of slaughtered cattle will be largely demanded on account of their cheapness and will be exported in great quantities and that will have an indirect effect on the cattle of the country. This is then an agricultural problem. We do not know if we have enough cattle to kill. There is a theory recently started, though I can not say whether it should be objected to only on sentimental grounds or on other grounds as well, that our old and infirm cattle should be killed so that a better kind of cattle may be bred in this country. I do not know whether India will subscribe to this kind of theory, but all the same, cattle killed for hides will never be selected from the old and infirm beasts. I am sure that if this export duty is abolished, in addition to its effects on our tanning industry, it will have a very great effect, so far as it goes, in this direction that people will be induced not only to slaughter but even to poison our young and plump cattle in greater numbers and that will have a very sad effect on our agriculture. We are rather too short of cattle already and we are going to breed our cattle and multiply them, and at such a time, apart from other considerations, we should not think of abolishing this export duty on hides. When other points from the economic aspect have been fairly dealt with, I did not want to give a silent vote, without mentioning this important aspect of the matter. I support the motion.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I have given notice of an amendment to the same effect as the one that is now before the House, and I need hardly say that I rise to give my support to the amendment.

The hide tanning industry is reported to me to be the third most important industry in the hands of Indians in India, and the most important industry in the Madras Presidency. We have had from Honourable Members

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representing Madras in this House some idea as to how, if this export duty is now abolished, that important industry and the 500 and odd tanneries that have been established in that Presidency during the War and even before are likely to suffer. I am not interested in the hide tanning industry at all; luckily, my Presidency is not tangibly interested in that either. As Sir Walter Willson said, even in the Associated Chambers of Commerce meeting the Bombay Chamber of Commerce was neutral and did not express any opinion. But as far as the Indian Chambers of Commerce are concerned, at the last meeting of the Federation of the Indian Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta last December they unanimously passed a resolution supporting the amendment and opposing the Government suggestion for abolishing this duty. We had there representatives from about 30 or very nearly 40 Indian commercial bodies from all over India and there was not a single dissident that this export duty on hides should be allowed to be abolished at this stage. I am quite aware, and the Federation of the Indian Chambers were quite aware, of the opinion expressed by the Fiscal Commission and also by the majority members of the Indian Taxation Committee that on the bare technical principle any export duty is undesirable. I myself endorse that but in this particular question there appears to me to be such practical reasons for considering the technical aspect of the principle in relation with the past history and the past utility of this industry that I venture to suggest that one should not be swayed by the mere technique of this question. It has been suggested that this duty was put on in 1919 to the extent of 15 per cent. for the purpose of helping the tanneries which had been established during the war period. I think that is what my Honourable friend Sir Walter Willson said.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: It was intended to protect the leather industry.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Including tanneries, I take it then. I hope the Honourable the Commerce Member will not urge to-day that the Government of India were ignorant in 1919 of the sound economic principle that an export duty on raw material is undesirable. Why then were the Government of India a party to this export duty of 15 per cent. on the export of raw hides from India, and I venture to ask Sir Walter Willson why the Associated Chambers of Commerce, including the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, pressed for this export duty? I submit that the reason is that during the war period the tanneries of Madras did such yeoman service to the British army and to the armies of the Empire and the armies of the Allies that the Government of India could only do a very very small service in return to these tanneries by putting on this export duty. Seven years have rolled by since then. The services rendered by men and industries during the war period are beginning to be forgotten. No wonder that this poor industry which is in the hands of Indians is now beginning to lose the sympathy even of the Commerce Member of the Government of India. I submit that an industry which was looked upon as a key industry during the war period must be preserved by the Legislature of India lest during another revival of that madness of war, India and the British armies may require similar assistance again. I feel that it is a very short-sighted policy to overlook the utility of this industry for the reason that in the immediate future one may not see any reasonable chance of use of that industry to the Government, but that is not the only claim of this tanning industry for protection at the hands of the Government of

India, even to the niggardly extent of 5 per cent. Sir Logie Watson, who represented, I understand, the Cawnpore Chamber of Commerce in 1921, said . . .

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: And the North-West Tannery.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: All to his credit, Sir. I am going to quote him as my authority. Speaking in 1921 on a motion very similar to the one now before the House he said that he had been in the tannery business in India for very nearly 32 years and he said in 1921 that 25 years before he had been pressing upon the Government of India the desirability of putting on an export duty on hides and skins in order that India might build up her own tanning industry and eventually her own leather industry. Sir Logie Watson complained that in those old days the Government of India were more deaf to popular agitation than they were in 1921, and the Great War and the cutting out of resources from other parts of the world necessitated the Government of India making India self-contained in as many directions as possible. He further said that every other country in the world, even the British colonies, Sir, have very high import duties on the import of manufactured leather from India. They want only the raw material from India and nothing else, and Sir Logie Watson recommended that the export duty on raw hides from India should be as high as these countries have import duties on manufactured material from India. It is only by that method that Sir Logie Watson said that those countries would learn to have tanned hides from India instead of raw hides. Sir Charles Innes, I think, interrupted my Honourable friend, Mr. Misra, when he said that in his opinion India produced the best cow hides. Sir Logie Watson himself after 25 years' experience said that, and although he very modestly said that he spoke subject to correction, the Commerce Member, in 1921 at any rate, did not correct him. Sir Logie Watson went further and said that there is no other country—I will almost quote his sentence—

“I am not aware, Sir, that any other country in the world produces cowhides of the qualities and kinds that India produces, but I am subject to correction.”

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: May I just point out that I think Sir Logie Watson was referring to the Indian thin hide. It is not a very good hide but it is a particular kind of hide.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: And to that extent, then, it has no competitor in the world. I am giving Sir Logie Watson's own version; if the Commerce Member knows better, he will say so. The point is this. Are we, in this House, going to be a party to ruining 500 tanneries in Madras to which protection was given by the Government of India almost or rather actually with the consent of both Indian and British commerce in that year? In that year, Sir, 1919, the export duty was 15 per cent. Since then it was reduced to 5 per cent. My Honourable friend, Mr. Lamb, said that this 5 per cent. duty poisoned the relations between Burma and Delhi. I must congratulate Burma on having poisoned its relations with Delhi and having that poison felt at Delhi for the sake of 5 per cent. Sir, with as high a figure as 12½ per cent., we failed in this House to make a mark on the Finance Member. The point, Sir, is this: Is this 5 per cent. duty a heavy tax? If it is a heavy tax, then it must be affording considerable protection to the tanneries. If there is nothing in the 5 per cent. duty and it is an insignificant burden, why does my friend from Burma complain so bitterly about it?

Mr. W. S. Lamb: I have suggested that it is nearly ten per cent.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: If that is so, that may require looking into; if it works out to more than 5 per cent., it can be remedied. Do I take it that a definite 5 per cent. incidence will not be minded by Burma? All that we are considering to-day is 5 per cent. But I do not wish, Sir, to overlook the practical difficulty of Burma and another port which has not been mentioned—Karachi. Sir, on the previous discussion on this question, representatives from Burma and from Karachi were for total abolition of this export duty on hides. I believe that in this question we must not be swayed by the interests of any one province as against the other. The two provinces whose interests are antagonistic to these are Madras and the United Provinces. Now, in Madras you have 500 tanneries which have been built up with the good work during the war period and which—if I am to rely upon the reports which I have been receiving and which my Honourable colleagues have been receiving from Madras—are just beginning to get as it were on *terra firma*. What is, Sir, the complaint of Burma and Karachi? Their complaint is that they have no tanneries. They say "Not having tanneries we suffer, because we have got to pay the duty."

Mr. W. S. Lamb: I said we have hides but they would not tan.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: If there are tanneries in Burma which would not tan, there must be some special reasons. Surely there are not such hides that they are not capable of being tanned. The countries which import hides from Burma surely do not use them without tanning, and it is up to Burma to find out how they can tan these hides of theirs before they export them. But I take it, Sir, that Burma is content to export the raw material for ever and does not aspire at manufacturing the raw material in order that it may eventually be able to supply the needs of Burma in the matter of leather. Is that the best aspiration of my Honourable friend Mr. Lamb from Burma?

Mr. W. S. Lamb: By no means.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Why not take the next step then? Why do you ask this House to go back and to take a retrograde step and encourage the export of raw hides?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Mr. Lamb told us that Burma did set up her tannery but the tannery failed.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: There must be some special reason for the tannery in Burma not being successful if tanneries in Madras can succeed. The Madras tanneries did very good service during the war period and I may remind the Honourable Member that the Government of India acknowledged that service in very handsome terms. Surely between hides produced in Burma and Madras there cannot be such a tremendous difference that the one is incapable of being tanned. . . .

Mr. W. S. Lamb: Are all hides from Madras tanned?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: The majority of the hides shipped are tanned.

Mr. W. S. Lamb: All of them are not tanned.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: If Madras can do the tanning, the other places also can. I am sure if you put on a duty of 15 per cent. not only Madras but all-India will tan all hides and nobody will export raw hides. That is the whole point. Is this House going to encourage a measure which will practically compel the local tanner to shut down and compel him to handle the raw material merely as a commission agent? That I submit is an absolutely retrograde step, and, if I may say so, I am surprised that the Commerce Department should father a step or give support to a step of this nature. It is, however, very necessary not to overlook the fact that conditions at the moment are that some places, as Burma and Karachi, have not got tanneries of the right sort. I think it is time for this House definitely to make up their minds in such a manner that persons interested in hides in every part may realise that they have either got to have tanneries or those hides and skins must go to other places where there are tanneries. I am sure if the Government of India had not been weak-kneed and had not given way and reduced this export duty by 10 per cent., by now, all these parts would have had tanneries of one sort or another and there would have been no question of the export duty being asked to be removed. In 1921-22 when there was a tremendous depression in all the countries which are customers of Indian hides and skins and when, as we know, the Munitions Board in London had a tremendous quantity of raw hides from here which they were bound to put on the market for sale, under the excuse of depression of trade affecting the export, Sir, the 15 per cent. duty was reduced by 10 per cent. There is only a bare 5 per cent. now left. The 5 per cent. is a landmark of a very wise attitude of the Government of India in 1919. It will now enable this House to definitely give their vote as to whether they want to scrap this and go back to the position where India can only export raw material and should not aspire at an industry which will make India self-contained as far as the provision of leather within the country is concerned. I do not wish, Sir, in the slightest degree to overlook the difficulties of either Bengal, Burma or Karachi, . . .

Sir Walter Willson: Did I understand the Honourable Member to say there were no tanneries in Calcutta?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: If there are, what is the objection?

Sir Walter Willson: There are.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: They must be very few.

Sir Walter Willson: Very good ones.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I am very glad to hear it. Then I think those tannery owners do not sympathise with the views of the Associated Chamber. I understand in Bengal itself there is a division of opinion. I am sorry my friend Sir Walter Willson did not tell us that. However, let us not put a premium on those who wish to work in the old old rut and will not move a step forward in the direction of making India self-contained as far as using the raw materials of the country is concerned. Let this House definitely declare that it proposes to encourage the utilization within India of all the raw materials produced in India, and I am sure that both Burma and parts of Bengal which may at present complain, and such part of Karachi as may complain, will all reconcile themselves from now to the correct aspiration of India and tanneries will be put up and the

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export of raw hides from India may be a thing of the past. I therefore very cordially support the amendment before the House, and I hope, Sir, that, after the Honourable the Commerce Member has put forward the case of the Government of India, the House will give him a definite lead which will prevent a motion like this coming up from time to time, and which will give those interested in the export of raw hides definitely to understand what the Legislature of India thinks.

U. Khin Maung (Burma: Non-European): Sir, I have every intention of intervening in this debate, but unlike the unintentional interveners, I will be as brief as possible. I would not like to ply the House with pious platitudes and will say what I have to say in the shortest possible time. All that I want to do, Sir, is to endorse the remarks that have fallen from the lips of the Honourable Mr. Lamb, who represents Burma, and to thank the Finance Member for taking off the heavy and the weary weight of this duty on hides. Four of us in this House, Sir, represent Burma and I am very glad that for once there will be unanimity of opinion, though that unanimity is reached from different angles. I hope, Sir, that my Honourable friend U. Tok Kyi agrees with me in this respect. Speaking during the budget discussion U. Tok Kyi said:

“Export duties generally have an injurious effect and I think we should follow the very good example set by the United States of America. Sir, in the Budget that has been presented to us by the Honourable Finance Member, proposals have been made to do away with the export duty on hides and tea. It is very gratifying and I hope that the few other export duties that stand in the way will follow suit in no time. It is really gratifying, Sir”

It will be more gratifying, Sir, if I can find my Honourable friend Mr. U. Tok Kyi following me to the same lobby I am going into on this subject.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, my Honourable friend Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar made a special appeal to me as an old Madras officer not to press this proposal for the removal of the export duty on hides. Sir, I think I can claim to have had more connection with the tanning industry of Madras than any other Member of this House. For many years.

Mr. T. Prakasam: On a point of order, Sir.

Mr. President: What is the Honourable Member's point of order?

Mr. T. Prakasam: On a point of order, Sir. I would like to know whether this is a final reply and the debate will be closed after it?

Mr. President: This is not the time for raising this particular point of order. The Honourable Member must wait.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: For many years I was Director of Industries in Madras and as Director of Industries I had to run what is known as the Leather Training School in Madras. Moreover, my own son is the chief lieutenant or one of the lieutenants of Sir Gordon Fraser, and I am not at all sure that the information which has been supplied to my Honourable friend Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas was not supplied by my own son.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: I acknowledge the assistance, Sir, with many thanks.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The point I wish to make, Sir, is this. If I with all this connection, this ancient connection with the Madras tanning industry, stand up here before the House and ask the House to take off this export duty I think the House may give me credit by believing that I have very strong reasons for doing so. It is against all the interest I have always taken in the tanning industry; but the real explanation is this, that since 1920 I have been connected with the Government of India. It was my business, first as Secretary in the Commerce Department and secondly as Member in the Commerce Department, not to take any sectional interest in this matter but to try to judge of the matter from the point of view of India as a whole; and the House may depend upon it that if the Government of India have come before the House with this proposal to remove the export duty altogether it is because they are satisfied that that is the right course in the interests of India.

Just let me remind the House very briefly of the reasons why this export duty was put on. It was put on in 1919. It was put on at a time when, as Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas said, every hide that India could produce was required at Home for purposes connected with the War. We thought at that time that we were in a position to dictate the form in which our raw material could leave India. We thought by putting on this heavy duty with a rebate in favour of Empire countries we should be able not only to protect and encourage the tanning and leather industries in India but that we should keep within the Empire a key industry. That, Sir, was in 1919, and I have had occasion once before to say in this House that in 1919 I do not believe either that Government or even business men were sane. It was in April, 1920, that I came in as Secretary of the Commerce Department and, although I do not wish to give away the secrets of the Government of India, I should like to say that in June of that year I, as Secretary of the Commerce Department, raised the question whether this export duty should not be abolished. That, Sir, is my answer to Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar when he said I took up this proposal at the bidding of the Associated Chambers of Commerce. What are the facts? In 1919-20 when we put on this export duty we exported from India 54,000 tons of hide. In 1920-21 our exports dropped to 18,000 tons. The inevitable slump had come and we found that our export duty was doing no good at all, that it was not protecting the tanning industry in India, that it was not encouraging the leather industry in India and that it was doing nothing to keep a key industry within the Empire; all that it was doing was to damage our own trade in raw hides without doing any good whatsoever. Had the financial position admitted it, we should have taken off that duty very much earlier than we did; but as everybody knows, our finances got worse and worse and it was only in 1923 that at considerable sacrifice of revenue we managed to get the duty reduced from 15 to 5 per cent. and it is only now that we feel we are in a position when we can take the final step and get the duty taken off altogether. Now, what I say is this, that the objects why we put on this export duty have been entirely unfulfilled. The only result that the export duty has had has been to damage one of the most important export trades of India. As Sir Walter Willson told us, in 1912-13 we exported 60,000 tons of raw hides from India; in 1918-14 we exported 56,000 tons of raw hides from India. What can we export in 1927-28? 29,000 tons. That is to say, our exports

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of raw hides have decreased by half. (*Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar*: "They have increased recently.") I do not suggest that it is the export duty that has killed this trade; I do not suggest that for a moment. But there are various other causes, causes which make for depression in the leather trade throughout the world. But what I do say is this: that where the demand for leather throughout the world is not so great as it was, then our exporters of raw hides are naturally finding more and more difficulty in getting a market for their hides. When they are finding that difficulty, what are we doing? We are adding to their difficulties by putting on this export duty. We know perfectly well—and *Mr. Shanmukham Chetty* very fairly admitted it—we know perfectly well that in this export tax we are not passing the incidence of the tax on to the foreign consumer; the incidence of the tax is borne by our own producers. In the light of the figures I have given, I defy anybody to deny that fact.

But, Sir, it is said that it is quite worth while making our producers undergo these sacrifices in order that we may encourage the Madras tanning industry. From what *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas* said, this House might think that the Madras tanning industry is an infant industry. It is nothing of the sort. It has been going on for years. In 1912-13 we shipped from India 11,000 tons of tanned hides; in 1913-14 we shipped nearly 9,000 tons; now we are shipping about 13,000 tons; that is to say, in spite of the fact that we have had this export duty on for several years now, there is hardly any expansion in that industry. Nor is there likely to be any expansion in it. *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas* made a fervent appeal to us not to ruin this flourishing industry and he suggested that if we took off this export duty we should be ruining this industry. Sir, if *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas* had studied his brief better, I am quite sure that he would not have made that remark. *Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas* knows, or he ought to know as well as I do, that what is wrong with the Madras tanning industry is not so much the question of prices but lack of demand. After all what the Madras tanning industry exports is the rough tanned hide generally known as the East India kip, and the use of that East India kip is almost entirely for upper leathers of boots. Now, what is the main reason why Madras is finding difficulty in selling its tanned kips? The main reason is the fact that practically every one in this House is wearing to-day shoes instead of boots. There is very much less demand for upper leather for boots. That is one of the main reasons why the Madras industry at the present time is in a depressed condition. What is the other reason? The other reason is the deterioration in the quality of the Madras leather. I have got here a representation sent out to us from the Association of Factors, Merchants and Importers of Leather, Hides and Tanning Materials in London. Now, these Madras kips are bought almost entirely in the United Kingdom and there is practically no market for them anywhere else and these people have sent out a representation to us drawing our attention to the quality of tanned hides which are now being produced in the Madras Presidency, as compared with that which existed some time back. They say:

"Unquestionably the quality of these kips is deteriorating"

and they attribute it largely, to the use by tanners in India of wattle bark instead of Avaram bark, which was really the advantage that Madras had over other provinces in the matter of these tanned kips. They had available to them a tanning stuff which

is known as Avaram down in Madras or Tarwad up in Northern India; its Latin name is *Cassia Auriculla* and it is extremely good tan stuff, simple to use and gives a fine sort of leather. Unfortunately during the War there was a great run on this Avaram, and since the War I understand that it has been used for manure and other purposes; at any rate, it has become more expensive. The Madras tanners are taking more and more to wattle with the result that the Madras tanned kip is not so satisfactory a material as it was before. I have brought out these two points, because I want to show what is wrong with the Madras industry, and the main causes which have made the depression in the Madras tanning industry are two. The demand is not going up because as the tanners are taking to more and more wattle their material is deteriorating because they use wattle instead of Avaram. I do not for a moment admit that if this 5 per cent. export duty were removed, it would, as Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas put it, ruin the Madras tanning industry. It will not do anything of the sort. As Sir Walter Willson so clearly put it, what we have to decide to-day is what is the right, what is the fairest thing to do for India as a whole. On the one hand, you have the Madras tanners asking that this 5 per cent. export duty should be retained. In effect, they are asking that they should get the advantage of the 5 per cent. duty on their hides. At whose cost are they going to get that advantage? Not at the cost of this House; not at the cost of us, but at the cost of the producers all over India. That is what they are asking us to do. Cawnpore naturally takes the same view. Cawnpore likes to buy hides. Cawnpore itself makes leather. That is why I do not altogether accept the authority of my friend Sir Logie Watson. Sir Logie Watson in this matter is an interested party, so his own firm . . .

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: May I ask, Sir, if the exporting firms in Burma and Calcutta are not equally interested? Why do the Government of India accept their authority?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The exporting firms in Calcutta, Karachi and Burma are just as much entitled to put up their representations to the Government of India and to this House as the Madras tanners are. But, Sir, the exporting firms in these particular places do not make the same sort of statement as was quoted by Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas on the authority of Sir Logie Watson. (*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas:* "That is a matter of opinion.") I, Sir, do not accept the statement of Sir Logie Watson, that India has a monopoly of a special type of hides, an inferior quality of hide, but a light hide. What Sir Logie Watson pointed out was that that hide could not be had anywhere else in the world. I myself have made careful inquiries into that point, and I was not able to confirm Sir Logie Watson's statement. If India has the monopoly of this particular kind of hide, why is it that exports of this hide have decreased by 50 per cent. since 1913-14?

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Trade Depression.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: As I said, on the one hand, this House has got these representations put before it by Madras and by Cawnpore. On the other hand, we have to consider the interests of the producers all over India. It may be that those interests are represented here or that expression is given to them by the exporters of raw hides. But the interests we are concerned with are the interests of the producers all over India. Now, let us take Burma. Ever since this duty was put on,

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we in the Government of India have had the most bitter complaints from Burma against the duty. Madras has never claimed that it has ever bought hides from Burma. As Mr. Lamb told the House, Burma itself started a tannery during the War. That at any rate failed. Burma has no outlet for its hides except by means of exports, and yet in order that the Madras tanner may get his hides 5 per cent. cheaper, the producers all over Burma have to submit to that amount of loss. Moreover, it is perfectly true, as Mr. Lamb pointed out, that one of the inevitable disadvantages of an export rate of 5 per cent. is that that rate must inevitably be a flat rate, and a flat rate is a sort of average rate; and a rate fixed with reference to the average quality necessarily presses very much more heavily upon the inferior quality of hide than upon the superior quality of hide. And why the export duty has pressed with such severity and such unfairness on Burma is that, as Mr. Lamb has told us, Burma exports an inferior quality hide. Now, Sir, what is the reply the Government of India have got to give when the Burma Government, the Burma producers and the Burma exporters come to the Government of India and they say: "You put on that duty because you wanted to encourage tanning, in India and because you wanted to keep a key industry within the Empire: both of those objects have failed." The Government of India would have to admit that that is true. Then they go on to say: "We can prove to you, we have proved to you, that the export duty is damaging our export trade severely." The Government of India have no answer. They have to admit it is true and when they say, "Are you going to keep an export duty," what answer are we to give? Are we to say, "Yes, we are going to keep an export duty so that Madras tanneries may get their hide 5 per cent. cheaper." I ask this House with its sense of fairness, its sense of justice, is that a right reply for the Government of India to give? (*Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas*: "Absolutely.") And it is not only the same in Burma but in all Northern India. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas told us, I think he said 40 Indian Chambers of Commerce had agreed that the duty should be retained. Sir, I have no doubt that the Indian Industrial Congress, or whatever it was called, did come to that decision. I have no doubt that they came to this decision at the request of the Southern India Chambers of Commerce. (*Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar*: "Why?") But Sir, there are many associations of Indian merchants in Northern India who are just as hot against the export duty as Southern India are hot for it. I have here a representation from the Hides and Skins Association of Calcutta. That is an Indian body—at any rate, the representation I have got is signed by the Chairman who is an Indian. I have too a representation from the Mirzapur Association in the United Provinces, another Indian Association. This is not a racial question, it is simply a question of the conflicting interests of province and province and it is for this House to decide which, in all the circumstances of the case, is the right thing to do. I say when Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas said that this House should send a message that Northern India should not agree to go on exporting its raw material but should set up its own tannery, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, if he will permit me to say so, was not fully cognisant of the facts. There are many tanneries in Northern India. There are many tanneries in many of the provinces of India, and the only reason why the Madras tanning industry is largely known is that it differs from other tanning industries because Madras tans are exported. I have

given the reason, the particular conditions in Madras which led to the starting of that particular industry. But the House may take it from me that in practically every province in India there are tanneries where they work up for local purposes their raw hide. But you have got to remember that India is a very big country. India is a country where the real facts of the matter are that there are vast surpluses, surpluses of hides over and above what can be used in the country. Is there any reason on earth why those surplus hides should not be exported? They cannot be tanned. Are we not to encourage the export of those hides?

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: Is there any reason for not encouraging the export of tanned hides?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I have already explained that the export of tanned hides which has arisen in Madras fulfils a limited demand, a demand for upper leathers. They go practically nowhere, with small exceptions, but to the United Kingdom. And I do not believe myself that we can increase this export industry very greatly. My point is that, after the requirements of the country have been met, there is a very large surplus of hides for export. That export trade in raw hides used to be one of the most important export trades of India. It used to be worth something like 8 crores of rupees. We have now reduced it to something like 3 crores of rupees, and I say, after studying this question in the fullest detail, it will be wrong of this House, merely because of sectional interests, to go and make the producers of India pay 5 per cent. in order that Madras may get their advantage.

I am not taking away anything from Madras, except what I regard as an unfair advantage. It is not as if the Government were protecting this industry or as if the tax-payer were protecting this industry. What this House is doing is asking the producers of hides, that is, the agriculturists all over India, to pay in order to get Madras a slight advantage in price and I say, Sir, that that is wrong, and that is the reason why I ask this House to agree that this duty should be taken off. I appeal to this House to look at it as a measure of justice to Burma and the other provinces and not to look at it from the point of view of my Honourable friends opposite. Sir, I oppose the amendment.

(Several Honourable Members then moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: The Honourable Member from Andhradesha desired to raise a point of order. This is the stage when he should rise and not in the middle of the speech of the Honourable the Commerce Member. What is the point of order?

Mr. T. Prakasam: I would like to address you with your permission.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to raise any point of order?

Mr. T. Prakasam: I wanted to ask then whether the debate would be closed with the speech of the Honourable the Commerce Member. That was the only thing and I thought that that was the occasion when I should interrupt you, Sir.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member ought to have known that the proper time for him to rise was when the Honourable the Commerce Member was called upon and not after he began his speech. It is not

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proper to interrupt a Member in that way when he is making a speech. Either the Honourable Member should have risen to a point of order at the time when I called upon the Honourable the Commerce Member or should rise now when he has concluded his speech. The point of order which the Honourable Member raises is whether the speech of the Honourable the Commerce Member concludes the debate on this amendment. The Honourable Member knows as well as I do that the Government have not the last word in debates on amendments and therefore the debate does not conclude with the speech of the Honourable the Commerce Member. But it is for the House to consider whether they have not sufficiently discussed this question. Any speeches that are made hereafter will not be answered by the Honourable the Commerce Member as he has no further opportunity of speaking. If the Members still desire to continue the debate they are entitled to do so till the closure is moved and carried.

(Several Honourable Members again moved that the question be put.)

***Mr. Yacoob O. Ariff** (Calcutta and Suburbs Muhammadan Urban): Sir, though I am personally in the tanning industry yet it does not prevent me from supporting the demand for the abolition of the export duty on raw hides. Sir, this abolition has been supported both by the Taxation Enquiry Committee as well as the Fiscal Commission for reasons which are well known to Honourable Members. I cannot understand the argument which says that the abolition of this duty will hit the tanning industry. Indeed, with the abolition of the export duty, I look forward to a revival in trade which will benefit both the export trade as well as the tanning industry. The latter requires cheap hides and the world market requires cheap hides. The abolition of the duty will effect this. Finally, since the cost of the duty falls on the producer, I consider that it is but equitable and fair that he should be relieved of an unnecessary burden.

Sir, I oppose the amendment.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. T. Prakasam: Sir (*Several Honourable Members:* "No.") I am much obliged to the Honourable Members who say "No." I would not have risen if I had not given an amendment on this and if the amendment were not still outstanding. But for that I would not have troubled the House. There is no desire on my part to take up the time of the House or to waste my own time. With regard to your observations on point of order raised by me, Sir—you will pardon me for my personal explanation—I would not have risen at that time if there had been any interval between your calling upon the Honourable the Finance Member first by mistake instead of upon Sir Charles Innes and then Sir Charles Innes himself getting up. There was no interval at all. That is how it happened. Otherwise, I would not have made the request.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member knows that after the Commerce Member spoke for a couple of minutes he suddenly got up and raised a point of order.

Mr. T. Prakasam: That was a mistake, I admit. I should have done it a minute earlier. Please permit me to say a few words upon my own amendment which covers the one under discussion. The point made by

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

the Honourable Member in charge is that this export duty cannot be continued any longer because it failed to produce the desired effect, and he quoted certain figures before the War and certain figures after the War to show that there was no expansion in this trade and there was no need to continue this duty. In reply I may submit that the depression between 1919 and 1928 was due to several causes; but so far as Madras is concerned, I may tell Honourable Members at once how many millionaires of Madras were ruined on account of the change in the exchange ratio from 1s. 4d. to 2s. in 1920.

Maulvi A. H. Natique: What about the poor people?

Mr. T. Prakasam: 1s. 4d. was changed to 2s. by legislation here in 1920. There were protests, there were objections raised all round, and in spite of that an Ordinance had been passed, the Gold Ordinance from Simla.

Mr. President: I suppose we have had enough of the ratio controversy.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I must crave your indulgence for a minute. I am now directly giving an answer to the main and chief argument put before the House by the Honourable Member in charge that there was no expansion, the trade did not improve at all and this duty ought not to be allowed to continue. That is the argument of the Commerce Member. I am pointing out to the House that this was due to the crash and smash that came upon the merchants who were trading in hides as well as leather in Madras in that period. Allow me to point out to Honourable Members in this House that on account of the increased exchange ratio millionaires became beggars, persons who were masters of crores of rupees were not able to command a cup of tea or a cup of coffee. (Laughter.) There is no good of laughing sitting here. If those who are in charge of Government feel any doubt about these things, let them go and verify the points that are put forward here. We have come here to place certain facts and help you as far as possible if you are willing to take them. During that time, people who went to the tanning factories found them empty, there was no work, no business, no trade. That continued for 2 or 3 years. It was on account of that crisis that there was not sufficient capital. The whole trade was depressed. That was the chief cause. Sir Charles Innes shakes his head. In January 1921 there was a debate in the House of Commons as regards the terrible consequences of this change in ratio. If only the Honourable Member looks into it he will find how it had affected both the people there and the merchants who entered into contracts from here. In 1922 Sir Vithaldas Thackersey raised a debate upon that in this Assembly and that would also show how persons were ruined. The losses sustained by the Indian merchants during that period on a rough estimate exceeded nearly 100 crores of rupees. Most of the merchants who deal in this trade in the Madras Presidency are Moslem merchants and the telegram that we have received is from Mr. Jamal Mohamed, who is one of the biggest traders in hides and leather. He is also the President of the South Indian Hides and Skin Merchants' Association. In the Taxation Inquiry Committee Report also you will find in paragraph 159 what Dr. Paranjpye and Sardar Joxendra Singh said as their considered opinion. They said that the experience of the last few years could not be regarded as conclusive on account of the abnormal conditions due to the War and

[Mr. T. Prakasam.]

its after effects and they considered that a vigorous effort should be made to encourage the Indian tanning industry and that the export duty should not be given up. That is the opinion of these two gentlemen. The principle involved in the matter is the protection of the Indian industry. That principle had been abandoned by the Fiscal Commission. That principle had been given up by the majority of the Taxation Inquiry Committee when they stated that the object of the imposition of this tax should be taken to have been to see that the tanning industry in the Empire is protected. The Empire is always protected at the cost of India. In 1923, after the exchange trouble arose and when it was in full swing, the first fatal step was taken before sufficient time and opportunity were given for this "protection" to work under those terrible conditions. In 1923 they reduced the rate by 5 per cent. and then abolished 10 per cent. preference on hides and skins in the British Empire. No chance was given to this industry to rise, to lift its head and see whether it would survive or not. We are now requesting the Government to protect this industry and not to remove this little protection, however small it is. I appeal to Honourable Members to see that this home industry is protected.

(Honourable Members: "I move that the question be now put.")

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: Order, order. The question is:

"That in Part II of Schedule II to the Bill amendment No. 1 be omitted."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—53.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Acharya, Mr. M. K.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Ayyangar, Mr. M. S. Sessa.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Chaman Lall Mr.
Chetty, Mr. B. K. Shanmukham
Das, Mr. B.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
Goswami, Mr. T. C.
Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.
Ketkar, Mr. M. G.
Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.
Lajpat Rai, Lala.
Mahaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.

Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad,
Mohammad Ismail Khan, Haji.
Chaudhury.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
Sayyid.
Naidu, Mr. B. P.
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Prakasam, Mr. T.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Bahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
Roy, Mr. K. C.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan.
Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
Bahadur.
Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Singha, Kumar Chohanand.
Visandas, Mr. Harchandrai.

NOES—53.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ariff, Mr. Yacoub C.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhoré, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
 W. M. P.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.

Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra.
 Nath.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
 Natiqé, Maulvi A. H.
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Sassoon, Sir Victor.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Sykes, Mr. B. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Young, Mr. G. M.
 Zulfikar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

Mr. President: The result of the voting is :

Ayes: 58,

Noes: 53. (Applause.)

Following the practice adopted in the House of Commons in such cases, the Chair gives its casting vote as the guardian of the *status quo* and declares the amendment of Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar carried.

(Applause.)

The motion was adopted.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Sir, I beg to move :

“That in Part II of Schedule II to the Bill amendment No. 2 be omitted.”

The consequence of the amendment will be that the export duty on tea will remain as it is. In this unfortunate country both the levying and abolishing of the import and export duties work up to the injury of the indigenous industries of the country. We have seen, Sir, only just now that there was the question of the duty on hides under consideration and we felt very strongly that the duty on hides was being abolished to the detriment of the tanning industry of the country. There are only three items on which there is an export duty. By abolishing duties on tea and hides there would remain the export duty on rice. If the Government is going to be led by the question of principle only, may I ask why it is that the abolition of the duty on rice is not proposed? Only the other day we were told by the Honourable Member from Burma that this export duty is very hardly felt by the people of Burma. We were told, Sir, that the Fiscal Commission has not recommended the abolition of the duty on rice. Referring to the

[Mr. Mukhtar Singh.]

Fiscal Commission's observation on page 107 we find that they did not recommend the abolition of this duty on rice because nobody had appeared and objected. The country knows very well that in 1920-21 all the activities of the Government were practically boycotted and therefore, Sir, if nobody appeared and objected, was it not the duty of the Fiscal Commission to inquire the reasons why a distinction of this broad principle was necessary in the case of rice. This shows that we are not caring for any industry which does not concern the British people. In the case of hides, Sir, I was unfortunately not allowed to speak, but a reference to the figures will clearly show that it is the United Kingdom from which the largest amount of imports in boots and shoes and other leather goods come to this country. Sir, we know that the tea planters are generally Englishmen and many a time complaints have been made in this House against the tea planters, but still rice does not find a place for the abolition of the duty, while tea gets that favour. If we refer to the figures we find that the total amount of tea exported from India is 32,57,33,055 pounds. Out of this more than 25 crores of pounds are exported to the United Kingdom alone. This clearly shows, Sir, from what motives we are recommending the abolition of the export duty on tea. I would submit, Sir, that in every case the question of British preference should not come in. We have now from economic reasons reduced the duty on salt, and there will be a very great amount of deficit in the Budget on account of this reduction; and as the Honourable the Finance Member told us there will be no contributions given to the Provinces, on account of this reduction. Therefore, this is just the time when the Government should accept our proposal that the abolition of the export duty should not take place. I might have accepted the abolition of the export duty on tea if the Government had recommended the abolition of the duty on rice as well, so that the principle would have been maintained throughout. If they are not going to help an agricultural industry, then certainly, Sir, for an industry which I would call a luxury-producing industry I have no sympathy, and therefore I recommend to the House that my amendment should be supported.

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra: Sir, cultivation of tea is the one industry which has been most favoured by the British Government at the expense of the Indian tax-payer and I propose to prove this to the entire satisfaction of this House. The importance that is attached to this industry by the Government will be evident from some remarks in a Financial Statement of the Right Honourable James Wilson. Speaking in 1860 he said :

"There is an article which is engaging, and justly so, much interest—the cultivation of tea. The experiment made by Government at great cost in introducing it as an article of cultivation in the highlands has been eminently successful, so much so, that steps are being taken to hand it over to private enterprise. It is one of the few means we have in India of attracting European capital and European settlers. We ought to extend to it every encouragement in our power, and it certainly seems in the highest degree inconsistent that we should be spending public money to encourage the cultivation of this plant and then placing an export duty on this article at all our ports."

From this it is perfectly clear that the industry was introduced into this country to encourage European capital and European settlers. Since then many favours have been showered upon it by the Government. The cultivation was encouraged by a research department maintained at the public

cost. The labour was supplied to it by means of legislation which reduced the status of the labourer to the position of a slave. When the License tax was imposed tea planters were exempted from it by Executive Orders and subsequently when the Income-tax Act came into force they were similarly exempted from income-tax also. From all this, Sir, it is but proper to conclude that the Government have all along tried somehow or other to benefit the tea planters.

It was in the year 1916-17 that the present export duty was imposed. The planters raised a hue and cry. The depression that overtook the industry in the year 1920-21 was taken full advantage of by them and they compelled the Legislative Assembly to go into the whole question in the very first year of its existence. But, Sir, as was the case in the matter of the depression of trade in raw hides, the causes that led to the misfortune had nothing to do with the export duty. First of all, Sir, the trouble was caused by the greed of the tea planters themselves. They indulged in intensive cultivation and produced inferior grades which did not suit the task of the importing countries. Another reason was that the United Kingdom was overstocked. Yet another reason was the high rate of exchange. Then, Sir, Russia which used to buy much of our tea failed to buy as much as she used to do owing to her chaotic condition. All these things together were responsible for the depression of trade in the year 1920-21 and the export duty had absolutely no share in the matter. Then, Sir, I oppose the abolition of the export duty for the following other reasons: first of all the land tax paid by the cultivators is sufficiently low as compared with the land tax paid by those who raise other crops. The Taxation Inquiry Committee says:

"In Assam tea gardens are held on leasehold tenure for long terms at low rates of assessment. After the expiration of the term of the lease, the land is liable to be assessed under the laws in force, provided that no portion of it shall"—

—mark these words—

"at anytime be assessed at a rate higher than that payable on the most highly assessed lands in the district cultivated with any ordinary agricultural crop."

Sir Walter Willson: What paragraph?

Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra: Paragraph 71. Then, Sir, the produce per acre is also unexpectedly good. The other day I tried to inquire from Mr. Chalmers, our tea planter friend in this House, and he told me that the yield per acre was from 4 maunds to 12 maunds. Of course he was careful enough to inquire which side I was going to support; but all the same he was too kind to withhold the information. Then, Sir, I must point out that the prices also are unusually high at present. They are as follows:

Year	Price.
	A. P.
1889-90	8 2
1918-19	8 9
1919-20	8 8
1920-21	6 10
1921-22	9 3
1922-23	12 3
1923-24	14 11
1924-25	15 9

[Pandit Dwarika Prasad Misra.]

From all this, Sir, it is abundantly clear that the industry is very prosperous and that the planters are reaping huge profits at present.

The question of export depression may be raised, but I submit that the depression might have been there in 1920-21, but by now it has altogether disappeared. The evidence of the Taxation Enquiry Committee cannot be ignored by the Government on this point. The Report says:

"The export duty on tea resembles that on rice in that India is only one of several exporting countries and that its principal competitor, Ceylon, also levies an export duty, which is at present double the Indian rate. The Fiscal Commission advised the abolition of the Indian export duty on the ground that India was not in a position to impose her terms on the world and that evidence existed that Java tea was displacing Indian tea, especially in Australia. The course of events since the Fiscal Commission reported gives reason to doubt whether the export duty is actually having the effect which they feared. A comparison of the trade statistics for the three years ending 1913-14 with those for the last three years shows that India has increased her share of the world trade from 39 to 49 per cent., and though Java has increased her share from 8 to 12 per cent., her progress has been made at the expense of China and not of India. The consumption of any particular variety of tea is largely a matter of taste and normally does not depend entirely upon comparative cost. To some extent the effect of the duty is mitigated by the preference, amounting to two-thirds of a penny a pound, which Indian tea enjoys in England, its principal market."

Further, Sir, I will quote from our Publicity Officer who says in "India in 1925-26,"—the last Report that only the other day came to our hands:

"The total exports of tea during 1924-25 amounted to 340 million pounds valued at Rs. 33½ crores. The total quantity of tea shipped rose by less than half per cent. over the quantity shipped during the preceding year, but the increase in value was over 6 per cent. Nearly 88 per cent. of the total quantity shipped went to the United Kingdom, from which 36 million lbs. were re-exported to the Irish Free State, the Continent of Europe and the United States of America and Canada. There was a vigorous and optimistic advertising campaign in the United States of America and that country's consumption of Indian tea was somewhat greater in the year under review than in either of the preceding years."

From this, Sir, as I have said, it will be quite clear that the tea industry is in a very good position.

Now, Sir, I have one definite charge to make against the Honourable the Finance Member and it is that he has mixed up the question of income-tax on the tea profits with the question of the abolition of the export duty. I submit, Sir, that the two questions must stand on their own merits. I have already stated that the profits of the tea planters were exempted from the License tax and the Income-tax. It was only in the year 1920, so late as that, Sir, that the Calcutta High Court decided that at least some portion of the income of the tea planters was derived from a non-agricultural source, and that therefore that portion must be liable to assessment to income-tax. But even this, Sir, did not do sufficient justice to the Indian tax-payer, and this will be clear from the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member himself. This is what the Honourable the Finance Member has to say:

"The tea companies are now assessed to income-tax on 25 per cent. only of their total profits, the balance being regarded as agricultural income and therefore not liable to income-tax. The promotion of 25 per cent. was based on imperfect data and later inquiries showed that the non-agricultural produce of the tea companies amount to at least,"

—mark the words—

"50 per cent. of the whole."

Now, my submission is that even this is doing injustice to us and that the percentage of non-agricultural income must be nearly 75 per cent., though the Finance Member said that even the assessment to 50 per cent. has upset the tea planters, and, I am afraid, they have perhaps represented their case to him in this matter. Another point, Sir, that I want to bring to the notice of this House is this. Sir Basil knows that in the year of grace 1927 it is impossible to deceive the Indian tax-payer to that extent, and therefore he is compelled to assess these tea companies to some extent. But in doing so he is very nervous, and he does not want to wound the feelings of the tea planters. This can be seen from the following remarks which he made in the course of his Financial Statement :

"The Government, therefore, propose that the export duty on tea should be abolished and that the tea companies should in future be assessed to income-tax at 50 per cent. of their total net income."

Now he is trying to compensate them by the abolition of the export duty for the loss they are to suffer by being assessed to income-tax. He further says :

"The export duty on tea brings in approximately 50 lakhs a year. Our finances clearly do not permit of its abolition unless we can find some means of compensating ourselves for the loss involved. Fortunately we are in a position to make a proposal which will secure the disappearance of the export duty on tea with no ultimate loss to the revenue, and at the same time offer definite advantages to the producers of tea."

From this it is quite clear that the Finance Member is very anxious to keep the tea planters pleased. As I have said before, the question of assessment to income-tax of the profits of the tea planters should be judged and decided on its own merits, and it ought not to be allowed to be mixed up with the question of the abolition of the export duty. There are so many Indian merchants, who have to pay income-tax and, Sir,

the House knows as well as I do that the Honourable the
5 P.M. Finance Member has never tried to compensate them for their being heavily assessed to income-tax by abolishing one duty or other. I repeat that the British Government have always encouraged the tea planters in not contributing their quota to public expenditure and to-day, Sir, I submit that the Finance Member is doing a grave injustice to us. I therefore strongly appeal to this House to see that in this matter justice is done to the poor Indian tax-payer and that the duty is not abolished.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I should like to begin by protesting (*Pandit Dwarka Prasad Misra*: "I knew you would") very strongly against the speech of the last Honourable Member. He has filled it with charges and insinuations and suggestions of motive which are absolutely unfounded, for which he has no foundation, and I think that, when he has been a little longer in this House, he will realise that that sort of thing does not go down. I think the House ought to express its regret that a subject of this sort has been introduced in that sort of speech.

Now, Sir, I come to the duty. What the Government have proposed is that the export duty on tea should be abolished. There is no doubt that a very considerable part and probably the whole of the export duty on tea is paid by the producers of tea in India and very little, if any of it, is passed on to the purchaser. In that it differs absolutely from jute and I think absolutely from rice. There is also no doubt that so long as Ceylon maintains her export duty, the effect of the abolition of the export duty in India will be to retain for the producer in India the whole of the

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

value of the remitted duty. That will go to the producers in India. The last Honourable Member has endeavoured to prejudice the case by insinuations in regard to the character of the planters. But I would remind him and the House that (1) there are a large number of Indian planters concerned, and (2) even if it is true that some of the money will go into the pockets of European producers in India, it will be an increase in the value of the exports of India and greatly to the advantage of India thereby. The reason why the Government have brought forward this proposal is that they were quite unable in this year to suggest means for replacing all the export duties and in the case of jute and rice there are characteristics of monopoly which have the effect of making those export duties to a large extent if not entirely paid by the purchaser, that is paid by our customers abroad, not by the producers in this country. That is clearly not so in the case of the tea export duty, but even so, we could not have afforded 50 lakhs—(An Honourable Member: "Not so in the case of tea?")—certainly not in the case of tea, we could not have afforded a 50 lakhs reduction. But the agreement we had made with tea companies and tea producers some years ago in the matter of income-tax, clearly in the opinion of the Finance Department gave insufficient weight to the non-agricultural portion of the profits in the production of tea. We were under considerable obligations to those companies for the agreement that was reached in 1922 and we had undertaken that that agreement should have something approaching the force of law and should not be altered except in the same way, by something analogous to an Act of the Indian Legislature. But here was an opportunity. The tea export duty is admitted by all to be bad in principle. It does not protect anybody and it has none of the virtues of the hides duty in regard to which I desire to express my thanks to you for the present of 9 lakhs which you have just given me. I trust, Sir, you will not claim any large portion of it. But to come back to the tea duty, it does not protect anybody. There are no interests opposed to the abolition of that duty other than the interests of the Finance Department of the Government of India and central revenues. Now, we can by this combination compensate ourselves—not the tea companies—for abolishing the tea duty by obtaining an equivalent which may be slightly less or may be slightly more than the full amount of the tea duty

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know, Sir, if that matter will come before the Assembly?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: That matter is entirely within the powers of the Finance Department as at present. The powers exist under the Act for charging the tea companies on the full amount of their non-agricultural profits.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Then why was the Resolution put down?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I explained to the Honourable Member that my reason for putting the Resolution down was that we had entered into an undertaking, an agreement, with the tea companies that we would give our arrangement about the 25 per cent. something equivalent to the force of an Act of this Legislature, and it seemed to us that the best way of implementing that promise was to bring the question in the form of a Resolution before this House. But we find that the tea companies are perfectly prepared on condition of the abolition of the export duty to recognise that a new situation will have arisen and that it is open to the Government to ask that the agreement of 1922 shall be revised and

that it shall be open to the Government to obtain the full amount due to the tax-payer in respect of non-agricultural profits . . .

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: And that the Legislature may be ignored.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: There is no question of ignoring the Legislature. The Government as in duty bound are carrying out the directions of the Legislature in this matter. It is that they should collect the full amount of tax due. We have still to come to some arrangement with the tea companies and the tea producers generally to see what exactly will be the most convenient way of carrying out the duty of the Government to collect the full amount of tax on the non-agricultural profits, whether it will be desirable to substitute a new rule for the existing rule or whether it will be desirable to leave the matter to be settled between the assessee and the Income-tax Department in the various cases that will arise remains to be seen, and it is obviously undesirable that we should commit ourselves at the present moment to a rule of thumb of 50 per cent. in place of the existing rule of thumb of 25 per cent., if that rule of thumb was not accepted as applicable in all cases by the tea companies, especially as we realise that we might be committing ourselves not to collect the full amount as we are now trying to do. So that, I think that the Government is in a much better position if it chooses another means to do it instead of asking this House to commit ourselves and itself to a cut and dried Resolution on this subject. If it is clearly understood that with the change in the situation that will follow from the abolition of the tea export duty Government are free to collect the full amount of income-tax due on non-agricultural profits, duly ascertained in the ordinary way and by the application of the ordinary law, the result of that will, we are confident, be that there will be no loss or hardly any loss and possibly some profit to the Finance Department. It is too soon to make an absolutely definite statement on that matter. But we shall, I think, by the acceptance of this proposal at once have got rid of a duty which is wrong in principle and a charge on the producer in India and have got rid of an obligation which was entered into on insufficient data which tied the hands of the Income-tax authority in the matter of the collection of duty on the non-agricultural portion of the profits of the tea companies. I submit that the proposal is entirely in the interests of the people of India and of every one concerned and that I am fully justified in the protest that I have made at the beginning of the speech that this proposal should have been made the occasion of a charge of what is really a complete breach of faith by the Finance Member in regard to his duties as Finance Member of the Government of India, duties for which he is paid by India, simply because we have brought forward a proposal which is in the interests, I think, of every one concerned and greatly improves the situation of the Central finances in regard to the tea companies as well as improving the position of the tea companies in the event, which we hope will not happen, of a slump in the tea trade when they would be obliged to pay export duty on all the tea that is exported instead of as now paying income-tax on their profits. Sir, I oppose the amendment.

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: May I be allowed to put a question to the Honourable the Finance Member? May I know what is the proportion of agricultural and non-agricultural profits in the case of sugar producing companies? If there is a sugar producing company, will that company be allowed any concession in assessing income-tax for the agricultural profits made by that company?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am sure that that question does not arise, but I should like to answer it. The position is that in the case of sugar there are certain rulings of the High Court which are, I believe, simple enough in application, which lay down at what point sugar ceases to be an agricultural product and becomes a manufactured product, and under the law, as it stands at present, the Government of India is entitled to collect income-tax on profits due to manufacture but not on profits due to agriculture. It is exactly the same proposal that the Government of India propose to apply, in fact, are under an obligation to apply, in the case of tea.

Several Honourable Members: Let the question be now put.

(Some Honourable Members rose in their places to address the House.)

Mr. President: I think Honourable Members are anxious to conclude this debate now. If Honourable Members wish to continue, the Chair is not prepared to accept closure.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: We should like to continue.

Mr. President: Pandit Nilakantha Das.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Sir, first of all, I should like to protest that my Honourable friend, Mr. Misra, was charged with insinuating, whereas what he did was that he simply quoted from books to show to the House that tea planters formerly used to receive some kind of patronage from Government. That is what he meant . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I should like to interrupt my Honourable friend. What the Honourable Member said was that the sole reason why this proposal was introduced was because Government wanted to help the tea planters because they were British.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: I suppose he read portions from books to support what he said and he meant that there was the idea of some patronage being shown to tea planters.

Now, the Honourable the Finance Member said that there are also Indian planters. Yes, there are. It is on account of these Indian planters that I am pointing out that this income-tax is going to be raised from 25 per cent to 50 per cent. British tea planters or let me say—I shall make no racial discrimination—the big tea planters have their tea growing department as well as the manufacturing department. Therefore it was quite probable that one could be very easily deceived or could not know what was the proper proportion of the agricultural produce to the manufactured produce.

Now the Indian planters are small planters. Many of them, as far as I know, have not got a manufacturing department. (*An Honourable Member:* "No.") These small growers sell their raw leaves to the manufacturing planters. And when the sale price of manufactured tea is known, the difference was easily found out and the proportion was easy to be fixed; it was found that more than 50 per cent. would be taxed. The manufactured portion of the tea produced by tea planters should be taxed and it should be at least 50 per cent. We have no objection to putting income-tax at least up to 50 per cent. of their income. (*An Honourable Member:* "75 per cent.") I say at least 50 per cent. It does not look straightforward or expedient for the Finance Member just to remove the export duty on tea when he finds either from the

Report of the Cess Committee or some other report that income-tax on planters would be increased, when he came to know that their non-agricultural produce counts for more than 25 per cent. Now, what will be the effect? This income-tax will be at once transferred from the pockets of the foreign consumer as export duty to the pockets of the Indian consumer as increased price specially due to income-tax. These people who are going to pay enhanced tax will raise the price and that money will be paid by the Indian consumer.

My Honourable friend Sir Basil Blackett has also contended that tea is not a monopoly of India like rice and jute. It is not a monopoly, but I maintain and the Taxation Enquiry Committee say that it is a semi-monopoly at any rate. Tea being an article which is used for its quality and flavour, it does not matter whether it is a complete monopoly or not. So it is said by the Taxation Committee and they are an expert body. It has been proved by them like this. From 39 per cent. Indian export has gone up to 49 per cent. The apprehension of the Fiscal Commission that in Australia Java is ousting the Indian tea is not a fact. They have said it clearly Indian tea has a special quality and special flavour for which Australians and others want it, and the 4 per cent. that Java has gained is at the expense of the inferior tea which used to come from China. As for Indian tea it has not suffered and cannot easily suffer from Java. We have another rival, namely, Ceylon. Ceylon has an export duty which is double the amount we have got and there is no reason why at this time, just when the Government is perhaps being forced somehow or other to be equitable, to levy a duty of 50 per cent. on the produce of the tea planter or tea producer, just at the same time it will be thought of abolishing the export duty on tea. It will be rather inexpedient now to abolish the export duty. At least I contend both these measures of taxing and abolishing might have come at different times and on different occasions. This is a bad policy. This will only mean, as I have said, that the tax proposed will readily be taken from the pockets of the Indian consumer. Prices will remain all the same. The internal prices will never remain the same, for the planters will have a chance of perceiving directly that they are going to pay more. This will have another serious effect, too. The small planters, the Indian producers perhaps that have not the means of manufacturing, raw tea leaves being a perishable commodity, i.e., an article which cannot be kept for a long time, will simply sell their produce at the price dictated by the tea planters who are going to pay a higher income-tax. Thus the loss of revenue will not only not give relief to our people, but is detrimental to their interests. On these grounds, I say, Sir, that this amendment should be supported, and I support it. (*Honourable Members*: "I move that the question be now put.")

Mr. President: The question is:

"That in Part II of Schedule II to the Bill amendment No. 2 be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

Schedule II, as amended, was added to the Bill.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That Schedule III to the Bill do stand part of the Bill."

I propose to take amendment No. 63 first, then amendment No. 20, and then amendment No. 21. *Mr. Mukhtar Singh.*

Mr. Mukhtar Singh: Sir, I beg to move:

"That in Part IA of Schedule III to the Bill the words 'Hindu undivided family' be omitted."

I consider, Sir, that nothing has injured more the system of Hindu undivided families than this rule of assessment of income-tax. The joint Hindu family, Sir, is a custom of very old days, and on account of this income-tax law being enforced, Hindu undivided families are dividing amongst themselves. I admit, Sir, that there are blessings and there are misfortunes that have to be shared by the members of a joint Hindu family. But at any rate, Sir, when there is a presumption of the Hindu law that every family is a joint Hindu family, I cannot understand why the Hindu family is to be forced to divide on account of income-tax. The position is this, Sir. Suppose there are five brothers, everyone earning say Rs. 1,000 a year. None of them earns an income which can be taxed, but as soon as the whole family is taken together, they are forced to pay an income-tax on Rs. 5,000. If they happen to be Muhammadans, if they happen to be Christians, then in that case every individual is to be taken separately. I would submit, Sir, that there should be no distinction on this point, and that the words "Hindu undivided family" should be deleted. With these few words, I beg to submit that my amendment should be carried.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, this small amendment will cost Rs. 90 lakhs! I suggest the Honourable Member should withdraw it.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That in Part IA of Schedule III to the Bill the words 'Hindu undivided family' be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Sir, I move:

"That in Schedule III to the Bill for Part I the following be substituted:

'PART I.

Rates of Income-tax.

A. In the case of every individual, Hindu undivided family, unregistered firm and other association of individuals not being a registered firm or a company—

	Rate.
(1) When the total income is less than Rs. 2,000 ...	<i>Nil.</i>
(2) When the total income is Rs. 2,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 5,000 ...	Three pies in the rupee.
(3) When the total income is Rs. 5,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 10,000 ...	Four pies in the rupee.
(4) When the total income is Rs. 10,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 20,000 ...	Seven pies in the rupee.
(5) When the total income is Rs. 20,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 30,000 ...	Ten pies in the rupee.
(6) When the total income is Rs. 30,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 40,000 ...	One anna and one pie in the rupee.
(7) When the total income is Rs. 40,000 or upwards ...	One anna and four pies in the rupee.

B. In the case of every company and registered firm, whatever its total income ...

One anna and four pies in the rupee."

Sir, the income-tax is a tax that is supposed to be levied from those who are in a position to pay the amount. The basis of assessment is the income of the previous year. Every care is taken to levy the tax on the profits ascertained or supposed to have been ascertained, but no provision is made with regard to the losses against profits of subsequent years. In England there was a Royal Commission

[At this stage Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar sat in the seat of the Honourable the Finance Member. (Applause.) Sir Basil Blackett then sat in a seat at the back. (Applause.)]

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): May I ask the new Finance Member what this proposed reduction will cost to the country?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will explain later.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): I hope the Honourable Member has calculated what will be the cost and will tell us the figure.

Mr. President: That question need not trouble Honourable Members. Let the House proceed to discuss the question on its merits.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the answer you gave. I was submitting that the Royal Commission in England made a recommendation as to how protection could be given with regard to losses. They laid down that if the assessment was on the basis of the income of the previous year, the loss might be set off for a period of 6 years. There is no provision made for this anywhere either in the Act or in the Rules. That is one of the points on which I take exception to the income-tax and ask for a reduction. I may also submit to the Honourable Members of this House that this tax has been an oppressive one wherever it has been levied arbitrarily without accepting the accounts produced before the Income-tax Collectors. Objections were taken on one ground or another, repudiating the genuineness of the accounts, putting the assessee to lots of trouble. I have known in this country, as well as in Burma, what a terror the Income-tax Officer has become, his very name, his very appearance anywhere in the neighbourhood frightens people. (Laughter.) It is a matter no doubt for laughter, so far as the Finance Member is concerned, because the administration from the bottom up to the top, excluding just the topmost portion alone, is Indian. The officers whom the Finance Member employs are Indians and it is these gentlemen who do the whole business, and I submit the feeling amongst those who pay the tax is that their accounts are not accepted generally, that whenever they produce their accounts, they are looked upon with suspicion. That is the real difficulty. So long as the law is in force no one should object to pay on the income ascertained; but even if it is not ascertained still it is levied. There is one class of persons from whom the tax is levied in this way. There are those whose income is shown in the accounts by way of book entries only. The money is not realised and there would be no prospect of realising it, yet upon that amount the tax is levied

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Does the Honourable Member propose that Indians should not be appointed in the Income-tax Department?

Mr. T. Prakasam: I am sorry I have given occasion for this observation from my Honourable friend. Certainly not. I would rather suffer at the hands of Indians much more readily even if they should be committing

[Mr. T. Prakasam.]

errors without knowing it, without knowing they were injuring the country. So, Sir, I submit this tax must be reduced to the scale I have given. I move this amendment.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I do not think anybody can even look at a proposal for reduction of income-tax without feeling his mouth water if he is a payer of income-tax. I have very considerable sympathy with those who desire to see an improvement in the scales on which our income-tax is levied, but I think it is quite clear that the time has not yet arrived when we can usefully reopen the whole question of the scales fixed for the collection of the tax. If they are reopened I would suggest that we should be able to produce a rather more even scale than the one that is here put before us. But there is also another point. The Income-tax Department is a comparatively young one and new one in this country. It has earned high commendation from a good many observers in recent years who have seen the improvement in its methods and in the effectiveness with which it collects its tax. And I do not think that it is true to say that its unpopularity is increasing, because I believe in the Punjab, for example, I have seen clear evidence that with a better understanding between the assesses and the Income-tax Department relations have improved. (*An Honourable Member:* "It is very unpopular in the Punjab"). Relations have improved. I do not suggest that the Income-tax Collector is ever the most popular person in the town, but I do suggest that there has been real improvement in the relations between the Income-tax Department and the assesses; and I should here like to pay a tribute to the devoted work of that Department in this respect—a Department which, as has been rightly said by my Honourable friend Mr. Prakasam, is very nearly entirely Indian.

The unfortunate thing about this amendment is that it would cost us about 232 lakhs. You have suggested, Sir, that I should find the money from another source. The only one that jumps quickly to my head is that we might re-impose the cotton excise duty. That would still leave us short by about 50 lakhs, but as regards the other 50 lakhs I suppose we might have a special scale of income-tax for Members of the Legislature. That would not bring in very much, but I could put a few more suggestions if I were given time at the disposal of the House.

Seriously speaking, I do not think I need demonstrate to the House that it is impossible for us to find this year 232 lakhs for the purpose of this amendment. I would add something in regard to one point Mr. Prakasam has mentioned, the inability of the income-tax authorities in all circumstances to accept accounts; I think that the time when we shall be in a position to reduce our income-tax rates will be hastened if assesses will make a habit of presenting true accounts and of realising that it is the duty of the income-tax authority to ascertain what their incomes are and not to accept an understatement from a large number of assesses. I am fairly convinced that if we were collecting all the income-tax that is legally due under the law at the present time there would possibly be enough additional revenue to meet this cut; but until that happy time arrives, and at any rate this year, I am afraid that I must reluctantly, Sir, oppose this amendment.

Mr. President: Does Mr. Prakasam wish to put his amendment to the vote of the House or does he wish to withdraw it?

Mr. T. Prakasam: No, Sir, I do not withdraw it; I leave it to you.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That in Schedule III to the Bill for Part I the following be substituted :

‘PART I.

Rates of Income-tax.

In the case of every individual, Hindu undivided family, unregistered firm and other association of individuals not being a registered firm or a company—

	Rate.
(1) When the total income is less than Rs. 2,000 ...	Nil.
(2) When the total income is Rs. 2,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 5,000 ...	Three pies in the rupee.
(3) When the total income is Rs. 5,000 or upwards, but is less than Rs. 10,000 ...	Four pies in the rupee
(4) When the total income is Rs. 10,000 or up- wards, but is less than Rs. 20,000 ...	Seven pies in the rupee.
(5) When the total income is Rs. 20,000 or up- wards, but is less than Rs. 30,000 ...	Ten pies in the rupee.
(6) When the total income is Rs. 30,000 or up- wards, but is less than Rs. 40,000 ...	One anna and one pie in the rupee.
(7) When the total income is Rs. 40,000 or up- wards ...	One anna and four pies in the rupee.
B. In the case of every company and registered firm, whatever its total income ..	One anna and four pies in the rupee.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Sir, I move:

“That Part II of Schedule III to the Bill be omitted.”

This Part II relates to super-tax. The super-tax was levied in 1917.

Mr. B. Das: It is levied on the rich classes; why do you oppose it?

Mr. T. Prakasam: My friend says that it is levied on the rich people and why do I oppose it? I oppose it because on principle it is a tax that should have been abolished soon after the exigency for levying it had ceased to exist. That is the principle. It was levied, Sir, not only in this country but in other countries also. It was levied in England as a war measure and it was abolished.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No.

Mr. T. Prakasam: It is not there now. I say that there is no reason for continuance of this tax merely because it is a tax that is levied on the rich people or merely because it is levied from Englishmen or English firms who are doing business here. It does not matter in the least from whom it is levied. Is there any justification for the collection of this tax, for the continuance of this tax, merely because there are rich men? Is it to be said that a tax which has no justification should be continued as against them? I submit, Sir, there is absolutely no reason for the continuance of this tax merely because the people who happen to pay are rich men or people who are not Indians, who are carrying on business here with their capital.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I find it difficult to understand just what the mentality of the Mover of this motion is in regard to this matter. He says that there is no particular reason why this tax should be continued to be levied. It brings in—or rather it did in 1925-26—Rs. 7,62,688,790. It was not imposed as an emergency measure, nor was it intended to be a temporary expedient. It is certainly not true that the super-tax was imposed in England for war purposes because it was imposed before the War; nor is it true that the super-tax in England has been abolished since the War, because, as Sir Victor Sassoon was just about to tell us, it still continues. But what seriously is the point of view of the Honourable Member who has moved this amendment? He says that there is no reason, now the emergency is over, to continue this tax. Does he realise that one of the effects of the War has been to increase all prices by something like 50 per cent.? We need 50 per cent. more at least to pay for the same services that we were paying for before the War. This incidentally is the answer to a point made by Mr. Aney this morning with reference to the question of the Post Office. Postal rates before the War were dependent to a very large extent on the fact of low cost of living and the low index number. The cost of living and the index number were both going up before the War and since then they have gone up very largely and to say that the emergency has gone by, when prices are at least 50 per cent. higher than they were before the War, is really an argument which I think on consideration Mr. Aney at any rate will recognise as not entirely valid. But the Honourable Member who has moved this amendment seems to think that the Government can carry on in the absence of income altogether. It would be a very happy state of affairs: I do not quite know whether it is equally happy that Government should try to carry on in the absence of expenditure . . .

Mr. T. Prakasam: Before 1860 Government was carried on without any income-tax.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Before the Magna Charta Government was carried on without any Parliament. We are improving on both these arrangements even in India. Sir, I oppose the motion.

Sir Victor Sassoon (Bombay Millowners Association: Indian Commerce): Sir, I do feel, although I am one of those unfortunate beings that have to pay super-tax, that the Finance Member is right in objecting to this amendment for the abolition of all super-tax. But there is one of the various items down here where, I think, a case might have been made out for abolition, and that is the case of super-tax on companies. When these companies pay their dividends, the individuals who receive those dividends will of course be liable to pay the ordinary rates of super-tax, but to make a company pay super-tax is, I think, a mistake, and where my Honourable friend Mr. Prakasam was probably a little at sea was when he referred to what happened in England. What did happen in England was that there was during the war a super-tax on companies, a corporation tax, which now no longer exists. There is one very good reason why we should be very pleased if the Finance Member could see his way to give up this tax, and that is, that the fact that you have a super-tax on companies and the fact that this tax can become a double tax where one company holds shares in another company means in effect that you have not got companies in this country which are very useful and which are known as Trust Companies. A Trust Company at Home holds shares

in various other companies including Government paper and so on. These Trust companies perform a very useful duty, because an investor investing in such companies knows that his investment is spread over a number of various classes of securities. He does not have to say "I will invest so much of my money in Government paper, so much in debentures and so much in ordinary shares". He knows that that will be done by a Board of Directors who understand the movements of companies much better than he does. But the reason why he will not invest in a company in this country is that in every case, where the original company's shares are held by the Trust Companies, that company pays the anna in the rupee as super-tax, and again on that same dividend the Trust Company pays another anna in the rupee. I think, therefore, it will be very advantageous for instilling thrift in this country if that tax were abolished as is the case in England, and I do put that forward to the Finance Member in the hope that he will give it his serious consideration.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That Part II of Schedule III to the Bill be omitted."

The motion was negatived.

Schedule III was added to the Bill.

Clauses 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and Preamble were added to the Bill.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I rise to move that the Bill, as amended, be passed.

I do not propose to trespass on the indulgence of the House which has had a hard and long day and has made good progress on which, I am sure, Sir, you will be able to congratulate us as you did yesterday. But I have to say just one thing in regard to the effect of the amendments that have been carried. When the proposal to reduce the salt tax to 10 annas a maund was under discussion yesterday, I stated that the cost would be 312 lakhs. That, Sir, was an estimate of the total cost in a full year of the reduction of the salt duty to that figure. The recurrent cost will be approximately 312 lakhs. But to a certain extent salt is issued on credit and there is a certain amount of salt which has been issued on credit since the 1st of October 1926, which will be due to be paid for during the first half of 1927-28 on which we shall receive the higher tax, assuming that the duty is reduced to 10 annas. I have not had time to make any close calculation of what that would be, but I think that the House may take it that the total cost would be something under 3 crores, how much I am not in a position to say, but not a very great deal. In addition to that loss, Sir, I have gained on the roundabouts, not as much as the loss on the swings, but a sum of about 9 lakhs, with powerful aid from an unexpected quarter. The net result is that, instead of a surplus of 364 lakhs, which was the figure in the budget speech, we have a surplus of something rather under a crore. I cannot give the exact figure because I have not got details as to the credit sales of salt. We have at present a surplus of something under a crore. Obviously, if that decision stands, our whole proposals in regard to provincial contributions require complete reconsideration. We shall have less than a crore of surplus, probably less than a crore of surplus, and Sir, only about half a crore of recurrent surplus because part of the proceeds of the salt tax will be non-recurrent and

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

the loss of the salt tax will be greater a year later. We are, therefore, not in a position clearly to do more in the nature of permanent reduction of the provincial contributions than at the most about a crore. In those circumstances, the proposal of the Government of India specially to apply the realised surplus of 1926-27 obviously is no longer justified by the special reason which made the Government put it forward, namely, that it enabled them to make a clean sweep of the provincial contributions this year. I do not propose, therefore, Sir, at present to move the Demand for a Supplementary Grant dealing with the realised surplus of this year, if the position remains as it is at present. In that event I think that it will be unnecessary to move that grant. It has however been brought to my notice from many quarters in this House and elsewhere that a *locus poenitentiae* is desired by at any rate a considerable proportion of those who voted for the reduction of the salt duty yesterday. (*Cries of "No, no."*) I quite understand my friend from Bihar and Orissa feeling that he has led the rest of the Assembly by the nose because he has no interest whatever in provincial contributions and he has done his best for his constituency, but I doubt if my friend Lala Lajpat Rai will be able to persuade the Punjab electorate that he has no responsibility for his action yesterday. I doubt if all the Members from Bombay, Mr. Jayakar, for example, is entirely happy in the position in which he has placed the Bombay Government and possibly there are even Members from Bengal who do not like the idea of their contribution being started again next year. In view of these difficulties, and of the natural desire of some Madras Members to stay over next week so as not to face their constituents in Madras it is probable that an opportunity may arise, but that depends on the action taken in another place—for reconsideration of this matter at a later stage. I have nothing more, Sir, to say in regard to that point and I now propose to move that this Bill be passed, as amended.

Mr. President: Motion moved:

"That the Bill, as amended, be now passed."

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to oppose this motion, and in doing so, at the very outset I take my stand on the well-known principle "No taxation without representation". (Laughter on Government Benches.) Sir, I find the official Members laughing away (*An Honourable Member:* "And running away.") when I refer to the maxim "No taxation without representation". I also see the official benches emptying themselves, Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member, leading in the walk-out. This shows, Sir, that the Leader of the House is very much frightened by the phrase "No taxation without representation". But behind it is a very important message for the people of this country. Behind that phrase is a very tremendous feeling which is of no small consequence in this country. That feeling, Sir, was given expression to in this House and outside this House. That feeling, Sir, was given expression to when there was an India-wide movement of non-co-operation whose immediate objective was non-payment of taxes with a view to bring this Government down on its knees. Sir, if the movement has for a while subsided, it should not be imagined by the Government that a movement of that kind cannot come into existence again. (Laughter.) (At this stage the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman came back into the House.) Sir, I am glad

that the Honourable the Home Member has come back at a rather appropriate part of my speech. (Laughter.) I was referring to the going down of the non-co-operation movement and the Honourable Member has cheerfully come forward and I am telling him that if the movement has gone down for a while, it should not be imagined that the people will not rise once again and fight the attitude that the Government have been taking. Sir, the Government have been taking an attitude which cannot be described in words which I should use in this House. I believe the other day the Honourable the Home Member did not like a particular phrase that I used. I do not want to use that phrase, for I know phrases cannot describe the attitude that the Government have taken towards the repeated demands which have been put by the people from this side of the House. The Honourable Member was not the Home Member then. He was the President of "the other place" when the Swarajists came to this House and presented the national demand. That demand, Sir, had the support of every section of the people in this House. That demand was supported even by my friend Diwan Bahadur Rangachariar. That demand was for a Round Table Conference. Later on we presented another national demand. That demand went into details. We said, "Give us so much so far as the provinces are concerned." We said, "Give us so much so far as the Central Government is concerned." And we conceded—very wrongly in my opinion as I said at that time—we conceded that Foreign Affairs and Army and Native States shall still continue to be under the jurisdiction of the Governor General. We were introducing a kind of dyarchy as a transitional stage in the Central Government. Sir, to this moderate proposition, the Swarajists in this House most deliberately gave their support. Lord Birkenhead from his place in the House of Lords said at the time that he was speaking not only for himself but for all sections, for all parties in England. Even so, the Leader of the Swaraj Party, which is the Congress Party to-day could truly say: that he was speaking for every section in this House and in the country as a whole.

6 P.M. The Government have not chosen to listen to what the people had to say. Every statement of Lord Reading and of his successor, of Lord Birkenhead, and of the Home Member in this House—every statement has been a bold defiant "No" to the people's wishes. We have read the speech, the latest speech of Lord Birkenhead, and that is a speech which no Secretary of State who wants to make peace with the people of India would have made. He wanted "fidelity and friendship"—"fidelity to the bond." I do not know how His Lordship can illustrate the lack of faithfulness of the political leaders. I do not know what authority Lord Birkenhead had to doubt the fidelity of the Indian people. As I have repeatedly mentioned in this House, the Swarajists, the non-co-operators, came to this House and went to the other Legislatures and took the oath of allegiance to the King of England. Was that not fidelity to the bond? Sir, Lord Birkenhead perhaps understands his own language better than we aliens. But from my humble knowledge of the English language I can say that there could not be a better demonstration of fidelity to the bond than coming to this House and taking the oath of allegiance to the King Emperor and his heirs and successors, unresponsive though they are to whatever we do. But Lord Birkenhead again asks for friendship and fidelity to the bond. What does His Lordship mean by that? What does he mean by assuming an attitude of intransigence? Non-co-operation is on the other side, co-operation on this side—call it responsive or something else. The very presence of people in this House is an act of co-operation,

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

but Government have been spurning their co-operation. Then they say, they want friendship. Do they mean by friendship crawling like snakes on their stomachs? Is that the kind of friendship they want? Do they want the people to come on their bended knees before Government? Do they want that we should become—I do not want to use that phrase—bootlickers of the bureaucracy? (*Some Honourable Member*: “Shoe.”) Is that what Lord Birkenhead wants? Did Honourable Members on the other side say shoelickers. (*Some Honourable Members*: “No.”) Is that what they want? If that is what they want, we will have no other policy, no other alternative than to go on saying, “No, no,” to the British Government. I had a conversation with Colonel Wedgewood some time before he became a Member of the British Cabinet and he was asking me why we were so unhappy and resented British rule so much. I told him, though I did not ask him to mention it in the newspapers, but still I am glad he has felt the subject important enough to mention it in the papers—I told him, “Well, Colonel, can you imagine the undergraduates of Cambridge being asked by a Commander or a Colonel to walk in the sun 14 or 15 miles with luggage on their heads?” “No”, said he, “I cannot conceive of it.” I said, “That is exactly what has happened in the Punjab.” Students of a college in the Punjab—of the Dayanand High School or Dayanand College in the Punjab,—were asked to walk 14 or 15 miles with luggage on their heads in the hot sun and there was not one student to come forward and say “No” to the Commander. The British rule in India has been so scientifically perfect, the British rule has carried out the policy of all foreign Governments making the people too humble, making the people too polite, making the people too much co-operationist, too loyal and anæmic so much so that not one student would come forward and say “No” to the British officer who ordered them to march in the sun with a view to terrorise or humiliate them. According to Lord Birkenhead, that policy must go on; we must dot the i's and cross the t's of the Government. We must accept Sir Alexander Muddiman's document giving us some kind of little phrasy alterations here and there in the Reforms and then we must take it as humble servants with great adoration, with great admiration for our “masters” and say “What shall we take from you next and when”. Is that the attitude that the Government expect of us?

Sir, repeatedly we have come to this House and repeatedly we have presented the National Demand. Government know that non-co-operation is not in existence. They feared some other movement might be launched and what did they do? They put in prison the Swarajists of Bengal. When we asked for bread, I said the other day, you gave us chaff. Somebody interjected “stones”. I said “serpents”, the Honourable the Home Member resented the use of that expression. I do not want to repeat the expression “stinging serpents”, but I would ask the Honourable the Home Member to exchange his comfortable seat in the Benches opposite to the marshes of Mandalay, to the mosquito-inhabited jails of Mandalay and then he will understand whether those mosquitoes are not stinging those poor people almost like serpents. I do not want to use an expression which would offend the Honourable the Home Member, but it is my conviction that the Honourable the Home Member does not represent the British Government in India. He represents it in his capacity as the Home Member, but I am of opinion, Sir Alexander Muddiman is too good a gentleman to

understand the awful capacities for oppression of the system of which he happens to be the head so far as this House is concerned. Sir, the statement that he made the other day regarding the Bengal internees is a statement which has been repudiated by the whole country. The newspapers in this country have very strongly condemned the attitude of the Government in regard to the political prisoners of Bengal. Certain supplementary questions were put and answers were given, but not satisfactory answers. We said "Put on trial those gentlemen whom you have put in prison; produce the documents that you have against them", but the Government would non-co-operate. They would not give us the right of even the commonest murderer, of even the worst class of dacoits. They will not give us the right to defend ourselves in a court of law. They will not give these men the right of free men. According to English jurisprudence a man who is not proved to be guilty is innocent. These men have not been proved to be guilty and therefore they are innocent. One of those men has been elected to this House—Mr. Satyendra Mitra. The power of the Government and the resources of the Government have denied him admission to this House and the opportunity to discharge his duties as a Member of this House. His constituents have elected him as a Member of this House. Government give you power with one hand, though I do not think there is much power under the Reforms Act, and they take away that power at their own will and pleasure with the other hand. That is exactly what they have done in the case of the detenu who has been elected to this Assembly. The power given to his constituents under the Montagu Act is said to be a real power and yet this gentleman cannot represent his constituency in this House. When we say "Try or release the internees", the Home Member says, "No, we shall transfer them to their villages and then keep them under surveillance"—that is to say, from a smaller prison to a bigger prison. Is this the kind of justice that the British Government are going to give to our people? Is it the kind of justice that they are going to show, and is it for this that Lord Birkenhead exclaims, "fidelity, friendship". How can there be friendship with people who are treating us as enemies? And still, slaves as we are—for, Sir, this House is nothing more and nothing less than a House of slaves (Hear, hear); we have come here and taken the oath of allegiance to the King of England and demonstrated all the friendship of which Indians and Indian representatives are capable, and that act of friendship is trampled under foot, and from his place Lord Birkenhead shakes his gory claws. (Laughter.) He is shaking his mane, that great British lion. (Laughter.) Will the Honourable the Home Member explain what more act of friendship the British bureaucracy expects of us? Does he want us to kneel before him, to kneel before the Viceroy, to kneel before Lord Birkenhead? If that is what they want, I am afraid they are asking for too much. Even a worm that is trampled can turn, yea, even a nation of trampled worms can turn; even Indians can be goaded to revolution. But, Sir, we do not want revolution, because we want to live in this country. Englishmen can clear out of this country, just as the Romans cleared out of Britain (Laughter), but we have got to live and die here, and that is why we do not want a revolution, because we know the awful consequences of a revolution. But the Government which has no sense of responsibility is goading us on to revolution.

Sir, all that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya urged before this House in 1924 is applicable to-day for the rejection of the Finance Bill. No better

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

speech, Sir, has been delivered on this important question for many years; and, Sir, I think I must go through that speech aspect by aspect and discuss it thoroughly. Sir, as this is an important question, I hope the House will be indulgent, and I propose to take at least three hours on it. (Laughter.) (Mr. K. Ahmed: "But Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has changed his ideas now, has he not?") My friend, Mr. K. Ahmed, says, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya has changed his ideas. Apparently, the Honourable gentleman is in the confidence of Panditji. But I was present, Sir, at a terrific public meeting held in my constituency, a mass meeting of thousands of people, twenty-thousand or more, when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya delivered one of those historic, one of those wonderful, one of those inspiring speeches against the Swaraj Party (Laughter); and in that wonderful speech, Panditji contradicted a statement, I believe very correctly, a statement which I had made at Bijnor where I had the honour of addressing a meeting. And he said, "Mr. Ranga Iyer says that I have been a party to the voting for the Finance Bill. No. I was never a party to the voting for the Finance Bill"; and, Sir, in this House I must say that Panditji has never been a party to the voting for the Finance Bill. And, Sir, who that remembers that wonderful peroration of his, that speech moving the rejection of the Finance Bill, can feel that he would ever be a party to its passing until the circumstances which necessitated his making that wonderful speech completely changed? Sir, in that beautiful peroration, Panditji said—and his words will be remembered for many years by generations unborn (Laughter):

"Here we have got an Executive Government controlling the destinies of India. We are an elected majority in this House, but the appointments to the Executive Government are not made after consulting the Assembly. The Members who sit on the Government Benches are entirely independent. They may insult us."

That is exactly what they have been doing; they have been insulting us day after day. Every moment, every hour that they sit there is an insult to us, is a denial to us of our right. (At this stage some Members on the Official Benches happened to leave their seats.) (Mr. Chaman Lal: "Sir, I hope the walk-out is going to be permanent.") (Loud Laughter.) If we can go, and take their places, in that case, (Laughter), as Ministers of a free country, say England, I can then understand the position.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Come along, come along.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: You are as much a slave as we are.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Again they use their nominated block, they use their official position, to defeat us. The non-official majority which this House is supposed to be endowed with under these mock Reforms is a mockery, for, when Resolutions are passed by this House—and I shall place before you a number of Resolutions that we have passed if Honourable Members doubt the statement—numerous Resolutions have been passed in this House and every important Resolution has been passed on, Sir, into the waste-paper basket.

Mr. President: I think the Honourable Member might continue after breakfast to-morrow morning. The House now stands adjourned till 10 O'Clock, to-morrow morning.

The Assembly then adjourned till Ten of the Clock on Thursday, the 24th March, 1927.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Thursday, 24th March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Ten of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER.

DANGEROUS CONDITION OF THE ASSEMBLY CHAMBER, NEW DELHI.

Mr. B. Das: (a) Will the Honourable Member in charge of New Delhi Construction, be pleased to inform the House what conclusion the Government reached after the examination of the ceiling of the Assembly Chamber by their experts as to the dangerous condition of the Assembly Chamber.

(b) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the findings of that body of experts for the information of the House?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Sir, I have not yet received the report of the expert.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know, Sir, what are the temporary arrangements that are being made to protect the lives and safety of the Members of this House?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: If the Honourable Member will kindly look up, he will see what steps have already been taken.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I want to know if there is something behind that?

Sir Victor Sassoon: Is there any truth in the rumour that the danger of this building is the cause of this very sparse attendance this morning?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I do not know, Sir.

ELECTION OF THE STANDING FINANCE COMMITTEE.

Mr. President: I have to announce that the following Members have been elected to the Standing Finance Committee for the financial year 1927-28:

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum,

Mr. G. Sarvotham Rao,

Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar,

Mr. W. A. Moore,

Mr. A. H. Ghuznavi,

Sir Darcy Lindsay,

Dr. A. Suhrawardy,

Sardar Gulab Singh,

Mr. K. C. Neogy,

Diwan Chaman Lal,

Mian Mohammad Shah Nawaz,

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh,

Rai Sahib Harbilas Sarda, and

Haji Chaudhury Mohammad Ismail Khan.

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL.

Mr. President: The House will now resume the further consideration of the motion that the Finance Bill, as amended, be passed.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhamadan Rural): Sir, I said in my yesterday's speech that I will take the principal aspects of Pandit Malaviya's really good speech on the rejection of the Finance Bill in 1924. Sir, in that historic debate, the leading Members of this House took part, and the Finance Bill was rejected. All the observations that the Pandit made on that occasion are applicable to the debate to-day, perhaps the observations are more applicable to the situation with which we are faced to-day than it was then. Sir, the Pandit dwelt on various aspects, the political aspect, the economic aspect, the commercial aspect, and also the moral aspect. He said that we could not lend our moral support to the maintenance of this administration. He also referred, Sir, to the British rule from its beginning in this country.

When you were one of us, in your own inimitable style, speaking in the year 1924, on the 10th March 1924, Sir, you said, in reply to those who considered that the step that we were taking was an extreme one, that:

"it might be an extreme step, but that was the only step that we could take as constitutionalists under the power given to us under the constitution."

And you said, Sir,

"So, the sole question for this House now to consider is whether the circumstances justifying this House in taking this extreme step have come into being. We are, Sir, under British rule for the last 150 years. There are certain tragic facts which it is necessary for us to take note of. It may or it may not be that the British Government are or are not responsible for those tragic facts. But the fact remains that the British Government have not been able to prevent the occurrences of these tragic facts. And what are those facts? The average income of an individual in India hardly \$2, annually or Rs. 30."

So this is a statement which the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett, always vigilant, when he is not in agreement with us, always ready to come forward and say that he is ready to protect the poor, said "It is a tragic misstatement". Then, Sir, you said, "It is a misstatement? Will you tell me how much of it is?" and he said "No", and "No" is a very convenient way of getting over the very difficult question that you put straight to the Finance Member. Then you continued:

"We have repeatedly told the Government to estimate the annual average income of an individual. They will not face or undertake such an inquiry. And the official or semi-officials as well as the non-official estimates taken in years gone by prove conclusively that the average annual income is Rs. 30 or thereabouts."

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett then said "No".

"Then again,"

you continued, because "No" is not an answer, but a mere contradiction,—

"then again, Sir, millions of people in this country live on one meal per day. Millions die of pestilence, plague, cholera, all sorts of diseases. In 1918—I do not remember the year—6 millions of my countrymen died in 3 months owing to influenza alone."

Then as to-day, Sir, millions of people in this country do not know what a full meal is. They fall easy victims to diseases because their resisting capacity is so low. In 1918, you recalled how about six millions of our countrymen died in three months owing to an influenza epidemic, because their vitality was so low. If only the money that is spent on the costly

maintenance of a foreign Government—and all European critics, including Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, have admitted that it is inevitable that foreign Governments should be costly,—if part of that costly administration went to improving the conditions of the people, Sir, their vitality would be better, their capacity to resist diseases would be increased and there might not be this tragic state of things. It is not a tragic fancy but a tragic reality. Of course, the Government have asked: "Is this the fault of the Government?" But your answer when you were amongst us may be quoted:

"These are tragic facts which I want the House to note. I do not lay them all at the door of the British Government. But what I do maintain is this that the British Government, after 150 years of their rule in India, have not been able to prevent the occurrence of these facts. It is under their rule that these things have occurred. Take education. After 150 years of British rule, 5 per cent. of the population know how to read and write."

Sir, it has been part of the policy of the British Government, it has been part of their calculated policy not to educate the people, not to educate them on rational or national lines but to educate them only for the purpose of creating a class of clerks and props and dependents of an alien Government. Sir, anyone who has read the various despatches, the various communications, the various documents bearing on the special nature of the first purpose with which education was introduced into this country will realise that. And to-day the first-class co-operators of this Government are English educated men and the Government are not interested in spreading education among the masses, in making mass education a reality by making it free and compulsory only because they are not interested in rousing the millions to a sense of their rights and wrongs.

I was referring to Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya's speech. Another aspect which Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya laid before this House was in relation to the Sikh prisoners. He said, Sir,—and the question was raised the other day in the Punjab Legislative Council—in 1924 he said—and unfortunately it is all true even to-day—he said:

"We have asked for the release of political prisoners, but the Government have not yet responded."

and he went on to say:

"The House recommended the other day the release of Sardar Kharak Singh. We have not yet heard what decision the Government have arrived at in the matter; but he is not the only person about whom we are anxious. There are numerous persons, respectable and innocent persons, who are unjustly undergoing imprisonment, while we are having our dinners and our parties, and holding our receptions and enjoying life. It fills me with grief, it fills me with a sense of shame, that we should be unable to save our fellow men from this indignity and hardship; it fills me with a sense of grief that we should be unable to persuade this Government which have invited us to represent the people here, to adopt the right course in relation to these gentlemen who are unjustly undergoing imprisonment."

I refer, Sir, to Sardar Kharak Singh, and it is a great shame that Sardar Kharak Singh should even to-day continue in jail. This is so far as the liberty of the subject in British India is concerned. But the Pandit also referred to a policy of bullying in regard to the Indian States the rulers of which are fast losing every confidence in the Government. For instance he referred to the general situation arising out of the deposition of His Highness the Maharaja of Nabha.

One of the patriot-princes of India, His Highness put up a stand-up fight against the manner in which the British Government had been using

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the Princes of India. His Highness, who took up a strong patriotic attitude, has been deposed. All kinds of militarist pressure were brought to bear on him and thus the deposition of the Prince was brought about. Sir, that is the British record of tragic maladministration which is visible always in the Government's dealings with Native States. Sir, the Native States have been regarded as a buffer between the people and the bureaucracy. The time has come when the Government must satisfy public opinion by a reconsideration of the whole case of the Nabha deposition and a reconsideration of the entire constitution relating to the administration of the Native States and Government's dealings with regard to Native States. Sir, there is a very deep-rooted feeling in the public mind that a very grave injustice was done when His Highness the Maharaja was forced to abdicate. I say "forced to abdicate" because the idea that the abdication was in any way voluntary is a gross misrepresentation of the actual circumstances. Everyone now knows that this much-harassed Prince was forced to sign the abdication papers at the point of the pistol as much as the enforced abdication of the Tsar of the Russias. Sir, the real reason for this enforced abdication of an enlightened and cultured ruler was that he was a patriot. I can place before Honourable Members a document printed by a distinguished lawyer of His Highness in an Allahabad press, relating to the correspondence between the Maharaja of Nabha and the Foreign and Political Department. This correspondence reveals how cruelly manacled our Princes are.

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Is that a subject for the Assembly to deal with?

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: It is entirely a subject for the Assembly to deal with. It is a subject which deals with the maladministration of Government. It is a subject which is really the crux of the entire situation in this country. Princes are put between us and the Government. The Government want buffers just as the Frontier Province is a buffer State between India and the Bolsheviks or countries which have a tendency to be Bolshevik—we have all heard of the Russian bogey—just as the frontier province is a buffer between India and the outside world of which the English rulers are afraid, even so within they have erected this diabolical buffer. Yes, the Native States are a block in the way of Indian progress. You bring in the Native States to impede us in our march. Sir, Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed can easily be taken into these tragic relations into which the Native States and the British people were about to be brought by a former Viceroy. But I shall proceed with the simple mal-treatment of a patriot Prince such as the mal-treatment of the Maharaja of Nabha. If the Maharaja was not a patriot, if he was not trusted by the people, if he did not stand up for the rights of the people, then he would not have been deposed. The real reason for this enforced abdication of an enlightened and cultured ruler was not maladministration of his State, oppression of his subjects, judicial corruption or a "sovereign" offence against a neighbouring Prince of the Punjab, but the fact that from his earliest days, even before he ascended the Gadi, he was a man of independent character who could not abide the petty tyranny of British officials, and was not ashamed or afraid to exhibit his sturdy nationalism.

Mr. K. Ahmed: The Finance Bill has nothing to do with it.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member need not take any notice of these interruptions.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Well, Sir, I bow to your ruling; but when this specific question was raised, you yourself told us that we had every right

Mr. President: No one has taken objection: why does the Honourable Member try to justify?

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: I thank you, Sir, for not having taken any objection. Judging from this one matter alone, all I would like to say is that the administration of the Government is not satisfactory. It is not satisfactory either for the people who are in British India or for the Princes who are not in British India. Perhaps there is not one of us who has been treated in a more shabby manner than the Maharaja of Nabha and it is for the Government to reconsider their attitude.

Pandit Malaviya said in 1924:

"The question of the Sikh prisoners looms large."

Sardar Kharak Singh is a non-violent man. He has been suffering and facing much ordeal in the prison. Sir, for days he was almost naked in the cells. He was asked to remove the turban on his head. He was not allowed to wear a turban that was suitable to him. He was not given a Gandhi cap. What was the point, Sir, in oppressing a political prisoner in that manner? Then again, Sir, in this House we passed a Resolution on the release of the prisoners and on the bringing back to India of the exiles. Sir, it is very unfortunate that the Government have not given effect to that Resolution. That Resolution, which was moved by my friend Maulvi Muhammad Shafee, ran thus:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council that he be pleased (a) to order the unconditional release of all such convicted or under-trial political prisoners in Indian jails as have not been held guilty or charged with any act of violence, and all political detenus whose trial in a court of law is not contemplated; (b) to order the release of all other political prisoners convicted or under trial, provided that a Committee consisting of 2 Members elected by the Legislative Assembly and 2 members nominated by the Government recommend their release . . ."

No such Committee has been appointed. As we have no such Committee appointed no wonder they still continue to rot in prison,

"and (c) to allow the return to their homes of all Indian exiles in foreign countries who are supposed to have been concerned in revolutionary movements in order to secure freedom for India, on such reasonable and honourable terms as the Government may think fit to impose."

Sir the Assembly took a reasonable attitude, in my opinion a much too reasonable attitude, in my opinion a much too cringing attitude, in my opinion a much too moderate attitude. Instead of asking for the unconditional release of these exiles, they said, "On such reasonable and honourable terms as the Government may think fit to impose." Have those reasonable and honourable terms been given to these exiles? Sir, even in Ireland where there was a bloody revolution where the British officers were shot, even there the Government took up a very conciliatory attitude. Did not the Government, did not His Majesty's Ministers, shake hands with the people whom their newspapers, my friend Mr. Donovan will say very wrongly represented as men whose hands were stained with blood? Men like Michael Collins were represented by the British newspapers as men whose hands were stained with blood. Sometimes even Mr. Arthur Griffith was represented like that, a phrase which Irish Members in this House of the type of Mr. Donovan could not like

Mr. J. T. Donovan (Bengal: Nominated Official): On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I do not think that I ever referred to Mr. Arthur Griffith in this House.

Mr. President: Never mind, Mr. Donovan. Go on, Mr. Ranga Iyer.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: I thought, Sir, that he might not like, that he did not like English newspapers referring to his own countrymen in that casual manner, to great leaders of his own country. The fact is that there was a bloody revolution. Michael Collins was the Commander-in-Chief of Republican Ireland and how did the English treat them? The Irish leaders were insisted to a Round Table Conference in Downing Street. They came in His Majesty's saloon to England to settle the Irish question, and the Irish question is to-day a settled fact. Do Englishmen want that we should also pass through the same stages of a blood-bath of revolution, of shooting Englishmen in this country? Sir, we are more of constitutionalists. Otherwise, we would not have come to this House. Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra himself is a constitutionalist. Otherwise he would not have agreed to come to this House and take the oath of allegiance to the King of England. Do Government want to spurn everything that the constitutionalists ask for? Do they want to encourage a revolutionary movement in this country? Do they think that Indians cannot be irritated and driven to a revolution? Do they think that by shooting Englishmen alone, by throwing bombs on them alone, by destroying them alone, they will yield? We do not want that. Sir, we are a nation which loves non-violence. ("Hear, hear.") That is why the non-violent non-cooperation movement of Mahatma Gandhi had an India-wide response. But do the Government want to shake the people's faith in non-violence? I put it to the Honourable the Home Member who has just left his seat—whenever inconvenient statements are made, that polite gentleman leaves his seat (Laughter)—but I put it to the Honourable the Home Member who is absent, I put it to the gentlemen on the other side, why they should not try to conciliate the constitutionalists in this House. Sir, there are extremists who have not come to this House. Their number may be very small to-day. They are not those on whom the Government have laid their hands. Government have laid their hands on constitutionalists, on Swarajists, and they have done so to destroy the constitutional movement. My suspicion, Sir, is this that the Government know how to handle better a revolutionary movement, a revolutionary who is armed with violent weapons of war, with their aeroplanes which have demonstrated their capacity to throw bombs on the people in the Punjab. They are men who can go to the extent of humiliating people as they humiliated the people of the Punjab. Sir, you know the tragedy that was enacted in the Punjab. You were there, Sir, inquiring into the grievances of the people. You were there, Sir, inquiring into the atrocities that were perpetrated in the Punjab. Whenever there is a constitutional movement to defy an immoral attitude of the Government to break the bones of the people by passing legislations, such as the black Act,—I refer to the Rowlatt Act—then they come in all the grim horror of the revolutionary, they demonstrate all the terrible weapons in their possession, they bring to service even the aeroplanes to throw bombs on people. Just as they humiliate the patriot Princes by demonstrating before them their military power, they also humiliate the people. Sir, this is not a civil administration. As I said three years ago, this is martial law under the civil garb. And whenever we carry

on an agitation in a constitutional manner, the Government threaten us with all the power in their hands. I ask them, "Is this the manner to treat people who are non-violent? Is this the manner to treat people who are co-operating?" We ask merely for the release of the political prisoners. They will not release them. Why? Because they think these political prisoners will come from the jails to propagate new ideas of strength in the nation. They might try to increase the faith of the people in self-discipline, self-knowledge and self-control which alone lead a nation's life to sovereign power. Nor would they allow the exiles to come back to this country even on "honourable terms" as embodied in the Resolution which was passed by an overwhelming majority in 1926. This Resolution has not been given effect to, and this one fact is enough to condemn the administration of the Government and to justify the throwing out of the Finance Bill. But there are other considerations.

I shall first refer to one very weighty consideration this year. I would not go into the Ratio Bill, because that is not my province and I do not believe in going beyond my province. There are other gentlemen who said that they do not believe in the 1s. 4d. ratio. At any rate I said nothing to that effect on the floor of the House. I do not find Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas in his seat. He made tremendously sensational speeches in the House making all kinds of attacks on the Finance Member and the Government, almost horrid statements, horrid from the point of view of Government, saying that 1s. 6d. will lead to all kinds of disaster. But I do not see that gentleman in his seat now when I am just pressing for the throwing out of the Finance Bill. If Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas believed in all those things that he said on the floor of this House—Sir, I did not say those things—then it is for him to throw out the Finance Bill and avert the disaster. If, on the other hand, he was only talking with his tongue in his cheek then it is for him to remain neutral or vote with the Government. There is no use raising a picture in this House of disasters and all that kind of thing, if you do not propose to throw out the Finance Bill. Sir, I will withdraw every suspicion, every doubt that I have about those Sixteen Pence gentlemen if they join hands with me and reject this motion, and go into the Noes lobby and vote against it. All the arguments that Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas placed before this House will look like bluff if he does not join hands with me, if all those who voted with him do not join hands with me in rejecting the Finance Bill. It is unnecessary to read the statements that they made in this House, it is unnecessary to read the statements that they made outside this House. I have voted with them. I have stood by them. I have supported them by my vote. My party has stood by them; others have supported them in the country; and it is for them now to stand by us if they really believe in what they said, if they really believe that this 1s. 6d. ratio will lead to a terrible disaster. If, on the other hand, it is only a case of make-believe, they will proclaim to the world by their neutrality that theirs is a case of make-believe. I have no right to come to a conclusion before I see which way they vote. I am putting these things before the House because those who have voted on the Ratio Bill against the 1s. 6d. ratio must justify their statements by throwing out the Finance Bill which is based on the very abominable ratio, abominable from their point of view. I am a politician and I raise the political issue. I have not spoken a single word on the floor of this House on the Ratio Bill and I deliberately did not speak, because the gentlemen who

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were speaking were on their trial and I knew that the Finance Bill would come and it would put them to the test. If they stand the trial, we will be their willing followers in the future. If they do not stand the trial, I am afraid great misgivings will be entertained in the country that they said so much, but when it came to the scratch they stood away. I see that some gentlemen who were enthusiastic about the rejection of the Ratio Bill left this House when the Finance Bill came up for consideration. I do not want to name them, but they are not here. It shows their sense of responsibility. If they really believe in all that they said, then they should stand by us. If they do not believe in what they said, they ought not to have said what they said.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said, while concluding his memorable speech of 1924 for the rejection of the Finance Bill:

“We cannot lend our moral support and vote for the maintenance of this taxation unless the representatives of the people of this country have a voice in the expenditure of the money raised by taxation, unless we are put in a position to exercise the same rights and privileges which the members of every Legislature in the world exercise.”

What attempts have the Government made to put us in this privileged position? What attempts have the Government made to give us our birth-right? Lord Birkenhead not from his place in the House of Lords but in one of those postprandial speeches in which His Lordship becomes extremely eloquent indulges not in a postprandial oration really charming and entertaining, but blusters; in one of those blustering speeches of his—the latest bluster of the day,—Lord Birkenhead was saying what Sir Charles Innes said on the floor of this House but in a somewhat different language. I do not want to read what Sir Charles Innes said, but I shall certainly refer to what Lord Birkenhead said. Sir Charles Innes was wondering as to what would happen if Englishmen left India, and Lord Birkenhead was putting the same question; what will happen if the great British services, if the Superior Services, if the soldiers, if the English people cleared out of this country? And he answered the question. It is always very interesting to put a question and then to answer it, especially when the questioner and the gentleman who answers happen to be one and the same person. (Laughter). Lord Birkenhead can put very convenient questions and then give the answers which he could have already anticipated. It is all very nice to create an imagery or image of one's own and then demolish it: “What would happen if the British people left?” Lord Birkenhead said he had put this question to a number of Indian deputies. I do not know if you, Mr. President, were one of those gentlemen, though you happened to be one of our most distinguished representatives when the Reforms came into existence—perhaps the only representative who could speak with authority on behalf of the Indian National Congress, that institution which the Montagu-Chelmsford Report has described as the only authoritative and authentic body in this country—I do not know whether you happened to be one of them, but my suspicion is that you had no opportunity of meeting Lord Birkenhead nor did you care to meet him, but you met Mr. Montagu who was then in Lord Birkenhead's place. Lord Birkenhead's Government might or might not follow the policy which you placed before the British Government when you were there as an Indian deputy. Lord Morley has recorded in his “Recollections” that he met gentlemen from India and in his letters to

Lord Minto he has made it very clear that even Gokhale had told him, "If you do not give the Indian people real reforms revolution might follow, a terrible situation might arise in the country" and so on and so forth. (*An Honourable Member*: "Shame.") I do not understand the meaning of that cry "Shame".

Mr. K. Ahmed: The cry was for somebody else, not for you.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: It is a great shame that revolution has not followed, perhaps that is what that gentleman feels. That gentleman who cried "Shame" is perhaps ashamed that we are standing in this House and talking like constitutionalists like Redmondites instead of instigating people to revolution. I know these irresponsible cries of "Shame" will be hailed by people who are not in this House to-day and who do not approve of our walking into these Legislatures and pleading with people, arguing with people who are unwilling to listen. At any rate they feel that this is all a waste of time (*Some Honourable Members*: "Hear, hear") and perhaps it is a shame. My Honourable friends over there cry "Hear, hear." That is a case where extremes meet—revolutionaries who sit on those Benches (pointing to the Treasury Benches) say "Hear, hear," and so do the people who are overhearing me, they may not be within the reach of my voice, they may not be in this House, but what I say to-day is being overheard in the country, what I say to-day is being overheard by teeming millions, and what I say to-day is also being overheard by a class of people who do not approve of our constitutional methods, and they too say "Hear, hear" when I say "waste of time". And so do the Honourable the Government Members say—extremes always meet! Sir, the time will come if they persist in this policy—the time that came in Ireland when Redmondites had to share oblivion. Even so Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar and his followers may have to share oblivion. (*An Honourable Member*: "Share oblivion.") I believe it is Sir Darcy Lindsay who said, "share oblivion."

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal & European): Sir Darcy Lindsay did not say, "share oblivion."

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: But the voice came from somewhere where Sir Darcy Lindsay sits. I believe it is one of those European Members sitting over there who said, "Share oblivion." I know Englishmen and Europeans and then those who have not gone to Europe but call themselves Europeans—I know these people do not believe in constitutional methods and I know that they are anxious that we should go into oblivion. History teaches just what the revolutionary has learnt that you cannot get anything out of the British people except at the point of the pistol, at the point of the sword, at the point of the bayonet. (*An Honourable Member*: "Question.") That is why they want us to go into oblivion. They may leave this country bag and baggage when the country becomes too uncomfortable for them to live here . . .

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras Ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): And unprofitable.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: And unprofitable as my Honourable friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar very rightly adds. But we who have to live and die in this country, have to look after the interests of our country much better than the gentlemen over there. Lord Birkenhead said, "What would happen if the British people went out of India?" I say what Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar has just said that it would become an unprofitable business

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for them to live here if they went. Are they prepared to leave? Can they contemplate the loss of enormous money flowing to England? Can they contemplate the loss of enormous commercial business? Can they contemplate the loss of so much field for the unemployed children of England? India gives much scope for the European unemployed. The subjection of India is the solution of their unemployed question. Lord Birkenhead did not want, he "could not contemplate with indifference", to use his own phrase, the disappearance of the British from India, because there will be revolution in England, there will be starvation in England, and empty stomachs, as Edmund Burke put it, are a prolific source of revolution, and there will be empty stomachs in England if India was lost to England. Why, for instance, was preference introduced by the backdoor, as Mr. Jayakar very well put it in his eloquent speech? Why do the Government and their representatives want Imperial Preference? Why is it that a propaganda is carried on for Imperial Preference? To get the best out of India and at the same time to keep the Indians in subjection. Sir, Lord Birkenhead made other equally convenient observations which could be dismissed as post-prandial fantasies which sometimes float before men of the type of Lord Birkenhead. He appealed to "the rationally-minded people of India". Is he rationally minded? What did he, the famous F. E. Smith, preach to the Irish people? He preached rebellion against the King. His Lordship will have to listen to the grievances addressed to the British people and their representatives in a reasonable and honourable manner if he expects others to be in a reasonable frame of mind.

Sir, we are asked to pass the Finance Bill. We are asked to supply the wherewithal for the extravagant Treasury Benches for meeting an expenditure for which this House is in no way responsible. The right to spend is the whim of a few paid squanderers of public money and the right of extorting money from the poor pockets of our fellowmen is to be our lot. We have not been sent here for abetting such huge and organised plunders of public money. We have over and over again pointed out the ways of reducing the expenditure. We have offered our own men to do the business of administration in all its branches and they are obstinately keeping them out and importing the British steel into this country. We all know about the O'Donnell Circular and it was shelved. My Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar very pithily and effectively described it when he said: "It is a reverse process from what is observed in trade. In trade the raw product is exported from this country and it is sent back to us as manufactured and finished article. In the services you import the raw products of Great Britain with fat bounties too to last for their life. Whether on the civil side or on the military side this country bears all the expenditure of training the boys of Great Britain and when they have been trained the benefit is enjoyed by their motherland both from them directly and from their descendants on the law of heredity. India is a victim of all the blunders of the experimental stages."

This leads me to the question of the Indian Army. Speaking in this House, His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief said:

"I was telling the House last year that when I go round inspecting units of the Indian Army, my custom invariably has been to get hold of all the Indian officers and ask them to open their hearts to me and to tell me where the shoe pinches and any complaints they may have to make."

That is an extraordinary method of solving the question which we have so repeatedly placed before the Government on this side of the House—the question of giving opportunities for Indians in the army, of giving careers for Indians in the army, of officering the Indian Army with Indians themselves. The Commander-in-Chief comes and tells us that he goes round and talks to the Indian soldiers “How do you do, where does your shoe pinch?”. I am sure that if the shoe pinched a little too much he would be asked to wear another shoe. (Laughter.) Sir, that is not what we want. What we want is to have a national army, to have a citizen army, to have an army which will save us from this terrible position to which Lord Birkenhead’s countrymen have exposed us. Lord Birkenhead’s question, to which I just referred, carried with it the condemnation of this system. If you really thought that 150 years of British rule in this country have made us incompetent, no further condemnation of the British Government is necessary. That conclusively proves that if it is not possible for us after 150 years of British rule in this country to defend ourselves, then that system must discontinue immediately. The sooner it is discontinued the better for themselves, the better of humanity and better for ourselves. His Excellency went on to say that there was an idea in some parts of the House that service abroad and especially service in China is not popular with the Indian soldier. What were the facts? His Excellency said that while he was inspecting a Rajput unit recently they gave him very gushing answers. They demonstrated their enthusiasm for service abroad. He said :

“I know my Indian comrades well and I can honestly say that this is not the case. Service abroad and especially in China is most popular. The old spirit of adventure is still marked in the Indian army as it has been for the last 100 years and I hope that it will always last.”

Sir, service and adventure of what kind? Our soldiers are sent to China to shoot our own countrymen in China, the Asiatic brothers of ours. Why should the Indian Army be sent to China? Sir, if there is a rebellion in the neighbourhood of England, in the Colonies, then the Indian Army might go and shoot these Colonials. Indians can like that kind of adventure, if the Government want to send them. Because some soldiers told His Excellency that they were enthusiastic about service in China—and they could not be more than 100 or 200 or for the matter of that 1,000—these Indian soldiers are sent to China. What happens in the Colonies? We are supposed to be marching in the direction of responsible government. Every minute the Government is demonstrating its own sense of utter irresponsibility. I repeat what happens in the Colonies? No army of that kind can go out of the Colonies for foreign service without the consent of the Colonial Parliament, but here no reference is made to this House. Even to this Assembly no reference is made. (*Mr. B. Das*: “Casual reference.”) My friend Mr. Das says, “Casual reference”. I do not know if that is a reference at all. It was only the announcement that the ukase of the Government had gone forth, that they had come to a decision, from which there was no going back. That was not a casual reference, it was a calculated insult. Government are not at all ashamed of indulging in such repeated calculated insults. Sir, all that we wanted then was to place before this House, after the despatch of the army, what we thought of it but even that was choked by the interference of ungoverned executive authority. Sir, this system must go. This one incident is enough for the rejection of the Finance Bill. That demonstrates that we are helpless in matters affecting the dignity of our race. Sir, we have lost everything,

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our freedom, our wealth, but we are unwilling to lose our honour. We are unwilling to lose our dignity and to send Indian soldiers to shoot down the Chinese in whose struggle for freedom I have great sympathy and my countrymen have great sympathy. It is a struggle against that menace of Western domination. It is a struggle against the barbarous militarism of Europe which is extending its power all over the world. It is a struggle against that barbarous institution called militarism which is grinding down the Asiatic race. In the great struggle of the Chinese we have great sympathy, we have tremendous sympathy; and if some of us could join the Chinese army and shoot the English people who are keeping them in bondage we would gladly do so.

Sir Victor Sassoon (Bombay Millowners' Association: Indian Commerce): The British are keeping the Chinese in bondage?

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: I say that the British are keeping the Chinese down.

Sir Victor Sassoon: I suggest the Honourable Member should go to China and he would find it is not the case.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: My method of looking at China is different from that of the Honourable Member over there . . .

Sir Victor Sassoon: I go there.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: He looks at them with coloured glasses, glasses coloured, if not with Imperialism because I do not call him an Imperialist, but coloured with a kind of sympathy for British Imperialism. I am afraid, Sir, the Honourable Member over there has got a large stake in the neighbourhood of China.

Sir Victor Sassoon: Yes.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Yes, I know, and if the Chinese movement is a success that gentleman loses a great deal. Therefore he is not in sympathy with the revolutionary movement in China. I am in sympathy with that movement. I want all the English people in China to be turned out bag and baggage. I want the English people to have no basis for exploiting the old treaties which were entered into with the Chinese Emperor at a time when China was not wideawake. To-day the Chinese giant is on her feet. To-day China is fighting for her freedom, and the English people are employing every means in their power, including the Indian Army, to destroy the Chinese.

Sir Victor Sassoon: Who are the Chinese fighting?

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: The Chinese are fighting the British. They are fighting also those countrymen of theirs who are not able to rise to the height of democratic freedom. In the fight for national and democratic freedom you have to fight your own traitors in your own country; you have to fight the spies of foreign powers in your own country; and we have also to fight the British. It is these people the Chinese are fighting. They are fighting the dangerous and reactionary elements in China itself and they are fighting those who are occupying all the most important places in China on the seaside; fighting those who are keeping China in bondage.

Sir Victor Sassoon: No.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: You may say "No", but a "no" cannot wash away facts. Why was the Indian Army taken to China?

Sir Victor Sassoon: To protect British and Indian interests.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: Sir, that reminds me of the manner in which Mr. Gladstone interfered in Egypt. When the Egyptians had led a revolutionary movement to success—a non-violent revolutionary movement, this is what happened. Arabi Pasha was the leader of the revolutionary movement. Lord Morley, "Honest John" as they used to call him, who was then editing a newspaper called the "Pall Mall Gazette", instigated Gladstone's Government to murder Arabi Pasha by sending emissaries to the Sultan of Turkey. Lord Morley said, "the head of that revolutionary must roll on the carpet". And he said that if the revolutionary movement marched to success "the Fellah would throw off the mask". The same phrase was repeated by Gladstone in the House of Commons soon after when an army was sent to Egypt to deprive Egypt of her freedom under the same cover of protection of foreign interests.

Sir Victor Sassoon: That is quite different.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: That was how Egypt was deprived of her freedom. Sir, this annexation policy of the British was repudiated by no less a man than Gladstone himself when the Prime Minister was Disraeli. He condemned "the wild-cat" scheme of Imperialist aggression. But Gladstone himself carried out the "wild-cat scheme" when he succeeded Disraeli as Premier. And to-day you have a wilder cat scheme in China. Protection of foreign interests! Why should not the foreign interests clear out of China if the Chinese do not want foreigners there.

Sir Victor Sassoon: They put them there first.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: That is a very curious and very usual argument. The British put themselves here first and then they feed on the country, and then they say India cannot have Swaraj because foreign interests have got to be protected. It is the same old argument, the same old method of diplomacy by which Great Britain works. But, Sir, can the Honourable Member over there say why the Australians did not send their troops to China?

Sir Victor Sassoon: It was not necessary.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: Quite so. Not necessary to incur the displeasure of China, because when China is fully awake the Australians will be swept into the sea. Sir, it is either a question of fear, of cowardice or it is because of a lack of enthusiasm for the Empire and fraudulent Imperial methods. Sir, we were told the other day that Indian interests were also involved. But if a vote of this House were taken, and if the gentlemen who did not belong to this country abstained from voting, a Resolution would be carried in this House and endorsed by huge meetings in the country outside that Indians in China must be brought back. We would go and bring them back and give up our interests there. The Chinese belong to a great race of Buddhists with almost the same religion as many of us, who have almost the same sympathy that we have for Asiatic movements against Europe, and who are also in the same predicament that of fighting a foreign enemy. Therefore, Sir, if we had our own way we would withdraw Indians from China instead of sending Indian troops to keep the Chinese in chains.

Sir Victor Sassoon: No.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: The Chinese are kept in manacles, and when the Honourable Member says "No", I know that England is afraid of speaking the truth while dealing with China, because the Chinese have behind them the sympathy of the democratic world and in this democratic world there is no place for Imperialism. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald happily described this Imperialism as "imperious".

Sir Victor Sassoon: Is Mr. Ramsay Macdonald not in favour of British interests being protected?

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: If he is in favour of protecting British interests it is because he is taking an Imperial and imperious view.

Mr. T. C. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. Ramsay Macdonald is also an Imperialist. They all are.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Sir, instead of consulting this House and taking the opinion of the people the Government are advertising Indians as a people who do not love the freedom of other people. Indian soldiers—I do not like to call them mercenaries—are sent to China to humiliate India in the eyes of the world. To humiliate and dishonour, that way alone can the British continue their autocracy in this country. A nation rising to self-respect with the sympathy of the outside world cannot be put down. England, Sir, is taking a far-sighted and diplomatic view in sending Indian troops to China. We have read and Honourable Members over there (pointing to the European Benches) have read all about the "Yellow Peril", about the Asiatic menace. They also know that it was the dream of Deshabandhu Das, the greatest Indian of modern times, to have a Pan-Asiatic Federation. (Hear, hear.) And they want to humiliate India in China so that any chance of a Pan-Asiatic Federation may be postponed. Because this Yellow Peril is a real menace, therefore India's humiliation was and is necessary. The Government are perpetrating one of the most terrible acts of bureaucratic diplomacy to humiliate India and once for all to cut at the root of that movement for a Pan-Asiatic Federation. It is not that Indian soldiers are absolutely necessary to keep up the British Empire in China, because soldiers can be sent from elsewhere. But no, India has got to be humiliated and nothing can stop the Government from humiliating the country. Herein lies Sir, the secret of the Viceregal interference with the motion for adjournment of the House brought forward by the greatest authority in India to-day, namely, the President of the Indian National Congress. The Indian National Congress is certainly an undoubted and powerful enemy of every Imperialism, particularly British Imperialism

11 A.M. and British domination, and naturally the voice of the Congress, the opinion of the country in regard to a thing that vitally affects the Empire in the East should not be placed before this House, and there comes the interference.

Sir, I want that this system, hedged in by all kinds of bureaucratic devices, must be removed; and for the removal of this system everybody is in favour, including my Honourable friend, Nawab Sir Abdul Qaiyum, on one condition, that his province will get the same benefit as the other provinces have got. There is nobody in this House, not even the nominated Members of this House, who are against the removal of this system. The other day Mr. K. C. Roy made a remarkable speech which would have been worthy

of any Member on this side of the House. He is a nominated Member but he has made a remarkable indictment of the Government in regard to army matters. He made a remarkable exposure of bureaucratic irresponsibility in regard to army affairs. Sir, that is an exposure which any Member on the Swarajist side would have been proud to make. And when a nominated Member comes before this House and makes a statement like that, what does it mean? It means that even the nominated Members feel that this system must be changed. My friend, Mr. Shyam Narain Singh, is not in his seat, but I am sure even Mr. Shyam Narain Singh, official though he be, is in sympathy, in full sympathy with this movement, that he is in full sympathy with the idea of removing the present system. For, Sir, he is an honest man. I am not here to say what my Indian official friends have said to me, because I have no right to disclose private conversations, but I may say, Sir, that Indian Members who are seated on the other side are frankly enthusiastic about the removal of this system. If there were a free vote on the question of the change of the present system, that Resolution would be carried by an overwhelming majority including Indian official Members. When such is the case, why should not Lord Birkenhead devise the same ways and means which his countrymen devised for the Colonies? Why should he say "Compose your communal differences"? Did not Lord Durham go to Canada? Were there not communal differences in Canada? Did not the Canadians fight like cats and dogs in the streets? Was there social intercourse between British Canadians and French Canadians in Canada? Did not children organise themselves in the streets and fight each other? Sir, Lord Durham says that only in one place they met and that was in the witness box and there too for the utter obstruction of justice. Things are not so bad in this country. We meet our Muhammadan friends; we sit together; we discuss the future of this nation; we also vote together. Yet Lord Birkenhead says "Compose your differences". They try to create differences and then say "Compose your differences. Where differences actually existed and while the differences had led to a perilous condition, they said; "the only solution for these differences is the introduction of responsible government". My friend the Publicity Officer over there is all ears and I hope, if he has not read it already, he will read Lord Durham's Report and, when he compiles his next volume, will make a point of saying what Indians feel on these communal differences.

Mr. J. Coatman (Director of Public Information): On a point of personal explanation, Sir, may I say that I have read Lord Durham's Report probably as often as my Honourable friend opposite?

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: I am very glad to hear, Sir, that the Honourable gentleman has read Lord Durham's Report.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may ask him to read it again.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: I will not only ask him to read it again but to mention, when he writes his next annual report, certain applications of these remedies to the Indian situation as urged in this House. Sir, I have gone through this book "India in 1925-26." I find there all convenient things which suit the Government. It is supposed to be a presentation, an honest presentation of the Indian case to the British Parliament. Important issues are not brought up there at all, such as for instance, the solution of the communal problem. Sir, the solution was presented to this House. Out in the country we had also placed the solution, whether, for instance, the British people in India should not deal with the Indian question in the

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same manner in which Lord Durham dealt with the Canadian question. There is no reference to that by the gentleman who seems to have read and re-read and inwardly digested what Lord Durham wrote. He seems to have a wonderfully short memory or perhaps he does not believe in putting in his book most important facts. However, I hope that when he writes his book next time he will remember more important things, not the speeches of the gentlemen who happen to be his favourites, but more important things concerning the very acute problem in this country, namely, the solution of this communal problem. Lord Birkenhead says "Compose your differences" and I hope the Honourable gentleman who said he had read the Durham Report without making use of it, who did not make a reference to it even when it was made use of in this House, will mention our case in the Government publication.

Sir, my Honourable friend, the Publicity Officer, in his new book has referred to the question of a navy for India, "the Royal Indian Navy." And what steps have the British Government taken within the last 150 years for the promotion of a Royal Indian Navy? Before the British came, India had her own mercantile marine; Indian ships rode the oceans; there was vigorous trade carried on in Indian ships by Indian and Phœnician merchants. I would ask Honourable Members who doubt the accuracy of this statement to read Sir Dinshaw Wacha's and other statements on the subject. But after the coming of the British, what happened to the Indian ships? They are talking, after 150 years, of a Royal Indian Navy. And the Publicity Officer quotes Lord Reading's inaugural address to the Council of State when making the announcement in which he says "he justly emphasised the great importance of this new departure." Great importance of this new departure indeed, after 150 years of British rule! India had a very big sea trade and India has a very long sea coast, and still it did not occur to the British Government that India could have an Indian Navy earlier than this. Further we are told "What are the potentialities of this new departure?" What have the Government done to train Indians for a navy career? Sir, there is tremendous enthusiasm in England's youths for a navy career because opportunities are given. Here no opportunities are given and they say enthusiasm is dead. It is a great pity, Sir, that when opportunities should be created, no such thing is done—a foreign government can never be expected to create opportunities for the children of the soil. After mentioning the recommendations of Lord Rawlinson's Committee, His Excellency Lord Reading continued:

"I need not emphasise to the Honourable Members of this Chamber the significance of this decision."

Very big words—"significance of this decision"; and we do not know what significance it has for the numerous unemployed middle classes. A Resolution was brought before this House and carried about the question of unemployment of the educated classes. The Government was asked to give openings for the unemployed educated middle classes; but no openings of this kind are given so far and no such intention is at any rate visible. Then Lord Reading says "It embodies an important principle." Everybody knows that the principle is very important, though a British Government in India and His Excellency the Governor General discovered the importance of the principle only after 150 years of British rule and fifty or sixty years of Indian agitation over the same. "Thinking men in India

have long desired the creation of an Indian Navy for India capable of defending her ports," observes His Excellency, "and her harbours and her commerce." But what have the Government done to meet what the thinking men of India, as His Excellency admits, have always wished for and sought after? To quote Lord Reading "A laudable ambition will now have its scope". If, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member stands up from his place,—(absent though he is because debates such as this do not seem to concern him—it is much better not to listen to them, so that the Government need not meet the case placed before them by the representatives of the people)—if the Honourable the Home Member rises in his place and announces or assures the drawing up of a scheme for the Indian people similar to the scheme that the Japanese Government had drawn up for the Japanese people, then, Sir, on that one offer alone, it would not be necessary for us to reject the Finance Bill. But they would rather have the Finance Bill opposed or rejected and then certified. They are not in a mood to listen to us, and Lord Birkenhead talks of "fidelity and friendship"! I expect the Government to show us fidelity; I expect the Government to show us friendship, and give to India the same opportunities which the Japanese Government gave to Japan. Sir, both in regard to the army and in regard to the navy, Japan introduced all facilities that any self-governing country would have introduced with a view to move with the times. But the British Government have not done anything of the kind here. After a full century and a half, we are told that we are unfit for the army service and army control alike. That means, if it does mean anything at all, that it took 150 years to emasculate a martial race to such an extent as to make them fit for this double disqualification.

In the so-called conquest which the British have made in this country if they are not ashamed to call a fraud a heroic conquest, it is my shame to claim that it is through my countrymen that the country passed into alien hands. The first move taken was to compel all the Indian Chiefs to disband their forces, commute military service rendered by the feudatory chiefs into a tenure of *peshcush* or money payments. In 1796 the Indian troops were taken across the black water to fight Britain's enemies. In 1828 General Lord Combermere remarked:

"It was impossible to avoid marking the superiority of the sepoy over the European corps in steadiness and regularity of movement."

The Honourable Mount-Stuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay in 1819—27, remarked:

"The Indian soldiers' freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which the Hindus appear to most advantage. If we compare them with our own the absence of drunkenness and of immodesty in their other vices will leave the superiority in purity of manners on the side least flattering to our self-esteem."

In 1832 Major-General Worsley said:

"It will be no disparagement of any other troops to say that hitherto the Native Army of India has never been surpassed for fidelity to the Government and attachment to their officers nor yielded to those of any other nation in point of discipline and effective valour."

Now, I ask, Sir, why such a competent army, why such a competent race with martial qualities, why such competent soldiers, such brave and chivalrous men should not be given a chance to officer the Army in India? "Indians make good soldiers, but bad officers" is a fiction which cannot carry weight, especially when one remembers the tribute paid by great

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Englishmen. They want to deny us the opportunity we seek because they want to perpetuate our thralldom, and if they persist in that policy,—(the Report of the Indian Sandhurst Committee is not yet published, and even if it is published there is no knowing what they propose to do in regard to Indianisation of the Army), if they persist in that policy, they do so only to keep us in bondage,—a phrase which my friend Sir Victor Sassoon would not like my using for China but which, I am sure, he would not mind my using for India. Before the Select Committee in 1882 on the Affairs of the East India Company, Major-General Malcolm said:

"I am not of opinion with many that we incur any risk of a political nature by imparting such knowledge to the Natives, because the Natives have proved in the corps that they have perfect means of becoming instructed and instructing others in the branch of military force (Artillery Branch)."

Sir, the natives of England had a good deal to learn from the natives of India. Sir, the natives of England are now denying to the natives of India opportunities, even though the representatives of the natives of England have paid a high tribute and recorded the superior competence of the natives of India. I will not go through all the various acknowledgments of the valour displayed by the Indians in their fighting capacity and the enormous services rendered by them to the British Government which has not the least sense of gratitude,—still they distrust, distrust, distrust the Indians. I would only invite the testimony of the Marquis of Tweeddale on the fidelity of the Indian soldier.

Sir, in 1888, Japan did what the English could have very well done in this country. In 1888 the garrisons now designated as headquarters or divisions were organised as units complete with infantry, cavalry, artillery, engineers and commissariat, and the Imperial Army came to consist of a field force of 7 divisions, fortress artillery, railway corps, and colonial militia, ready, if need be, for service beyond the seas. The net result of all these efforts was that in 1894 Japan was able to oppose China with an army of more than 240,000 trained men, in addition to 6,495 irregulars and 100,000 coolies. Japan was not slow to profit by that campaign, and after it was over, she did not slacken her endeavours to bring her fighting forces to the highest pitch of efficiency. The term of service required from her conscripts was slightly extended and in 1896, the colonial militia of Hokkaido was formed into a division, and five new divisions were added, making the total thirteen. A little later the cavalry and artillery, which had previously belonged to the divisions, were converted into independent brigades, with the object of increasing their freedom of action, and the efficiency of coast defence was improved by the addition of new troops to the fortress artillery. Great attention was paid to the medical service, nor was the importance of good material overlooked. Better rifles were provided for the infantry, the artillery were armed with quick-firing guns, and with the introduction of the manufacture of guns of the largest calibres in 1902, Japan's domestic resources became equal to the task of supplying nearly all the armaments required by her army. Then, Sir, comes the question of the Japanese officers. Japan has certainly progressed without the help of the English. The English did not go there to perfect the Japanese army, and if English, German and other European experts were sent for to train the army, they were paid for their services rendered by them, and therefore, Sir, if the English had not come to this country, it is idle for Lord Birkenhead or

for anybody to say that we would not have been able to march with the times. It is entirely improper for them to say that an Indian army as competent, as fit, as useful, as energetic, as modern, and as up-to-date as the Japanese army would not have come into existence. Sir, they deprived us of all our opportunities; they deprived us of our power to reform this race; they deprived us of the power to have everything our own way, and then say, if we Englishmen had not come to this country, how could you develop your army, how could you have railways? Sir, all that I would say is this. Everything that has happened in Japan would have also happened in this country, which has been self-governing from millenium to millenium and whose fitness for self-government cannot be questioned by people who are not competent themselves. Sir, I question on the floor of this House the competence of the English people to govern this country or their own country for the matter of that. ("Hear, hear.") Their own people question their competence. Do we not hear of general elections and parties in power being thrown overboard? Why should a party in power be thrown overboard if that party retained public confidence and represented the public opinion? The very fact that in a general election parties are thrown out of power and new parties are installed shows that the British people have the capacity to commit mistakes. And that is the right of self-government. It is no use Lord Birkenhead and others saying: You will commit mistakes. All that I can say is that Lord Birkenhead himself committed so many mistakes that he had to live in the wilderness, and to leave office. His party was defeated. Even if we commit mistakes, the Europeans are not the judge: the Indians are the judge. If, Mr. President, you and your party commit mistakes, then the party of somebody else, say, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas can come into power. If his party commits mistakes, the party of Sir Hari Singh Gour can come into power. (Laughter.) It is not for the gentlemen over there to be in power and say: you commit mistakes. Yes, we want the right to commit mistakes. That is what Swaraj means. (Cheers.) Sir, I have a quotation with me here in which Bernard Shaw describes Ireland's right for Home Rule to be as good as England's. It is difficult for me to read the entire quotation from that beautiful book "John Bull's Other Island", because I do not wish to wound the susceptibilities of the gentlemen sitting over there, but I will read a part of it, not the objectionable or personal part of it:

"Even if Home Rule were as unhealthy as an Englishman's eating, as intemperate as his drinking, as filthy as his smoking, as licentious as his domesticity, as corrupt as his election, as murderously greedy as his commerce, as cruel as his prisons and as merciless as his streets, Ireland's claim to self-government would be still as good as England's."

Well, Sir, that is an Irishman's statement—an Irishman who is honoured by Englishman, who has got many admirers amongst Englishmen. Well, Sir, the same can be said in regard to India's claim to self-government.

I shall now tell you, Sir, how the Japanese progressed with their Navy. The Publicity Officer, whom I do not find in his seat, could compile a book of what you said, Sir, and what others said in regard to the development of the Indian Navy, etc. At any rate he could very well have mentioned in his book "India in 1925-26", which is printed at India's cost, the kinds of criticisms which were levelled against the Royal Indian Navy scheme of the Government. I do not find representative Indian opinion quoted in this book to that extent to which it should have been quoted. If, Sir,

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some Indian opinions are quoted, those are opinions which suit the Government, and Members who applauded the Government or endorsed their methods are of course quoted. I condemn the publication of this book and I want the abolition of the Publicity Office which is really a Dupli-city Office. Sir, you said, when you were our leader here—and we followed your lead in subsequent years, and in every debate on the Budget, on every possible occasion,—you said that India should have a Navy even as the Japanese had. The Japanese Navy is not of very ancient growth. Japan resembles the United Kingdom. Japan is just an island on the Pacific just as England is an island on the Atlantic, and it might be said that their race is as fond of the sea, living by the sea. And they had a navy, a very old navy indeed but the truth is Japan's navy is of recent growth. We had our ships before the British came here and those who live on the seaside are lovers of the sea. And if we had our opportunities, if we had the facilities that every free country in the world has, if we had the opportunity to move with the times as we would have had if we were not kept in chains, if opportunities were not denied to us, we would have progressed even as the Japanese progressed:

“The Japanese Navy is of comparatively recent growth, its beginnings dating only from the middle of last century. The stimulus to its development came from outside. Early in the seventeenth century the Tokugawa government had stifled the maritime progress that was being made by forbidding the building of large ships in the country and the undertaking of foreign voyages by Japanese bottoms, and this policy of isolation was maintained for more than two hundred years, until it was broken down by the two visits paid to Tokyo Bay in 1853 and 1854 by United States warships under Commodore Perry. These proved the forerunners of the opening of commercial relations with foreign countries. On the advice of the Dutch, who enjoyed commercial privileges denied to all other nations except the Chinese, the Shogunate thereupon resolved to develop a Navy on the European model. A training school for seamen, opened at Nagasaki in 1855 under Dutch instructors, was soon followed by a naval school at Tokyo; and two ships obtained from the Dutch, together with one presented by Queen Victoria, formed the nucleus of a fleet. A Japanese warship crossed the Pacific for the first time in 1860, and the first steam vessel of war built in Japan—a gunboat of 138 tons—was launched in 1866.”

All these years the British were in India, but no such scheme was launched. No such emulation inspired them. They did not want India to have a navy. They did not want Indians to be a nation. And perhaps they hoped that the native race would perish even as the Australian natives have perished. And if the native race has not perished, it is because the natives of England are not superior to the natives of India. Sir, it was for them to follow what Japan did in the sea. If they had not the imagination to follow, it was for them to read the Japanese reports and to follow the same thing. It was for them to change the angle of vision and not talk like Lord Birkenhead, after 150 years, of friendship and fidelity. In Japan:

“Young officers were sent to Holland for naval instruction.”

Our officers could have gone to England because we are supposed to be in a privileged position. As somebody said: “East is East and West is West.” But I say “East *plus* West is much the Best”. But the Government said “never the twain shall meet”; they did not want to train our men, they did not want that we should grow to their stature because then they could not exploit this country. Even now. Sir.

if the Honourable Member responsible to this House stands up in his place and says he will follow the Japanese scheme and outline a scheme for us as the Japanese Government have done, we should not only pass the Finance Bill, not only withdraw our opposition to the Finance Bill, but much of the growing distrust in the country would cease. Much of the estrangement between the Europeans and the Indians that is growing in the country will vanish. But they will persist in their policy only because they do not want to give us opportunities. In all "friendship and fidelity" I want the Japanese methods to be followed by the Honourable Member for whose benefit I place them before the House. Young officers can be sent to England even as young Japanese officers were sent to Holland for naval instruction.

"French aid was enlisted for the planning and construction of a dockyard at Yokosuka . . . "

English aid can be easily pressed into service :

"and the services of a British Naval Officer . . . "

If you please, the Japanese went in for the service even of a British naval officer. While there are so many British naval officers, as plentiful as blackberries, they are not available for India's education, are not available for throwing open opportunities for the children of the land :

"... Captain, afterwards Admiral Sir, Richard Tracey—(and the services of other naval officers) were secured to organize the naval school at Tokyo."

After 100 years of British rule we have not got a Naval School in India though India has got as large a sea board as England herself (*Maulvi Muhammad Shafee and Mr. B. Das*: "Much more"), and much more as my friends Maulvi Muhammad Shafee and Mr. Das say from behind :

"The expansion of the Navy (in Japan) began in earnest in 1871."

The British people came to this country earlier and their suspicions and doubts about their own hold on this country ceased after 1857 and therefore if they really felt not like "crocodiles" but like men, (Laughter), if they really felt for the teeming millions of India, for the masses of India, they would have introduced all these facilities in this country. Sir, time was when our English friends used to say of these educated classes, "Do not care for these educated classes." They used to tell their people at home—that is what their newspapers used to write in this country—they used to say, "The educated classes are only a microscopic minority. They are out of touch with their people. It is we who are the *Ma Bap*." (Laughter.) I want to know what the *Ma* of the British bureaucracy and the *Bap* of the British bureaucracy has done for its adopted children. (Laughter.) Some of my own countrymen used to say in good faith, in admiration for the Britisher, in utter belief in their own professions, "We are the children of British rule". Sir, that phrase was used by Ranade—"Children of British rule". That was the extent to which friendship and fidelity went in this country. I know we are the children of our own civilisation. I know we have a genius of our own. I know that we have got a record brighter, more beautiful and more glorious than the record of any nation on the face of the earth. But the extent to which Indian fidelity and friendship could go is represented in that phrase, "Children of British rule," and what have these alien *Ma Baps* done for the children of British rule? Is there a single Naval School in this

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country? Has India got a Navy? Are Indians naval officers? And Lord Birkenhead says without shame or remorse, "What will happen if the Britishers withdrew from India?" What will happen but advertisement of the failure of the British in India? What happens by their persisting in this country? If they remove themselves bag and baggage from this country, I am sure, Sir, that we will not be so helpless as their own ancestors, the Britons, were when the Romans went away from their country. I was saying that the expansion of the Navy began in earnest in Japan in 1871. It has not even begun in earnest but for the cursory announcement of the Publicity Officer, the reproduction by the Publicity Officer of an announcement about the Royal Indian Navy and "the laudable ambition," to use Lord Reading's words, which "will now have its scope." I want to know, Sir, if the British Government in 1927 are prepared to do what they failed to do up to now and what Japan did in 1871:

"The expansion of the Navy began in earnest in 1871, when the Imperial Government found itself able to muster seventeen ships, mostly of wood. Two years later a second naval mission came out from England under Commander, afterwards Vice-Admiral Sir Archibald L. Douglas, and in 1875 and 1876 two vessels of 896 and 1,450 tons respectively were launched from Japanese yards. In 1875 the *Fusoh*, an ironclad of 3,717 tons, and the *Kongo* and *Hiei*, cruisers of 2,248 tons, were ordered from Great Britain, and in 1878 the *Seiki*, a cruiser of 1897 tons, built in Japan and manned solely by Japanese, for the first time carried the Japanese flag into European waters."

Japanese flag into European waters! There is no Indian Navy to carry the English flag in Indian waters, much less an Indian flag in Indian waters. My moderate friends many of whom are not in this House because moderation is fast becoming extinct (Laughter)—my moderate friends said, "You might fly the British flag, but why don't you give us opportunities?" and the extreme friends who wanted to put the Government on their own trail were prepared to accept the flying of the British flag from Indian ships. What have the Government done? They have given us no opportunities. They say that we have the great right of flying the White Ensign!

"Let me dwell for a moment upon two features in the announcement" says our Publicity Officer dealing with the Viceroy's announcement about the Indian Navy.

"To the imagination of those, who understand the traditions of the British Empire, the privilege granted to the Indian Navy of the future to fly the White Ensign should appeal with special significance . . ."

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): May I rise to a point of information? Have the Government Benches non-co-operated? They have all left.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras ceded Districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): They have cleared out bag and baggage.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra (Member for Industries and Labour): There are Members representing the Government.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Sir, Sir Alexander Muddiman, at any rate, is not willing to non-co-operate. The emptiness of the Government Benches is filled by the Leader of the House.

Sir Darcy Lindsay (Bengal: European): Sir, I move that the question be now put. Many of us

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member is technically in order in moving the closure in the midst of a speech, but it will create a not altogether desirable precedent which I am not going to establish in this Assembly. I know of no instance in which closure has been accepted by the Chair during the midst of a speech and I do not want to make a departure. I should like to add that, even if all the other Honourable Members are on one side and the Honourable Member (Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer) is in the minority of one, the Chair has a special responsibility to see that his rights are protected. I hope, however, the Honourable Member will not abuse the indulgence which has been given to him.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Sir, I believe it was Mr. Gladstone who spoke for two days on one occasion and we are supposed to follow the best British example in this country. (Laughter.) All that I had said the other day was that I would speak for three hours. (*An Honourable Member:* "Divide.") I find the Honourable the Leader of the European Benches saying "Divide", because, so far as matters political are concerned, the European and the bureaucracy are tarred with the same brush.

Sir Darcy Lindsay: Sir, the Leader of the European Benches has listened very patiently for nearly three hours and I do appeal to my Honourable friend to bring his remarks to an early conclusion.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: People in this country have very patiently been putting up with this bureaucracy and irresponsibility for the last 150 years and the Leader of the European Group in this House has been reaping that benefit of European autocracy in this country. Therefore, as against 150 years of patient putting up with autocratic rule, we expect the gentleman to exercise a little more of patience, and if he is incapable of it, there is nobody to prevent him from leaving this House. (Laughter.) But I am not going to waive the right of speaking out my mind on a question which affects our rights. My only privilege is to go on speaking and speaking in the hope that the walls of the bureaucratic Jericho will fall, even as one of those bricks fell in this House. (Laughter.)

Mr. W. A. Moore (Bengal: European): I move that the question be now put.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer:

"To the imagination of those",

says the Publicity Officer,

"who understand the traditions of the British Empire, the privilege granted to the Indian Navy of the future to fly the White Ensign should appeal with special significance."

There was no dispute at all as to what ensign should fly. But the dispute was that there should be an Indian Navy. The Japanese flag flew over the Japanese ships when the Japanese Navy was brought into existence, and though Indians have been willing to fly the White Ensign, opportunities have been denied to Indians. Not that it is a great privilege to fly the white ensign

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: On a point of order, Sir. Standing Order 29 lays down that a Member, while speaking, should not use his right of speech for the purpose of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the Assembly. I submit to you, Sir, that this speech has gone beyond the limits of reasonable discussion.

Mr. President: The Standing Order says:

"A Member, while speaking, shall not use his right of speech for the purpose of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the Assembly."

I am not prepared to endorse the suggestion that the Honourable Member is using his right of speech for the purpose of wilfully and persistently obstructing the business of the Assembly. I know the Honourable Member is speaking very feelingly and perhaps the Home Member himself would do the same if he were standing in place of the Honourable Member (Mr. Ranga Iyer).

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: We are deeply grateful to you, Sir, for protecting our privileges as you have always done. That is the only privilege that we have under the Montagu Act of electing our own President who represents in himself the will of the House. I was saying some uncomfortable truths about the Royal Indian Navy. The Home Member has no arguments to meet our case and naturally he wants to burke discussion. Sir, we are told by the Publicity Officer who commends this great privilege of flying the White Ensign on boats which have not yet come into existence and which may not be manned by Indians at all.

"India by this is directly admitted at the outset of her naval career to share in the record of the centuries of proud and gallant traditions for which that Ensign stands."

Traditions indeed! India must pay for the Royal Navy, not an Indian Navy! I consider that there is nothing to encourage us in all the statements that the Government have made in regard to the Royal Indian Navy. They have not told us, what we except of them, that this Royal Indian Navy will be for India what the British Navy is for England, and that it will be entirely manned by Indians. Complete Indianisation must begin straightaway. Indian students should be sent to Europe, to England and other countries, to all the countries which my Honourable friend, Mr. Jinnah, visited as a member of the Skeen Committee, and if need be to countries which he did not visit. Indians must be sent to all those naval schools. Money must be found by Government. A Government which can find money for the over-fed I. C. S. in India, a Government which can find money even for the unborn child of an I. C. S. man's family, that Government can certainly find money to institute free scholarships for hundreds and thousands of Indian youths and send them to Army and Navy Schools and Colleges in other parts of the world and then they will come back as great soldiers and Naval officers, as experts and in a very short time, in a shorter time than Japan itself, India will have an army, India will have a navy manned by Indians, managed by Indians, solving the unemployment question here. And when England is in danger, when some foreign invader puts England in peril—for have we not heard that even in the last War without India's help England would not have won the war?—when such a peril arises even in the life of England, the Indian Navy will go to protect the shores of England, because, Sir, Indians are a very grateful people. (Hear, hear.) Trust begets trust, gratitude begets gratitude, but distrust begets revolution. Revolutionary ferment has not yet come into existence in this country only because the Indian, the grateful Indian, still hopes that the Government will do the needful, not make a formal conciliatory gesture, but treat India as Englishmen would like the English Government to treat the English people, as the Canadians would like the Canadian Government to treat the Canadians. That is what we want the British Government to do, and for their benefit

I shall tell them what the Japanese did. "A large naval programme was introduced in 1882". Instead of dilating on the glorious possibilities of flying the White Ensign I expect Englishmen to follow the example of Japan:

"A large naval programme was introduced in 1882 and extended in 1886, and at the outbreak of the war with China, in 1894, the fleet included 28 ships with a displacement of 57,600 tons, besides 24 torpedo-boats. The expenditure on naval construction from 1871 to 1893 amounted to £24,000,000."

I do not want to go fully into the evolution of the army and navy in Japan, but I would make a present of this Book "Japan, the Rise of a Modern Power" by R. P. Porter and other books also to Government. If necessary, they should send a commission of enquiry to Japan with representative men of both sides of the House to go into the question of how the Japanese introduced and adopted modern methods in their country, how they made their army and navy move with the currents and movements of modern times.

In conclusion, the Home Member imagined when I was developing my speech, that I was obstructive. Obstruction is constitutionally right. Whenever you tell them that these are the grievances of the people, they say, you are obstructing. Whenever you endorse the Government ways, Government say, you are co-operating. This is neither obstruction nor co-operation, and if I want to obstruct I know how to obstruct. This is not obstruction, but this is only the presentation of the Indian case on an occasion of this kind with as much brevity as possible, for the history of British omissions in India cannot be more briefly put. My own friend and leader, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, took a much longer time, last year, and I will only be following a precedent when I say that I am entitled to have a full say on the matter. But as I believe that others will follow, as I believe that the great Pandit himself will place his views before this House, and as I hope that the House will go into this question, because it is a very important question, I do not want to prolong my observations. Sir, I hope that the House would follow the lead that Panditji gave in 1924 and make a point of rejecting the Finance Bill, if it is in its power to reject, if not to place on record what it deems fit. For myself I have the consolation that my action is in agreement with the mandate of the Indian National Congress. Until this bureaucracy disappears, until this bureaucratic system shares the fate of other bureaucratic systems in the world, there will be no peace in this country, either to the people of India or the Princes of India both of whom are enslaved and exploited. Slaves are exploited and those who are unwilling to be slaves are made to abdicate. In the case of the people, they are flung into the prison and Princes are flung into exile. This system which stands between India and the light of the world ought to disappear. (Applause.)

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji (Bombay Central Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): In the course of the very interesting and lengthy speech which my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, has just completed, he very rightly drew attention to this question of the Royal Navy in connection with the consideration of the constitutional issue. At the moment I propose to discuss the constitutional side of the naval question as it is being discussed to-day, perhaps this very day, in the House of Commons. It is to my mind a distrust of this House and an attempt to take away some of the slight powers that this House possesses to prevent it from discussing the question of the Royal Indian Navy here first and to have it in the House

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of Commons afterwards. We find, however, that that question has gone through two or three stages in the English House of Commons and in the course of the debate in London it was stated that the Indian Legislative Assembly will get its opportunity later on to discuss the subject of the Indian Navy by way of consequential legislation. Here are the exact words of Lord Winterton as given in a press message appearing in the *Pioneer* of the 12th March, the message being dated London, the 9th March.

"Earl Winterton emphasised that the Bill could not come into effective operation in India without consequential legislation by the Assembly and presumably when the Assembly discussed the Bill there would be full opportunity to discuss the whole question of the Indian Navy. Moreover, the new Indian navy would be exactly in the same position in relation to the Assembly as the Indian army",

—which is very unsatisfactory indeed—

"he commended the Bill to the House because to the best of Lord Birkenhead's belief it was desired by the people of India."

Each one of these sentences opens out an important aspect of the question of the Royal Navy. As I said just now, I do object to the question of the Indian Navy being promulgated first in the House of Commons and not in this Honourable House when we are sitting as an assembly of elected representatives of the people of India. But, Sir, towards the end of that paragraph which I have just quoted the Under Secretary of State for India mentions that the Bill has to the best of Lord Birkenhead's belief the sanction of the people of India. Now, Sir, the only place I have been able to look up where His Lordship could have gathered this impression is the Report of the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee where in Chapter 5 dealing with the Royal Indian Marine the Committee say that:

"it is the almost unanimous desire of all Indian witnesses that the creation of an Indian navy capable of defending the coasts, harbours and commerce of India should proceed"—

—mark the words—

"hand in hand with the development of an Indian mercantile marine and we strongly recommend to Government that the reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine into such a service shall be undertaken with the least possible delay."

Sir, the Government of India are in the habit of incorporating into executive decisions only those recommendations of the Committee which suit them, ignoring others which do not happen to meet with their approbation. Here, Sir, is a matter where the Government of India have adopted partly the proposal which was meant to be adopted as a whole, namely, that the Indian Navy should be created hand in hand with the development of an Indian mercantile marine. Apart, therefore, from the fact that we have been prevented from discussing *ab initio* the question of the Royal Indian Navy, we are being presented by the Government of India with a *fait accompli*, the Royal Indian Navy being given as a great concession to the people of India. We are asked to enjoy the privilege of flying the White Ensign on ships which are not Indian ships, on ships which may not have Indian officers for several years to come. We are asked to enjoy the privilege of being participators in that tradition which the British Navy has built up for itself. How is it possible for this country to do so when we find the Government ready to take up only those parts of the Marine Committee's recommendations which suit them, and to ignore the others? Even in the case of taking up those parts which meet with their favour, they tell

the people one thing and act in another way. We were told that the question of the Royal Indian Navy was considered by the departmental committee appointed to prepare the scheme for the reorganisation of the Royal Indian Marine; that this country will get from the British Navy a loan of four sloops which were essential in order that the Indian navy might begin to function. These are the words:

"The Committee assume that four sloops will be provided by the Home Government on loan to the Indian Navy. This would have meant so much less capital expenditure for India".

Now, we find the Under Secretary of State informing the House that it is not possible to provide four sloops that were promised to India on the ground that no suitable sloops were available in the British Navy. Now, Sir, it is very strange that this information was not brought up at the time when the promise was made to the Government of India. That is a
12 Noon. very strange procedure, stranger than the one they have adopted in connection with the recommendation of the Committee to which I made a reference in the early part of the speech. I say, Sir, that you cannot have an Indian Navy in this country without your having an Indian mercantile marine. There is no country in the world to-day, nor has there ever been which had a navy or which has a navy without its own national merchant marine to act as a second line of naval defence. The attempt is here made, as was brought out by one of the Labour Members in the House of Commons the other day, to put on the Indian revenues certain of the burdens which have so far been borne by the British Treasury in connection with the British Navy. However, we in this country would be quite prepared to have a navy of our own and to reduce the burden on the British exchequer, if we could have the navy, not on our own terms though we should be entitled to that, but on terms suggested by a committee appointed by the Government of India, terms which put before the country a simultaneous development of the Royal Navy with the development of the Indian mercantile marine. With regard to the Royal Navy, the mind of the Government of India, as I said before, is already made up, and it would appear that the mind of the Government of India is also made up with regard to the question of an Indian mercantile marine, but in a different sense. So far as the Government are concerned, they are quite prepared to give us a navy. So far as the mercantile marine is concerned, they are not prepared to go the full length that was recommended by the Mercantile Marine Committee. And the whole of the intention of the Government of India was laid before this House and the public in India last year on the 19th March when the Honourable the Commerce Member spoke on a Resolution dealing with the subject. To my mind, Sir, the proper thing would have been to scratch the Indian Navy if you were also going to scratch the Indian mercantile marine. It will be said, Sir, that the mercantile marine was not scratched. (*Several Honourable Members*: "Scrap, not scratch.") Either will do. It might be said, Sir, that the Government of India were doing their bit to develop the Indian mercantile marine when they provided training facilities by putting up a training ship. But here again they are doing only a portion of what the Mercantile Marine Committee suggested. While they are prepared to accept the whole of the Indian Navy recommendation of the Mercantile Marine Committee, with regard to the other recommendation they are only prepared to go a very little length, though it is the definite finding of that Committee that the mere provision of training facilities is not enough to develop an Indian

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mercantile marine. The Committee say that it is their view that something more is required beyond the provision of training facilities; and that something more is, as the Committee has recommended, the reservation of the coastal trade of India to Indian ships. I do not see, Sir, how you can have an Indian Navy without an Indian mercantile marine. There is, as I said before, no country in the world which would think of having a navy without merchant shipping to back it up. It is the merchant shipping that will provide the reserves of men and ships in case of war. The personnel of the mercantile marine would be the field from which the Government could recruit its naval officers in time of need. Added to that we would obtain the full benefit of the provision of facilities by a training ship. But instead of going the full length recommended by the Mercantile Marine Committee the Government of India decided, and their decision was put before this House by the Honourable the Commerce Member, that the Government of India did not want to accept the recommendation of the Mercantile Marine Committee in so far as the coastal trade reservation was concerned.

Now, Sir, in order to point out that the grounds on which the Government of India refused to accept the recommendation of the Mercantile Marine Committee are unsound, I propose, with your permission, to examine at some length the speech which the Honourable the Commerce Member made in connection with the subject of the coastal reservation as recommended by the Committee. I do so, Sir, because I feel that the spending of India's money—and here comes in the Finance Bill—on the Royal Indian Navy is not justified unless the Government are prepared to take up measures by spending more money if necessary, to develop an Indian mercantile marine. The two things to my mind go together. It is very fortunate, however, that the Mercantile Marine Committee have proposed a method by which the mercantile marine could be developed without the Government of India having to spend money in the early stages of development of shipping in the coastal trade. That is, Sir, the reason why I hope at this stage you will permit me to examine the question of the development of the Indian mercantile marine and the reasons of Government for not accepting the recommendation of the Mercantile Marine Committee on grounds which to my mind . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: On a point of order, Sir, I should like to ask, while the general question of the mercantile marine may be in order, whether an examination in detail of the question is not beyond the bounds of relevancy.

Mr. President: I do not think the Honourable Member can really do justice to that big subject in a speech on the Finance Bill. If he really wants the question to be thoroughly examined by this House the best course for him to take is to put down a Resolution on the subject. At the same time I must observe that the general criticism of the policy of the Government of India is perfectly admissible, but I would ask the Honourable Member not to enter into details.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: With your permission, Sir, I will not go into the details of that Committee's report, but if I may say so, I have a right to examine the reasons under which the Government of India refused to accept one of the recommendations of the Mercantile Marine Committee while accepting another recommendation which requires the spending of India's money.

Mr. President: What object has the Honourable Member got in doing so? Does he wish to oppose the Finance Bill or to support it?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Well, Sir, so far as this particular question is concerned, I do feel that at this stage you will allow me to examine the grounds.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member does not answer my question. What is the object underlying the examination of this question at this stage? Does he wish to reject the Finance Bill or to support it?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Well, Sir, I would certainly support the Finance Bill if I found that the Government of India was amenable to the acceptance of those recommendations which the Mercantile Marine Committee has made . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member knows the position of the Government of India in the matter; it has been definitely stated on the floor of this House by Sir Charles Innes more than once.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Member for Commerce and Railways): I should like to add, Sir, that a day was reserved for the discussion of this subject in the Session of the Assembly last autumn, but at the specific request of various Members it was not taken advantage of.

Mr. President: I would suggest to the Honourable Member to consider whether he should not raise the whole question of an Indian mercantile marine and get it thoroughly discussed by a specific Resolution instead of dealing with it in this manner. I know it is a very pet subject of the Honourable Member and that he takes every opportunity of bringing it forward; but I would ask him not to take up the time of the House at this stage by discussing the details of that question.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: As I was saying, I am quite prepared to support the Finance Bill in the hope that the Government of India will, in view of this question of the Royal Indian Navy, see their way to mend what I regard as their policy of error . . .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member knows that the Government of India have already declared their policy and he is mistaken if he thinks they would at once here and now reconsider it after hearing the speech of the Honourable Member. Besides, the Finance Member is not in charge of that subject

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: I understood the position to be that we were here concerned with the Government of India as a whole, and there is nothing to prevent Sir Basil Blackett from replying on this point after consulting, if necessary, his colleague, the Honourable the Commerce Member.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member really expect the Government of India to change their policy on the question in this manner? Is not the proper course for him to have the question fully examined by a specific Resolution?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: I quite appreciate your remarks, Sir. I am merely suggesting to the Government of India that here they can have one vote in support of the Finance Bill.

Mr. President: I do not think the Government of India are going to purchase his vote at that price.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: May I say, Sir, then? .

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is fully entitled to criticise the general policy without entering much into the details.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Thank you very much, Sir. I will not go into details and I will just merely take the principal points in the attitude that the Government of India has taken in this regard. I should at the same time like to say a few words by way of reply to what the Commerce Member said just now about an opportunity having been given last August. He knows perfectly well, as well as I do, that this is a new House and none of us here could be blamed for opportunities not having been availed of last year, if such was the case. But, Sir, to return to the subject

Mr. B. Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): May I say that I was not allowed to speak last year when I rose to reply to Sir Charles Innes on the subject?

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to speak this year?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Coming to the subject, I will examine the principal grounds of the Government of India in connection with this subject. The first is that this recommendation, namely, the reservation of the coastal traffic to Indian vessels alone is the adoption of a policy which introduces a principle new to British law. I propose to show you that the reservation principle is no such thing.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Sir, may I rise to a point of order? This is a very technical and difficult subject which the House will find it extremely difficult to understand. It must take a long time for the Honourable Member to explain and for me to reply to him. I put it to you, Sir, that on a Finance Bill technical points of this kind should not be raised.

Mr. President: I have more than once suggested to the Honourable Member what line he should take.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In that case I will restrict myself; it was not my intention to go beyond the main grounds of the Government of India in connection with this subject; and if the Honourable the Commerce Member imagines that this particular objection is not the main objection, I will proceed to deal with the next, and I think it will certainly save the time of the House a lot if he will be good enough to tell me

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is mistaken in thinking that the Government of India are going to change their policy, and give him a satisfactory reply in this way.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In that case, Sir, I hope you will allow me to . . .

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Oppose the Bill

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: say that my opinion on the subject, in so far as the general discussion permitted under the third stage of the Finance Bill is concerned, is that this is a subject where I do feel that, unless an opportunity is given to

Mr. President: I understand the Honourable Member's feeling on the particular question. I know it is a subject which he has particularly studied. But he takes a wrong opportunity of pressing it before the House and it will not help the cause which the Honourable Member has at heart. If the Honourable Member still wishes to continue he is technically within his rights.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Thank you, Sir. What I will do now is just to lay down a general proposition to which I hope I will get the support from all Indian sides of the House, namely . . .

Mr. President: I cannot at this stage put any question to ascertain the views of the House and the Honourable Member knows it.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In one word, Sir, I will bring my remarks to a close and it is this; that we cannot consider the question of the Royal Indian Navy singly by itself; we cannot agree to spend the revenues of India upon a Royal Indian Navy if at the same time the Government of India do nothing to develop the Indian mercantile marine along the lines recommended by the Indian Mercantile Marine Committee. With these words, Sir, I bring my remarks to a close.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): Sir, I assure the House that I will be very brief, but I must take this opportunity of putting before the House, and especially before the Finance Member, one or two particular points which strike me in connection with the financial position of India. Sir, the Bill which is now before the House for final reading is a warrant for the Government to raise by taxation from the people of India during the next 12 months very nearly 40 to 50 crores of rupees. As one who believes and who is convinced that the taxable capacity of the people of India has not only been reached but has almost over-stepped, I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Member for the next year and future years to the way in which the Military Department threaten to be unable to reduce expenditure any further and, if I understood the Finance Member correctly, I understood that he more or less agreed with that department. It appears to me, Sir, that the Finance Member thinks that no further reductions in military expenditure are possible, and for this reliance is placed on the remarks in the Inchcape Committee's Report, page 58. The Inchcape Committee there said that "with a further fall in prices, a reduction of 50 crores may be expected". Now, I wish to draw the attention of the Finance Member to the fact that, since that was written, there has been a substantial fall in prices. Since March 1923 in England itself—prices ruling in England do certainly count materially for the purpose of the Military Department—in England itself the index number of prices has fallen from 163 to 147 in December last; but the fall in prices in India has been still heavier, and I was a little surprised when the Finance Member interrupted my friend Pandit Malaviva and reminded him that prices of certain articles like cereals and wheat had not fallen at

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all as compared with March 1923. But I wish to point out to the Finance Member the following figures :

Whilst there has been a rise under cereals from 119 in March 1923 to 133 in December 1926 and for pulses from 111 in March 1923 to 160 in December 1926, and for building material from 127 in March 1923 to 132 in December 1926, there have been drops under the following heads :

	March 1923.	December 1926.
Sugar	260	186
Other food articles	224	169
Cotton manufactures	221	153
Other textiles (wool and silk)	160	124
Hides and skins	149	118
Metals	160	138
Other raw and manufactured articles	229	152

(Reference : Indian Trade Journal, 27th January 1927.)

Reliable as these index numbers are "with reservation" the Finance Member uses them often and I hope my friend has satisfied himself as to how this drop in Indian prices affects the Military Budget. My own impression is, that owing to the heavy drop in cotton textiles and in metals and several other articles, there should be considerable saving, not to mention the saving in rupees owing to difference in exchange between 1s. 3d. gold and 1s. 6d. gold. I wish, Sir, to draw the special attention of the Finance Member to the remarks of the Inchcape Committee under the head, "Air Force". I am now quoting from page 48 :

"Since the potentialities of the Air Force in India are only now being proved and there is a possibility that the extended use of the Air Force might result in economies in expenditure on ground troops we make no recommendations."

I wonder if the Finance Member will think it worth his while to examine this possibility on the assurance of which the Inchcape Committee omitted recommendations regarding the curtailment of expenditure in the Royal Air Force. As a matter of fact, Sir, the expenditure on the Royal Air Force has increased since 1923, and if reports are to be believed, it threatens to increase still further. I attach very great importance to a serious and continued watch being kept on the military expenditure. That it is outside the reach of this House and the fact that it is not votable is a sufficiently serious factor to make it a particularly grave responsibility on the shoulders of the Finance Member, and it is therefore all the more necessary that he should examine every item of military expenditure very thoroughly.

Sir, I cannot sufficiently deplore the lack of a reply to my suggestion that an Advisory Committee may be appointed from out of elected Members of this House to sit with the Military Department on the same lines as Advisory Committees are associated with other departments of the Government of India.

Regarding Aden, Sir, I understood from the Foreign Secretary, when he replied to a few remarks from us on the general debate, that the question of the arrangement arrived at between the Government of India and the Imperial Government was one of arithmetic. I should have thought, Sir, that some of us did not generally go wrong as far as the arithmetic part of a question went. But I should like to ask the Foreign Secretary whether the Government of India propose, now that the partial transfer of Aden to the Imperial Government is decided on, whether they have any idea now to claim compensation from that Government in connection with the capital expenditure already incurred in Aden at the expense of India for such items as barracks, fortifications, roadways, water works and other items in connection with the military equipment of Aden till now. Sir, since the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were introduced, the Provincial Governments and the Government of India have been calculating almost with actuarial accuracy in connection with the necessary transfer of property from one Government to another in India. I wonder if we may have a rough idea of how much Indian money was spent in Aden on the various items mentioned by me, and whether, now that the control is to be passed on to the Imperial Government or the Colonial Office as the case may be, the Government of India propose to recover from that Government the capital expenditure incurred at the expense of the Indian tax-payer.

As far as our revenue is concerned, I wish to touch upon one aspect of it. The Finance Member himself admitted, Sir, that owing to diversion of traffic from Bombay to coastal seaports the loss under the head 'customs revenue' was over one crore of rupees during the year which is now ending. Now, Sir, this one crore of rupees loss is the direct loss in customs revenue to the Government of India. It involves a corresponding or greater loss to persons trading in British India. I need not go into figures of this here. When, however, you have such items as sugar and matches carrying customs duty to the extent of 30 to 40 per cent., I might point out to the Finance Member, that it is very necessary to tighten the screws which at present permit of such diversion of traffic at such an unprecedented pace. Since this question was raised here during this Session, I have received several telegrams from friends in Kathiawar appealing to me not to be a party to anything which may be hard on the people of Kathiawar. I have replied to them pointing out that as long as ruling Princes who control ports in Kathiawar restrict themselves to justifiable competition, clean competition, none would mind it. In fact many may welcome it. Indeed, one may name a port in Kathiawar which has been importing articles from abroad for years now, and nobody has raised any voice against it. If I may be allowed to mention that State, it is Bhavnagar. She has been importing goods from abroad for years now, and she has been charging the same duty as in British India, and nobody ever thought it necessary or advisable to complain about it. But what has been done during the last few years? This enterprise has passed all bounds of honest, straightforward and clean competition, and it is against that that we want the Government of India to afford protection to the ports which insist on fair trading. I know the Finance Member has said that from the 1st of April next free transshipment of cargo will be stopped. That will, however, give very slight relief. We really want whole-hearted action on the part of Government to check this unfair competition on the part of some coastal ports. In the telegrams I have

[Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas.]

received it is stated that should the Viramgam cordon be replaced, there will be considerable hardship to passengers from Bombay to Kathiawar and Kathiawar to Bombay. I myself have many friends and a few relatives in Kathiawar, and I cannot possibly be a party to anything which may put the people of Kathiawar to any kind of hardship, but the right remedy for such people who feel for passengers travelling between British India and Kathiawar is to approach the Princes who practically compel us in this House and who, if I may say so, compel the Government of India, Sir, to resort to severe measures for the protection of trade in British India. I therefore feel that it is high time Princes in control of such ports are made to realise that, if a game has to be played, both sides can play it. I still hope that the Government of India may be able to impress upon such Princes the imperative necessity of dropping such objectionable methods. If unfortunately it cannot be done, I hope that the Government of India will give the fullest measure of protection to the commerce and trade of British India.

I have pleasure, Sir, in supporting the third reading of this Bill.

Mr. P. B. Haigh (Bombay: Nominated Official): Sir, I do not wish to detain the House for more than a few minutes at this late hour. (*Sir Darcy Lindsay*: "Hear, hear".) Nevertheless, in spite of the discouragement of my Honourable friend over there, I must say just a few words on the point which has been raised by my Honourable friend from Bombay, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas. And in order, Sir, that I may not involve myself in the same difficulties as my Honourable friend also from Bombay, Mr. Haji, I may explain at the very outset, first that I support the Bill, secondly that I wish to speak on the particular point of the Kathiawar ports, thirdly that I do not wish to go into details, and fourthly that I hope to get an answer from the Honourable the Finance Member on the point. I may also say in this connection, that I too like Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas have received a telegram on this subject. My telegram is not from the merchants in Kathiawar or Bombay but from the Bombay Government. I have been asked to press this matter very strongly upon the notice of the Honourable the Finance Member. The point I wish to lay stress upon is this, that most of this trade that comes through the Kathiawar ports and then finds its way into British India by some curious method which enables an article which has travelled all the way from Bombay and been transhipped to Kathiawar, to come back to British India through Kathiawar and then to Bombay, to be sold in the Bombay market at less rates than if it had been landed at Bombay harbour itself—this remarkable trade is a trade which would never have come into Kathiawar at all if it were not for the existence of the ports of Karachi and Bombay. Most of the articles with which we are concerned come from overseas in ocean-going vessels and, although it is true that there are one or two small ports which can receive ocean-going vessels in Kathiawar, the capacity of these ports is very small and the great majority of the trade must come to the shores of India through the gateway of Bombay or Karachi. And yet by the arrangement at present in force we are simply allowing these articles to be transhipped to Kathiawar and to come back into British India to the detriment of merchants in British India, to the loss of customs revenue, to the loss of port dues in British Indian ports and to all the other incidental losses that must occur when

trade is diverted like this. It was in 1924, Sir, three years ago, that the Bombay Government addressing the Government of India stated that they considered vigorous action necessary. We welcome, Sir, the assurance that the free transshipment is going to be stopped with effect from the 1st of April this year. My Honourable friend thinks that this is only a partial remedy. Well, it will be necessary to see in course of time what effect that produces. What I wish to press upon the Honourable the Finance Member is this, that unpleasant as the Viramgam line may be and although its restoration is a matter which one hesitates to recommend straightaway, what we do ask for is this, that the Government of India should take prompt action and effective action to put a stop to these unjustifiable losses. I hope, Sir, that the Honourable the Finance Member will be able to give us some assurance that very speedy action will be taken.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I fully realise that the House seems to be saturated with the speeches and the House is not in a mood to hear any more talk on the subject. (*Cries of: "Go on".*) But, Sir, I think it will not be right if I were to record a silent vote on this occasion and I therefore crave your indulgence to speak only for about 5 or 10 minutes. Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, who represents the same constituency to which I have the honour to belong, started his speech by saying "No taxation without representation." Nobody at least in this House can object to the soundness of this formula but, Sir, if my Honourable friend Mr. Ranga Iyer is not a representative of the people of this country and particularly of the people of my constituency, I do not know in what capacity he has the right to stand in this House and speak on behalf of the people of the country.

An Honourable Member: The fraction of his electorate.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: I talk as a representative.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Well, he represents a small fraction, but a fraction is also a part of the whole, and if all the Honourable Members of this House do not represent the public of the country, I do not think they have any right to come into the House and to talk as representatives of the people.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Even if he is not a representative in this House, under the Montagu-Chelmsford constitution he is a misrepresentative here. (*Laughter.*)

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Well, misrepresentation, Sir, is also representation. I quite agree, Sir, that my friend is misrepresenting his constituency and the people of the country, I realise that fully, but that is also a sort of representation.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Sir, I stood for election on the specific question of "no taxation without representation" and continued rejection of the Finance Bill until India has Swaraj. I fully represent my constituency.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Well, he may have come on any ticket, but at any rate the people of the country are being represented in this House through my Honourable friend and his other colleagues here.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Not adequate representation:

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Representation, Sir, may not be adequate. We do not say the representation is adequate and we also want more representation, but after all we are here as representatives and my Honourable friend cannot say that India is not represented. When we propose Resolutions in this House, when we reject Resolutions in this House, we say we are representing the people of this country. When we propose amendments, when we reject amendments, when we carry amendments, we say that we represent the feelings of this House. Only the other day when we were discussing the Railway Budget, my friend Mr. Ranga Iyer associated with me in demanding increase of pay for the low-paid Indian railway servants. Then when we . . .

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I did not dissociate myself from the Honourable Member, and as to the representative character of the House, I say, so long as the Government and nominated Members are here, it cannot be representative.

Mr. President: Order, order, it is not a question of personal explanation, at all.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Sir, I want to give a reply to the arguments brought forward by my Honourable friend. We had the patience, to our great pains, to hear him for at least five or six hours. I hope he will allow me to speak for a few minutes unmolested.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: I did not speak for five or six hours.

An Honourable Member: It felt like it.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: What I submit, Sir, again to my Honourable friend is that when we were speaking on the General Budget, my Honourable friend associated with me and said that we want more pay, more house allowance, more uniforms for the subordinate postal service. Now, Sir, he is urging upon the Government to spend more money. But when the time comes to supply this money for this expenditure, which my Honourable friend has himself allowed to pass, then he says, "We are going to refuse the grants and we are not going to pass the Finance Bill." Now, Sir, is it not blowing hot and cold in the same breath? It is absurd to pass expenditure and when it comes to the time for granting the money for this expenditure, to say that we refuse to grant that expenditure. Sir, I have every respect for the no-changers. I have respect for the sincerity of their views, though I may not agree with them, because they think that the Reforms are a sham; that the Reforms are not useful for the country and therefore they abstain from coming into the House, they abstain from taking any part in the Reforms. But, Sir, I am quite unable to understand the mentality of my friend, Mr. Ranga Iyer, and his colleagues when in the same breath they say that the Reforms are a sham and they utilise these very Reforms, they spend thousands of rupees on election campaigns, they take the benefit of these Reforms, they sit on sub-committees, they work on all the Standing Committees, even when there is any place of honour vacant in the House, they put in their candidates, and men of their party always want places of honour. But, Sir, when it comes to supplying money for carrying out the work they say the Reforms are bad and they want to reject the Finance Bill. Is it logical? Is there any sense in it? I say, Sir, not.

Mr. Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Do you think that the Reforms are satisfactory?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I do not challenge the views of my Honourable friend Mr. Ranga Iyer when he, like an old widow, goes on bewailing and weeping for the sorrows and grievances of Indians. Sir, I assure the House that I am quite in association with him about the grievances of Indians. Sir, the tradition of belonging to a ruling race is quite recent in my people. We have been in this condition only for about 100 years and we feel the pinch of slavery more than my Honourable friend does. But, Sir, the question is this. Is this the way of obtaining Swaraj? Is this the right road to the goal of Swaraj? Was Swaraj won by any country by making long speeches in the House? (Laughter.)

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: What did Parnell do?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Has South Africa gained Swaraj by making long speeches? Has Canada gained Swaraj by making long speeches?

Mr. Chaman Lall: The South Africans gained it by revolution.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer: Is the Honourable Member prepared for war?

Mr. President: Order, order. Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: If really my Honourable friend is sincere to get Swaraj, I hope, Sir, that he will try to adopt the measures which other countries have adopted to win Swaraj. But, Sir, certainly this cannot be the way to obtain Swaraj.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum (North-West Frontier Province: Nominated Non-Official): Let them take the lead in it.

(An Honourable Member: "Join in it.")

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I thought that my gallant and Honourable friend from the Frontier, who always talks of doing something practical, would take the lead and I would follow him. I do not expect that he will.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: I want no Swarajist friends to take the lead.

Mr. President: Order, order.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: Well, Sir, we are all anxious to get responsible government in this country. The difference lies in this. I say that the methods adopted by my Honourable friend will never lead him to Swaraj. He knows, as well as I do, what the obstacles are in the way of getting Swaraj, and I would appeal to him that instead of wasting his time and our time for hours in this House, if he considers that the Reforms are a sham, he should try and plough other more fertile fields and prepare the country to get Swaraj. But, Sir, it is certainly not right that we should follow a half-hearted and self-contradictory policy. We sanction the expenditure and then we refuse to allow the money for carrying on the administration by means of the expenditure which we have already granted.

With these remarks, Sir, I oppose my Honourable friend and support the passing of the Finance Bill.

(An Honourable Member: "I move that the question be now put.")

Mr. President: I should like to close the debate, but the Honourable Member knows that there are so many Members yet anxious to take part in the debate that I feel I should continue for sometime.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru (Agra Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I should like to take advantage of this occasion to say a word about our customs tariff. In 1913-14, that is the last pre-war year, we got a revenue of 11½ crores from Customs and it formed about 1/7th of our total revenue. In the coming year we expect to get about 48½ crores from customs duties and they will form about 40 per cent. of our total revenue. The weight of the customs duties, as the Taxation Enquiry Committee put it, is increasing and there is a large variety of rates. It is obvious, therefore, that there should be a careful elaboration of the tariff and that it should be based on scientific principles. I should have thought that the Report of the Taxation Enquiry Committee having been published a year ago, Government would have done something in this direction. Perhaps they have done something. If so, I should like to know what has been done. If nothing has been done, I would suggest strongly to them that the revision recommended by the Taxation Enquiry Committee should be carried out at an early date by an impartial body. I would personally suggest that the inquiry should be referred to the Tariff Board. But if some other body is selected, it is necessary that Indians should be adequately represented on it. The question of tariffs is of the greatest importance to our industries and the place which industries occupy in the minds of Indians is, as Honourable Members know, a high one. It is therefore of the very greatest importance that the inquiry that is conducted should be such as would carry conviction to the country at large and to this House in particular. I wish to say specially that it will not do if the inquiry is merely departmental and a subordinate officer or even a superior officer of the Department is appointed to conduct it. There ought to be a Board on which Indian views will be fully represented.

I should also like to refer in this connection, Sir, to the lac industry. Now, we all know the objections raised to export duties. But as Government are well aware, the imposition of a duty on unmanufactured lac was a point on which the Taxation Enquiry Committee were unanimous. They certainly asked that a further inquiry should be made into the matter, but they held that if it was found necessary a duty should be imposed. Has anything been done in that connection? This duty is of the greatest importance to the Mirzapur District in the United Provinces and I have special pleasure, therefore, in bringing this matter to the notice of Government.

I should also like to draw their attention to the gold thread industry with which, I have reason to believe, the Honourable the Finance Member is not unfamiliar. I am told—I have no personal acquaintance with the matter myself—that there is really no competition now between the real gold thread industry in India and the real gold thread coming from France or any other country on the Continent. I am told that the 30 per cent. duty has killed that competition and that the competition is really between the real gold stuff of India and the imitation stuff that comes from foreign countries. If it is so, I should like to know what the policy of Government in this matter is. I can understand two real stuffs competing, but I cannot understand imitation stuff being allowed to compete with real stuff.

Lastly, Sir, I should like to refer to the export duty on hides. Coming as I do from the United Provinces it was a matter of satisfaction to me

that the House decided yesterday with your valuable support to retain that duty.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: It is not the view of the Mirzapore Association.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I was coming to that. The Honourable Member triumphantly referred to the view of an association in Mirzapore in favour of the removal of the export duty. But he forgot that if the leather industry is strong anywhere in the United Provinces it is in Cawnpore and Agra, and their opinion seems to be against the proposal of the Government. If Government wish to help Mirzapore, let them take up the question of the lac industry and see whether it is necessary to impose a duty on the export of unmanufactured lac. The debate yesterday showed that nobody is, in theory, for a permanent retention of the export duty on hides, but what is necessary for Government to realise is that there is such a thing as the leather industry in India. If they have for a long time been thinking of removing this duty, was it not necessary that they should before asking this House to remove it come with proposals which would alleviate the difficulties of the leather industry? All that the House asked Government yesterday to do was to postpone the consideration of the removal of the export duty till their proposals with regard to the leather industry as a whole were ripe for consideration. In spite of the figures given yesterday by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes, there is no doubt that the imposition of the duty in September 1919 has not hurt the trade in raw hides to the extent suggested by several speakers. It must be borne in mind in this connection that the quantity of raw hides exported had fallen to about 19,000 tons in the year before the export duty was levied

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): On a point of order, Sir. Is it in order to re-open the whole question of the export duty on hides which has already been settled in a previous debate?

Mr. President: On the Finance Bill the whole administration comes under review and it is very difficult to rule this out. I would, however, ask the Honourable Members not to reopen the question which has been fully discussed.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: If the Honourable the Finance Member will have patience, he will see that I will not reopen that question. I want only to point out that the trade in raw hides is not in a parlous condition because of the export duty, and that therefore Government and those engaged in that trade can well afford to wait till proposals are matured for giving relief to the leather industry, and I hope that this point is in order even in connection with the Finance Bill. India exported only 19,000 tons of raw hides in the year previous to that in which the export duty was imposed, and in 1925-26 the quantity of raw hides exported amounted to 28,500 tons. . . .

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: 1918 was war time.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: In 1920 after the War it was 18,500 tons and in 1925-26 it was 28,500 tons.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: In 1913-14 it was 60,000 tons.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: The Honourable Member removed a duty of 10 per cent. in 1923 and if it was the export duty that was preventing the expansion of the trade in raw hides, we should have seen a considerable improvement after the removal of the duty

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Is it really necessary for the Honourable Member to flog a dead horse?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I would not flog a dead horse, if the Honourable Member would even now say that he would not come forward next year with his proposal to remove the duty on the export of hides without at the same time bringing forward proposals for the protection of the leather industry. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes made a long speech yesterday which did not contain a single word of hope so far as this industry.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member might wait till next year.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: We did refer to the Tariff Board whether the boot and shoe industry of India needed protection. The only applicant withdrew and nobody else came forward and we had to remove the name of that industry from the list of the Tariff Board's work.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas: That is a different thing altogether.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: That is a different thing altogether. Besides, the Honourable Member knows that it is not easy in the condition in which the trade is to get evidence. Go to Mirzapore where the lac industry is suffering, and yet if you ask people who have the largest share in the lac trade, they will not be able to provide you with facts and figures which would easily stand the scrutiny of a body like the Tariff Board. Surely the Honourable Member knows that and it is not fair of him that he should say that the fact pointed out by him is a conclusive argument against the consideration of this question in future.

Then there is one thing more which I should touch on, and that is the duty on newsprint. I do not want to go into it in detail, but I should like to bring to the notice of Government one fact which is contained in the leading article of the *Leader* of the 17th March, and it is this. Newsprint formerly paid a duty of about 15 per cent. or 2 as. 3 pies per lb. The *Leader* makes out that that is not really the market price of a lb. of paper. The market price according to it is 1-6 pies. If on that, according to the new ruling a duty of one anna is to be levied, it amounts to a duty of 67 per cent. I know that the Honourable the Commerce Member has promised to take the matter into consideration, but if the facts are, as pointed out by the *Leader*, then he need not wait to receive representations from the paper industry. It is a matter in which he might take the initiative himself.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: They can bring it up.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Before I sit down, I should like to say a word about the provincial contributions. The Honourable the Finance Member yesterday asked us how we would go back to our provinces and face our electors after having prevented the Government from remitting the provincial contributions. He seemed to throw the entire responsibility for that on the non-official Members.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Hear, hear. Entire?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I hope the Honourable Member will listen patiently to me. In my own opinion the responsibility rests entirely on Government.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member may tell me so, but it will not make any change in the result.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: That is the worst part of the present system of administration. We know that we cannot influence. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The fact remains that the responsibility rests with the Honourable Member whatever he may say.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I know that the Honourable Member does not like that the responsibility for his action should be imposed on him. That is perfectly human and natural, but facts are too strong for him. He asks us to accept the policies of Government. Their policies are the quintessence of wisdom. The practical arrangements that they make to carry out their policies are a model of administrative efficiency. Those two things must be taken for granted. If there is anything that admits of change it is non-official opinion and sentiment. The debt redemption scheme cannot undergo any change. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It has been approved by the House and voted this year.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: I know it very well. But it never came under discussion.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Whose fault was that?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: It came under the guillotine. The Honourable Member knows that this matter formed the subject of discussion. . . .

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Every time it formed the subject of discussion and was voted upon, that has been in favour of Government.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Just as the decision in regard to 1s. 6d. ratio was in favour of the Government! Whenever we refer to the scheme of debt redemption the Honourable Member raises the cry of "thief, thief." In this matter I should like to say that it is not merely we, the irresponsible Members on this side, who ask for a revision of the scheme of debt redemption, particularly in so far as it relates to the productive debt, but the representative of a responsible Government like the Madras Government suggested the same course to the Finance Member the other day and I doubt whether the non-official European opinion which is certainly conversant with business methods would be unanimously on the side of Government. It is no use saying whenever we refer to that scheme of debt redemption that it is a raid on the sinking fund. A mere phrase will not prevent us from putting forth what is a real grievance and what is regarded as such not merely by the non-official Members but by Members on the other side also.

1 P.M.

Then there is military expenditure. The Honourable Member said yesterday that it was not fair to say that he had done nothing to bring down military expenditure. Now, so far as I remember, I have never said anything of the kind.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: If the Honourable Member will allow me to interrupt, he said that the military expenditure had increased by a crore and I pointed out that the net figure was 4 lakhs.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: As I pointed out to the Honourable Member yesterday I was referring to the standard level of military expenditure. The established charges have risen from 54.24 crores in the Budget for 1926-27 to 55.25 crores in the Budget for 1927-28.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I was referring to the net expenditure.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Although it may be that the net expenditure has not risen by a crore on account of surplus stores and other things, we are faced in the immediate future with the prospect of that rise in net expenditure even. I was saying that so far as I remember neither I nor any Member of this House charged the Finance Member with not trying to bring down military expenditure. We recognise that it has come down during his term of office. If he will allow me to remind him, in the speech with which he closed the budget discussion he said he thought that the military expenditure was at its minimum and that he certainly would not like that it should be cast in the teeth of the Finance Department that it was standing in the way of India having an efficient army. It is of that attitude that I complain. He did say the other day that he did not accept the Commander-in-Chief's dictum that the Army in India could not have one mah or one rupee less. But his statements have been rather contradictory and he has only himself to blame if at times we feel bewildered by what he has said on the subject. He has only to show that his sympathies are on our side and that in the inner councils of Government he will continue to press for reduction in military expenditure for all complaints to cease so far as he himself is concerned.

(At this stage some Honourable Members got up to speak.)

Mr. President: I do not know if it is the general desire to close the debate by the recess time. I should like to conclude this debate before the recess. (Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya got up) I hope you will not take long because I wish to close this debate at half past one.

(Some Honourable Members: "I move that the question be now put.")

Mr. President: Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya (Allahabad and Jhansi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan Rural): I am grateful to you, Sir, for giving me an opportunity to say what I wish to say on the Finance Bill. I regret with many other Members that the time allowed for the discussion is not longer, because a matter of the importance of the Finance Bill does require full consideration in all its aspects. I submit, Sir, that the proposal to pass the Finance Bill imposes a very heavy responsibility on Members of this House and we have to consider very fully whether we shall discharge that responsibility by supporting the Finance Bill or not supporting it. The position is quite clear. We have not the power under the constitution which has been provided to regulate the expenditure of the revenue raised from the taxes except to a very small extent, and I submit that as we have not the power to regulate the expenditure of the money raised through the taxes, we cannot take upon ourselves the responsibility of imposing the taxes. The Statute of 1919 contains one important feature which I most value, the power given to this Assembly to legislate. It lays upon us the responsibility for exercising that power correctly. The present Budget is a Budget which contains surpluses which are unreal, maintained by indirect, additional taxation by reason of the rupee having been maintained at 1s. 6d. Heavy taxation has been imposed since the War. The Incheape Committee pointed out that since 1919 the new taxation that had been imposed was estimated to yield 49 crores annually. That taxation has not been reduced except for the abolition of the cotton excise duty, taking the salt duty back to its pre-war

level and some small things. I submit, Sir, that expenditure has enormously increased since the war. It has been not merely lavish, but extravagant. This fact is indelibly written in stone in New Delhi, on the buildings that have been erected in New Delhi. The extravagance of the Government is writ large in the construction of New Delhi. It will be a matter for shame and regret for all time that we Indians did not stand up and protest against it sufficiently strongly, even though our protests would have gone in vain. Sir, the transfer of the expenditure on New Delhi from the revenue to the capital account was suggested and supported in the expectation that the amount spent would always be visible and that it would prevent the figure from rising high unreasonably. It has had the contrary result, and I myself regret that I was one of those who suggested, along with the late Mr. Gokhale, that the expenditure should be taken from capital. Sir, New Delhi stands, and will stand for ever, as one of the most sadly eloquent proofs of the extravagance of the Government of India. It makes a very sad contrast with the condition of the great mass of the people living round Delhi and throughout the country.

Expenditure has enormously increased during the last few years. It was 78 crores in 1914, it rose to 130 crores in 1925-26. It is going to be reduced this year by only five crores and that also by maintaining the rupee at 1s. 6d. I am quite aware that prices have risen during the period. If you put down even a 50 per cent. increase as due to the rise in prices, the rise in the total expenditure has still been very high indeed, and it has been met by large additional taxation. The civil expenditure has risen high on salaries, pensions and other allowances, and yet the number of Indians employed has not risen half as much as it should have. This rise in expenditure is largely due to the number of Europeans employed at present in high appointments. As one glaring instance, no Indian has been appointed on the Railway Board even after the repeated requests of this Assembly. That is how the matter stands regarding civil expenditure including railways.

When we come to the military expenditure that tells the saddest tale. In 1859 the army was amalgamated with the British army. Protests were made at that time. It was adopted against the almost unanimous opinion of the most experienced British officers who had served for a life time in the Indian army. It was described by Sir Charles Trevelyan as based on a principle which had been found to be "extravagant and crushing in practice". There were protests made again and again even by the Government of India against the excessive expenditure which India has had to pay under the scheme. To quote only one instance, in 1878 the Government of India observed:

"that placed as it was under the serious responsibility of so administering the affairs of the greatest dependency of the British Crown that while British supremacy is strictly guarded the means of securing that end shall not unduly weigh on the people of the country, it was constrained to represent to Her Majesty's Government that the burden thrown upon India on account of the British troops is excessive and beyond what an impartial judgment would assign in considering the relative material wealth of the two countries and the mutual obligations that subsist between them. All that we can do is to appeal to the British Government for an impartial view of the relative financial capacity of the two countries to bear the charges that arise from the maintenance of the army of Great Britain and for a generous consideration of the share assigned by the wealthiest nation in the world to a dependency so comparatively poor and so little advanced as India."

In 1880, after the Afghan war, the late Professor Fawcett raised a strong debate in the House of Commons on the injustice of India being saddled

[Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya.]

with the expenses of that war. There was a memorable discussion on the subject. It was said that the object of maintaining the British army, at the level at which it was maintained in India, was not merely the protection of India but also the maintenance of British power and prestige in the East. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, speaking before the Indian Expenditure Commission, said:

"What I urge is that the British Army is mainly for the maintenance of British Rule against internal or external troubles. But for present practical purposes I accept that the Army is for the benefit of India also, as for that of Britain; and I urge, therefore, that, leaving alone even the poverty in India, Britain in fairness to India should share the expenditure, say half and half, for what is a common purpose of equally vital importance to both. The Government of India (see their despatch of 25th March 1890) correctly puts the position: 'Millions of money have been spent on increasing the Army in India, on armaments and fortifications to provide for the security of India, not against domestic enemies, or to prevent the incursions of the warlike peoples of the adjoining countries, but to maintain the supremacy of British power in the East.'"

This was said by the Government of India themselves, Sir, and as I will show—this view is supported by what Lord Beaconsfield said. Speaking in the House of Commons Mr. Fawcett said

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: What date was that please?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I have been giving you the dates all along. That was in 1880.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: What did Mr. Disraeli say on the subject?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I am coming to it. I will first say what Mr. Fawcett said. On the 11th February, 1880, Mr. Fawcett moved the following amendment to the Address in reply to the Queen's Speech (Hansard, Vol. 25, p. 453):

"But we humbly desire to express our regret that in view of the declarations that have been made by your Majesty's ministers that the war in Afghanistan was undertaken for Imperial purposes, no assurance has been given that the cost incurred in consequence of the renewal of hostilities in that country will not be wholly defrayed out of the revenues of India."

And speaking on it Mr. Fawcett said:

"And fourthly, the most important question, as far as he was able to judge, was who was to pay the expenses of the war. . . . It seemed to be quite clear that the expenses of the war should not be borne by India, and he wished to explain that so far as India was concerned, this was not to be regarded as a matter of generosity, but of justice and legality. The matter must be decided on grounds of strict justice and legality. . . . It was a remarkable thing that every speech made in that House or out of it by ministers or their supporters on the subject showed that the war was a great Imperial enterprise, those who opposed the war having always been taunted as being 'parochial' politicians who could not appreciate the magnitude and importance of a great Imperial enterprise. . . . He would refer to the speeches of the Viceroy of India, the Prime Minister, and the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs upon the subject. . . . In December 1878, the noble earl (the Prime Minister) warned the peers that they must extend their range of vision, and told them that they were not to suppose that this was a war which simply concerned some small cantonments at Dakka and Jelalabad, but one undertaken to maintain the influence and character, not of India, but of England in Europe."

And speaking in the House of Lords, Lord Beaconsfield emphasised that the objects of the war were British Imperial purposes. That was on the

25th February, 1880 (Hansard, Vol. 250, p. 1094). The exact words of his Lordship were:

"That the real question at issue was whether England should possess the gates of her own great Empire in India . . . We resolved that the time has come when this country should acquire the complete command and possession of the gates of the Indian Empire. Let me at least believe that the Peers of England are still determined to uphold not only the Empire but the honour of this country."

That was, Sir, what Lord Beaconsfield said. And the result of it all was that out of the 21 million pounds, which had been incurred by India on the War, England contributed 5 million pounds.

I submit, therefore, Sir, that it is indisputable that British troops are maintained in India, not merely for the protection of India but also for the Imperial purposes of England. Since the Afghan War of 1880, great events have taken place. The frontier has been pushed to Razmak, which I am told is only a short distance from Kabul. And what is worse, Sir, there is a danger that, if we do not make our protest strong and united, if Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Jews and Sikhs—all those residing and truly interested in India—do not make a very strong protest we shall be involved in the great danger of the frontier being further pushed forward and of India having to bear a still greater burden of military expenditure in the near future. Mr. A. C. Wentworth Lewis, the retiring President of the Rotary Club, in the course of a lecture to that Club on the 'North West Frontier problems' recently said:

"At his lecture last year at the Saturday Club Colonel Saunders gave it as his convinced opinion that the Russians were developing plans of an offensive and that Great Britain would have to defend India by force of arms within a period which he put as within ten years hence."

"How were they?"—

—asked Mr. Lewis—

"to defend India? Were they to fight in India or in the country over the border? No one who had personal experience of France and Belgium during the Great War, would say that the answer was that they should have it in their garden; they must have it in the enemy's garden. Therefore they must have the tribes under control and the passes under guard and exercise such moral supervision over the tribesmen that when the day of trial came, the tribes would back the winning horse by standing with Great Britain. They wanted the battles fought out in the Hindu Kush and not in India."

And Mr. Lewis stated that it had been held that extensive operations would be needed towards that end. He said:

"It was then held that military operations on an extensive scale would be necessary and that the troops must not remain in the plains but must be maintained in the hills."

When troops were maintained at Kohat and Bannu, it was found that the British troops suffered greatly from the heat, and therefore it was decided that the troops must be maintained in the hills, and that a policy of peaceful penetration should be pursued. He said:

"Behind the screen of regular troops at strategic centres, efforts should be made to give these tribesmen such civilisation as they could assimilate and that they should be prepared under British supervision to guard the roads and make roads where none existed. That was the policy now in force on the Frontier, the policy of peaceful penetration."

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Mr. Lewis then pointed out that in the pursuit of that policy :

"A first class road had been made from Bannu to Razmak. There were two posts where troops were stationed. One was Razmak which had a very large garrison and was one of the big military centres in India. Another road which was opened only the other day—and which was not safe to proceed down unless under escort—led down from Tandola to Tonk. So far the occupation of Waziristan had been one of unqualified success. To-day in those areas although one was by no means safe and had to take every possible precaution, there was now order, and the tribes so far from resenting the British coming, seemed to welcome it. The tribesmen were practical people who had led a hard, barbarous and unspeakable life, and the coming of the troops brought money to them. The British were even now starting a certain number of elementary schools among these people."

And as regards the policy of the future Mr. Lewis went on to say that "his hope—and the hope of all those who thought with him—was that of advance and development". Now, Sir, what was the regret that this gentleman expressed. It was that so far their policy had been hampered by finance. And that is the reason why I have taken up this matter on the Finance Bill. Says Mr. Wentworth Lewis :

"So far their policy had been hampered by finance; owing to the lack of financial provision the army had had to stay in those lines. The idea was that they should make an advance to Wana where they were in 1920. Wana was a fine strategic point near the Afghan Border. If they stopped at Wana, they had their forces concentrated and the whole of the Mahsuds in their hands."

"It had been said"—

—remarked Mr. Lewis—

"that this meant another war. That was not so. The Malik of Wana had asked them to go there. It was imperative that they should go while the tribesmen were in this mood and not delay further; Afghan intrigue was plentiful in Wana and where now the British would be welcome guests, they might later be regarded as enemies."

That would show how great was the anxiety of the forward school among British politicians and public men to advance the frontier further, and how great and how certain is the danger of this country being plunged in further expenditure on the score of military operations on that account. Sir, that is a very important aspect of the case. British troops, I submit, are maintained in India at their present strength, not merely for the purpose of defending India—they are maintained for Imperial purposes also. They were sent to South Africa during the Boer War; they were sent in the Great War to France and they saved the situation by reaching there in the nick of time, as the highest of English statesmen and soldiers acknowledged at the time. They were sent again to Turkey to fight against the Turks with whom we Indians were not at war, who had done us no wrong; and yet, our troops went and fought and defeated them. They have lately been sent to China, not for India's purposes, but against the protests of Indians. We Indians regard the Chinese as our brethren as much as any other brethren in Asia. We have no hate towards our brethren in Europe or America, but we do regard the Chinese as entitled in a special degree to our sympathy and a feeling of fellowship by reason of the long and ancient connection of India with China, and by reason of the fact that the Chinese people or rather the bulk of them follow the religion of Lord Buddha who glorified India by taking his birth and preaching his religion here. We feel therefore a great deal of fellowship and sympathy with our Chinese brethren and we do not wish that any of our Indian troops should be employed against the Chinese. But they have been sent there, not for India's

purposes, but for the purpose of upholding the prestige of the British Empire. I submit, therefore, that that being the real situation, let it be definitely recognised that the British army in India is maintained for Imperial purposes also, and let England bear at least part of the cost of maintaining them and help us thereby to reduce our overgrown military expenditure. We have failed to persuade the British Government to allow us to reduce the number of British troops. The War Office is the tyrant that tyrannises most over India. The British Parliament has taken upon itself to regulate the destinies of India. We have to fight against that assumption of power. But over the head of the British Parliament sits the War Office, which determines without consulting the Secretary of State what army charges it will impose upon the Indian people. This has been further illustrated by the answers given regarding the expenditure which has been recently imposed upon us by that authority. For all these reasons, Sir, I submit, let it frankly be recognised that the British troops in India are maintained for the Imperial purposes of England. Where would England have been

Mr. President: I hope the Honourable Member will allow me to conclude this debate at 1-30.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I implore you, Sir, to allow me to complete what I have to say.

Mr. President: There is no question of permission as the Honourable Member is entitled to take as much time as he likes. I would however ask him to remember that the Chair did not accept closure in order merely to give an opportunity to the Honourable Member.

Mr. J. Coatsman: I move that the question be now put.

Mr. President: I am not going to accept that proposal now.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I apologise to you, Sir, and to the House for continuing to speak after what you have said. I should have at once resumed my seat, but probably this is the last speech I am making in this Assembly and I hope that you will therefore allow me to put on record what I wish to say on the subject. (*An Honourable Member:* "Why last?") Please let me go on. If you will forgive me, Sir, for not acting according to your directions, and if the House will forgive me and hear me with patience for the short time during which I wish to lay this question which affects every Hindu, every Mussalman, every Christian and every European living in this country, I shall feel grateful both to the House and to you.

Mr. President: Will the Honourable Member give me an approximate idea as to how long he is going to take?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: I do not think I will go beyond half an hour.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may proceed.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Thank you, Sir. I apologise again to my friends in the House for taking up their time against their wishes (*Cries of "No."*) I have said—let it be frankly acknowledged that British troops are maintained in India as a part of the British army, not purely for Indian purposes, but for Imperial purposes also. That fact being recognised, let us deal with the question in a reasonable way. If it is to the interest of England to maintain so many British troops in India and on the frontier, let England bear the expense of it. England can bear the whole expense of it; India cannot. If India is not to be allowed to reduce the number of

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They also said :

" In order to achieve the greatest measure of success in this form of national education, it is essential that it should commence at as early an age as is possible when the mind is most receptive. The seed must be sown before his mind is formed, and for this reason it appears to us that the schools, colleges and universities offer the most suitable medium through which the first phase of this education can be carried out. We recognise that there may be serious difficulties . . . "

Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay: European): Are these not details, Sir, which you ruled out of order earlier in the day?

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya: Thank you, Sir. The Committee said :

" We recognise that at the present time there may be serious difficulties in the way of establishing Cadet Corps in all schools in India, but a beginning can be made even in schools with the teaching of elementary principles of civic duty and with physical training and elementary military drill. In the universities the great opportunity lies, and here it is possible to communicate more advanced ideas on the subjects of patriotism and self-defence to a large and increasingly influential section of the population. We are of opinion that in the present stage of India's evolution, and for many years to come the University Training Corps should be regarded as the most important section of the Territorial Force. By means of the University Training Corps, if properly organised and developed, it is possible to educate and influence over a number of years that large body of young men who should become the leaders of thought and the teachers of the next generation. Their training in the principles and the practice of military service will not be limited to themselves, for, when they go out into the world, they will, if their military training has been adequate, take with them the spirit of patriotism, the sense of discipline and the improved physique which will be their legacy from the University Training Corps, and their example should serve to inspire a wider circle of the people of India with a sense of the benefits which fitness for military service confers both upon the individual and the community as a whole "

This recommendation, which is so clearly sound and so completely in agreement with the wishes of the Indian people, has not been given effect to. The Skeen Committee's Report is yet to come. We do not know when it will come. I submit, therefore, that the Government have not seriously taken up the question of training Indians for the army. I do not wish to repeat all that has been said by various speakers who have preceded me on this subject as it must be fresh in the minds of Members of this House. We have said enough, Sir, to show that the Government have not done their duty to the people of India of giving the youth of India a military training, and that this important means of reducing the expenditure of the army has not been adopted. So long as these means are not adopted, we shall continue to have a genuine grievance. If Indians are substituted even to the extent of half among the officers of the army, the saving would be a very substantial one. There is absolutely no reason, to my mind, why in the face of the declarations and the pledges contained in the Act of 1833 and the Proclamation of 1858 and in the subsequent Proclamations, training for the higher careers in the army should not be given to Indians at the earliest possible opportunity. It is not a matter in which the training of few students will suffice. There must be a time table prepared, showing the time which it will take to Indianise the army within a reasonable period, and the number of qualified youngmen who should be selected and trained for these higher careers should be sufficiently large to bring about the change we desire within a reasonable time. The Government have not done anything in the matter, and this, Sir, is another ground why I cannot support the Finance Bill.

Then, Sir, I come to the financial administration of the Government of India in relation to the currency question. I do not wish to repeat all that has already been said on this subject. I only wish to remind the House that the Bill to stabilise the rupee at 1s. 6d. has been passed in disregard of the very large bulk of Indian opinion. Even taking into account the views of those Indians who voted with the Government, the Bill has been passed, I submit, clearly against the opinion of the bulk of elected Indian representatives in this House. Every Member on the other side will agree with me that this is a perfectly correct statement of the case. This being so, I submit that when the Government even in this 20th century, even after the Reforms of 1919 have been in operation for seven years, shows so much disregard of Indian public opinion, when it raises indirect taxation by maintaining the ratio of the rupee at 1s. 6d. when the bulk of the Indian public opinion as represented by the elected representatives in this House demanded that it should be stabilised at 1s. 4d., we cannot give our support to the Finance Bill. I feel, Sir, that the action of Government in this matter will for a long time to come be remembered by us with pain. The effects of it will be more widespread than has been imagined by some Members. Dadabhai Naoroji quoting from Mr. Morley once said:

"Mr. Morley has truly said: 'But if you meddle wrongly with economic things, gentlemen, be very sure, you are then going to the very life, to the heart, to the core of your national existence'. And so the economic muddle of the existing policy is going to the life, to the heart, to the core of our national existence."

—and the words apply fully to the present situation:

"A three fold wrong is inflicted upon us, *i.e.*, of depriving us of wealth, work and wisdom, of everything, in short, worth living for."

This I fear, Sir, will be the result of this enactment which has been placed on the Statute-book against the arguments, appeals, protests, representations, and requests of the bulk of the elected representatives of the people in this House. I submit, Sir, this has been a great wrong done to the people. What is worse, Sir, while I find that the currency policy of the Government has been so unfortunate, while I find that Government have not shown that respect for public opinion which they should have shown in this matter, I find that in another matter which vitally affects the prosperity of the people, namely, the establishment of banks in this country, they have been very slow to take action. The want of an adequate banking system has long been felt in this country. Japan started her first banking institution in 1873. In 1923 there were 1,799 banks in Japan. Canada has 4,422 banks, the United States have several times that number. India has been praying for a proper banking system for a long time past, and all that we have up to this time is a few hundred banks, and all that we are now given a hope of is a Reserve Bank. I submit, Sir, that the Reserve Bank, the object of which is defined to be to maintain the ratio at 1s. 6d., will not serve the objects of the people. A Reserve Bank such as is proposed has not inspired confidence in the people. It seems to many of us that this Reserve Bank, given the powers that are to be given to it, will take away the power that vests in this Assembly of controlling the currency policy of the country and will to that extent become a source of danger rather than an advantage to the public. • We have asked for a State Bank which should be controlled by the Legislature, properly of course, according to laws and regulations laid down. We do not wish to control the banking system except to the extent and in the manner in which other civilised countries recognise the right of Legislatures to interfere with them. But we want a State Bank properly constituted and under the control

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of the Legislature. We do not wish to hand over to any commercial body—though it may be regulated by an Act of the Government of India—the power to control the currency of the country, as the Government of India have had the power to control so long without consulting the Legislature. I also submit, Sir, that the larger question of providing the banking needs of the country is very important. The country has not had banking facilities provided for it to the extent that they should have been provided. If, Sir, we had those facilities, the country would have been happier to-day, far more prosperous than it can be under existing conditions. This also is one of the reasons, Sir, for my not being able to support the Finance Bill.

Now, Sir, let me sum up the situation. We find that the British Government in India have not treated us as it was promised to us that we would be treated. By reason of their failure to do so, they have maintained a policy which has been of unnecessary costliness to the country. Taking the largest item in the Budget, we find that under the constitution that has been given to us, out of an expenditure of 55 crores, only a sum of about 5 lakhs is votable by us. The rest of it is beyond our touch. I am speaking of military expenditure. Before the War the military expenditure stood at something like 29 crores. During the War, it went up to over 67 crores. When the Inchcape Committee reported they made recommendations that it should be brought down to the extent of 13 crores, and they said that the expenditure should be brought down in a few years to 50 crores if there was a fall in prices. Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas has answered my Honourable friend the Finance Member on the question of the fall of prices. Taking the whole thing into account, the military expenditure should have been brought down by this time below 50 crores. It has not been so brought down. A Conference met at Brussels in 1920. At that Conference the Government of India were represented. That Conference laid it down that if any country spent more than 20 per cent. of its gross revenue on the army, that country was riding for a fall. The recommendations of that Conference should have been respected and the Government of India should have endeavoured to bring down the military expenditure of the country to 20 per cent. of the gross revenue of the country. But we find that the expenditure which stood at 29 crores before the War now stands to-day at 54·92 crores. I am aware, Sir, that prices have risen. But even after making that allowance, the expenditure is still far greater than it should have been. What then is the position? We have implored the Government of India to reduce the military expenditure for the last 40 years and more. Instead of that, they have raised military expenditure, and the Finance Member and the Commander-in-Chief have told us that there is no present prospect of that expenditure being brought down. We have, on the other hand, before us a prognostication which I read out to you of the possibility of another great war which a military authority predicts would take place within ten years. We find that the Government is pursuing a forward policy which involves us in very great expenditure. We find that the Government of India is by legislation maintaining indirect taxation at a high level. In 1922-23, the Inchcape Committee said that during the five years previous there was a deficit of 100 crores and they pointed out that since 1913 new taxation to the extent of 49 crores a year had been imposed upon the people. Only the cotton excise duty has gone and some other small taxes, but the bulk

of the new taxes stands. Now, Sir, it is in this situation, that the Government of India ask us to support the Finance Bill. I ask my Honourable friends opposite not to misjudge us. I ask my Honourable friends not to misunderstand us. I put it to them without any desire to hurt the feelings of anybody and least with any desire to be obstructive or offensive. I put it to every Honourable Member sitting on the other side and in all parts of the House, whether they expect that any of us can find it in our hearts to support such a Finance Bill in such circumstances. We have prayed year after year that expenditure should be brought down. We have suggested means how that expenditure should be brought down. The means suggested have been approved. Resolutions passed by the Assembly were in the previous Assembly accepted by the Government. But Government have not taken action to the extent needed. I acknowledge what has been done. I am thankful for it. But what has been done is not sufficient. On the other hand we find that the great bulk of the people are living miserable lives, that the national average income of the Indian people is about one-twentieth of the national average income in England, that there is a large amount of unemployment in the country. The people are not thriving, they are not prosperous, they are not robust. The death-rate is high. Infant mortality is high. Companies do not flourish, business is not prosperous. In such a situation, Sir, the Government of India bring forward the annual Bill to re-impose existing taxes upon the people, and we are asked to support it. I have not the heart to support it. I feel that I cannot in the circumstances of the case take up the responsibility of maintaining the existing taxation by supporting the Finance Bill. The Government of India exercise the power of expending the great bulk of the revenues that are raised by the taxes that are to be imposed. We do not exercise that power. As they exercise that power, the responsibility for imposing this taxation and maintaining it must rest on them. At any rate, Sir, it must not rest on me and those who think like me. This is the position we take up, Sir. Now, I want to say just a few words to my English fellow-subjects in this House and a few words to my countrymen. I have criticised the Government of India for many years. I have said at times hard things. I am sorry for it. I never meant to hurt any of my English fellow-subjects and I do not mean to. I do not wish the English connection, the British connection with India, to cease. I will quote here the words of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji on this question, as they express exactly what I feel. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji was a far greater critic of the Government of India than I have been. I am a pupil, if I may claim to be so, of that Grand Old Man of India. And after a life-time of criticism of the Government what did Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji say when the War broke out? He said to his countrymen:

"We are a people of the British Empire. Let us see what our duty and position are. If ever India expects to attain again the former glory on the advanced character and scale of the modern British civilisation of liberty, humanity, justice and all that is good, great and divine, it shall be at the hands of the British people and as self-governing members of the British Empire. We are all British Citizens of the great British Empire and that is at present our greatest pride."

He appealed to Indians to support the Government. And what did he say:

"Fighting as the British people are at present in a righteous cause, to the good and glory of human dignity and civilisation, and moreover being the beneficent instruments of our own progress and civilisation, our duty is clear to do anything to support Britain's fight with our life and property."

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These were the words uttered by that Grand Old Man of India. Similar were the words, Sir, uttered by those of us who were in the Assembly at the time the War broke out. We do not wish to separate from England. We have no evil intention against England. But we want England to be just to us. What is the good of telling us that we are not ripe for a better constitution? What is the good of telling us that we are not able to judge what is for our good and in what way our country should be defended, that those who are sitting here as the duly elected representatives of the people cannot be trusted to vote such money as will be required for the defence of the country? Is there a single man here who is so bereft of a sense of responsibility and humanity that he would desire to see the country plunged in war or exposed to real danger? Why can we not then be trusted to deal with our expenditure, with our taxes, with the revenues raised in our country as Englishmen are able to deal with taxes raised in their country? Why cannot Government see that our people receive opportunities for military training? Why cannot they see that the promises of the past are fulfilled? Even as we sit here to-day, Englishmen and Indians working together, why can we not realise the picture of the future where Indians and Europeans, British fellow-subjects, would still be working for the good of India shoulder to shoulder, though of course the numbers will be different, as subjects of one King-Emperor? Have you been shorn of all wisdom and justice and righteousness that you cannot work for this noble end? If you do realise that picture, instead of having all the higher ranks of the army filled up by Britishers, and instead of having all the higher appointments of the Railway Board and the Railway services filled up by Britishers, instead of having all the higher appointments of the Indian Civil Service—the bulk of it—filled up by Britishers, what will you find in their place? You will find hundreds and thousands of educated Indians, Hindus, Mussalmans, Christians, Jews, Parsees and Sikhs, educated as well as you are, playing their part in the service of the motherland and of the King-Emperor. You have found that where Indians have been admitted to any Department on a test of equality, Indians have not failed. You have found that in all matters where Indians have had a fair field of competition, Indians have not rendered a bad account of themselves. You have found that Indians have not been unfaithful to you. Lord Birkenhead talks to-day of proofs of fidelity and friendship. Well might Indians say, it is you who have to give proofs of fidelity and friendship. You have failed to show fidelity; you have failed to show friendship. We have shown fidelity and friendship, Sir. How is it that the British people have been able to establish their rule in India? Time after time historians have said that it was with the help of Indians. Have we not supported them, since the time the British rule was established, except for the action of a small number of men during the short period of the mutiny? Have the Indian people ever risen against the Government of England in this country? Did we rise against them during the Great War? Have we any desire to rise against that Government even now? No, Sir; and yet we are asked to give further proof of fidelity and friendship and treated as if we were an uncivilised people. We are insulted by being told that we require stages of instruction to give proof that we are competent to administer our own domestic affairs. It is cruel, Sir. It is more than unkind; it is cruel; it is unjust; it is most unjust. I submit, Sir, that instead of talking lightly and taking a light view of things, every Englishman who

can understand what England owes to India, ought to ponder seriously over the situation. There is a time, Sir, which comes occasionally in human affairs, a period of test. That period of test came during 1914. At that time a fervent appeal was made to every Indian to stand by the Government. We are told that there might be another war in ten years. I hope that prognostication will prove false, because war is a great evil. But, Sir, if a war should break out, and if it should again become necessary for our British fellow-subjects to ask for the support of the Princes and the people of India, I wish them to remember that if by their treatment of the Princes and the people of India they alienate their sympathy, they will not be able to obtain their support as they did on the last occasion. Do I desire that it should be so? No, Sir. I want that we, Indians and Englishmen, should treat each other as equal fellow-subjects, should work together for the good of India—and of England. But in order that that policy should be adopted, it is essential that the present constitution should be changed, that the constitution which prevents us from dealing with 54 crores odd of expenditure of the military budget alone should give way to a better constitution; that a sense of responsibility to this Legislature should be imposed upon the Ministers as instruments of Government, that Government members should no longer be able to have a fling at us at every step where they do not agree with us, that they should not insult us when they are not able to appreciate our arguments, that they should regard us as equal fellow-subjects, who have like them a conscience, a judgment, and feelings which they wish to express. (*Sir Darcy Lindsay*: "Divide".) One word more and I have done. I wish to conclude by asking my Indian friends in this House to consider what lesson the position we are in teaches us. I admire Englishmen for their sense of duty, and for the unity, discipline and patriotism which they have. It is that which has enabled them—a handful of them—to come from across the seas and hold their sway in India. They have built up this great Empire by reason of their discipline and unity. It is the want of discipline and unity which is the cause of our degradation and disgrace. My countrymen, learn the lesson and make up your minds to change the present sad state of things for the honour of the land which has given us birth and for the glory of God who made us.

(*An Honourable Member*: "I move that the question be now put.")

Mr President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

(*Mr President* then called on *Sir Basil Blacket*.)

Mr. B. Das: I will ask you for a ruling on one point, Sir, if you will permit me. Sir, it has been the practice in this House of your predecessor and yourself to allow different provincial representatives to represent their views in the budget discussion and in the discussion of the Finance Bill. To-day you have been pleased to allow 4 United Provinces and 3 Bombay Members

Mr. President: Order, order. My predecessor had his own way. I have my own of regulating the debate.

(*Mr. B. Das* then resumed his seat. *An Honourable Member*: "Shut up.")

Mr. B. Das (while sitting): Very unfair.

Mr. President: Order, order. Will the Honourable Member withdraw that remark?

Mr. B. Das: Sir, when I was addressing you a few minutes ago, I sat down after you gave your ruling. Then some people asked me to "shut up." So I told them that it was very unfair on their part to say so. The remark was overheard by the Chair, but I may tell you, Sir, that I never meant it for you.

Mr. President: I am satisfied with the explanation given by the Honourable Member. I then thought that the words were addressed in relation to the Chair. I am glad to be informed that it was not so. Any way, Honourable Members should use more restrained and guarded language in this Chamber.

The question is:

"That the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, as amended, be passed."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—66.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhoze, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Chalmers, Mr. T. A.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
 W. M. P.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Hussain Shah, Sayyed.
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
 Jinnah, Mr. M. A.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.

Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Lindsay, Sir Darcy.
 Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Mohammad Ismail Khan, Haji
 Chaudhury.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Muhammad Nawaz Khan, Lieut.
 Sardar.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
 Makhdum Syed.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sassoon, Sir Victor.
 Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. K.
 Suhrawardy, Dr. A.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Young, Mr. G. M.
 Zulfikar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

NOES—29.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Birla, Mr. Ghanshyam Das.
 Chaman Lall, Mr.
 Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Iyengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Lajpat Rai, Lala.

Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan.
 Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Tok Kyi, U.

The motion was adopted.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Half Past Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Half Past Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE AMENDMENT OF STANDING ORDERS.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to present the Report of the Select Committee appointed to examine and report on the motion for amendment of the Standing Orders moved by Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar and myself.

THE GOLD STANDARD AND RESERVE BANK OF INDIA BILL.

MOTION FOR REFERENCE TO JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

“That this Assembly do recommend to the Council of State that the Bill to establish a gold standard currency for British India and constitute a Reserve Bank of India, be referred to a Joint Committee of this Assembly and of the Council of State, and that the Joint Committee do consist of 28 members.”

With your permission, Sir, I should like to alter the figure 24 to 28.

In regard to this Bill I do not think it is necessary that I should make any long explanatory speech. At the time when the motion for the circulation of this Bill was moved I spoke for something like an hour endeavouring to give a full exposition of the contents of the Bill, and I gather that there is a general agreement that the time has come to attempt something on the lines of what is proposed in this Bill and that the matter should be referred to a committee for examination. The Statement of Objects and Reasons itself sets out fairly fully the contents of the Bill and the principle that the time has come for the unification of the control of currency and credit in this country is I think one which has met with general acceptance. I therefore, Sir, will confine myself to moving this motion. I might add that the intention is that, if this motion and the next motion are carried, this Bill and the Imperial Bank of India (Amend-

[Sir Basil Blackett.]

ment) Bill should both be considered by the same Committee. Sir, I move.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I oppose this motion for a Joint Select Committee. I do not see why Government should go in for a Joint Select Committee. In a matter which is so important this House should consider its own position and formulate its own judgment independently without being mixed up with the views of the other House. There is a precedent in regard to this matter. Last year it was proposed by the Commerce Member that the Insurance Bill should be referred to a Joint Select Committee and the same difficulty arose, namely, that in a matter which was controversial, which was not purely formal, in a matter which required long discussion and debate it was not fair to this House that it should be mixed up with the other House and come to any joint conclusion. When we discussed that proposal for a Joint Select Committee last year on the Insurance Bill, the Government recognized the fairness of our opposition and agreed that the motion for a Joint Select Committee should be withdrawn. A motion for a separate Select Committee of this House was accordingly made and the Bill was referred to that Select Committee. I do not know how, with so recent an experience, the Government could have proposed a Joint Select Committee in a matter which is far more important and vastly more controversial than the Insurance Bill was. There is agreement only on the principle that the credit and currency position of the country should be concentrated in one authority. The agreement extends only to that and no more. The moment you enter into the details there is a great field of controversy which may be envisaged from the views received by Government and circulated to this House in response to the motion for circulation. We find bank after bank and individual after individual pointing out where the bank or the individual differs from the Government's proposals. You will find that the future of the Imperial Bank is a subject of very serious controversy; the terms offered to the Imperial Bank are the subject of very serious controversy; even the question whether there should be a separate bank as distinct from the Imperial Bank is a matter of heated controversy. I have read a representation from one of the banks which has been circulated with these papers which shows that the indigenous banks are afraid that the terms offered to the Imperial Bank are such, and the obligations imposed upon indigenous banks who will form part of the Reserve Bank organization are such, that these indigenous banks will be seriously prejudiced and the Imperial Bank will be a sort of organization hostile to them, working against them and yet subsidised by Government at the cost of the indigenous banks. These are some of the controversies which I find raised in the opinions circulated, copies of which have been received by us through the Government. It does not stop there. I find that the Chairman of the Central Bank of India in a speech which he delivered at the last annual meeting, has gone into this question of a Reserve Bank and has expressed himself very strongly on the point. That shows that the matter is full of controversy and difference of opinion. Here is what he says:

"The theoretical basis of this novel piece of legislation is undoubtedly sound. That the control of the currency and credit should be concentrated in a single Bank no one will deny. The object of the Bill is to secure unity of policy in the control of currency and credit. We all want it. But the question is, do the provisions of the Bill warrant the assumption that this object will be successfully carried out."

And he proceeds to argue that it will not be carried out. Then, Sir, there is the further controversy whether this Reserve Bank, if at all it is started as distinct from the Imperial Bank, should have a share capital; whether it should be on the British model, or on the Australian model or on the model of the Federal Reserve Bank of America. On all these matters people who have a right to speak differ seriously from the position of the Government. Some people think that to have a share capital will be to hand over this central organization into the hands of people who might control it for their own and not the public interests. They think also that if there are shares those who control the shares will also determine the control of the Bank's activities. I think that in a matter like this, therefore, this Assembly should not be mixed up with the other House and should be allowed to have its own views formulated properly after deep consideration independently of the views of the other House.

I do not want to enter into further controversial questions on the merits of the Bill, but I do want to say that there is another objection which I feel I ought to state. The motion to have these two Bills referred to a Joint Select Committee assumes that the House has already accepted the position taken up by Government that there ought to be a separate bank called the Reserve Bank and another Bank called the Imperial Bank. I desire to challenge that assumption, and to state clearly that this House has not accepted any such assumption. But the motions, as well as the Bills, which are being run parallel to each other, assume that this House is committed to the acceptance of two separate banks functioning on the lines they have laid down. That has not been accepted by the House. I should have thought that the Imperial Bank legislation is merely consequential and might have waited till the House had expressed its desire one way or the other as to whether it wanted a Reserve Bank as a separate bank or it did not want it. If the Imperial Bank is not to be used for performing the functions of a Central Bank, then the question arises whether it should perform the functions of a purely private Joint Stock Bank or whether it should continue as a State-aided Bank as the Bill proposes. I think, Sir, it will open up a very serious problem if we agree to have two banks here. I do not think the country has been called upon to pronounce whether it was agreed that there should be two separate banks, and I wish the Government did not press at this stage these two aspects of the question, that there should be one Select Committee of both Houses to consider the two Bills together, because, Sir, we are not at all agreed at this stage,—I do not say that eventually we may not agree,—the question is still open. We have to study a lot in this matter. The literature that we have is all too little. We have only some literature relating to the Federal Reserve Bank of America and some literature about Australia's Bank and at this stage I am not prepared to commit myself to the view that we want two banks both subsidised by the State. They may be too costly and prejudicial to the interests of the indigenous banking industry of the country. Even supposing we agree to have two banks, I do not want that the question should be jointly considered by this House as well as by the other. I hope, therefore, the Government will not press this motion for a Joint Select Committee at this juncture.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, this Bill and the Imperial Bank Bill together are two very important Bills. It is most important that they should be examined by a Committee containing all the best

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available brains on the subject in the two Houses of the Legislature. This House in no way infringes its own rights or gives away any of its own rights in regard to the examination of this Bill when it returns from the Joint Committee, if it agrees to a Joint Committee. On the other hand, owing to the rule that a Select Committee cannot be appointed by one House if there has already been a Select Committee on that Bill in another House, a motion for a Select Committee in this House deprives the other Chamber of any power of examining this Bill in a Committee. The constitution intentionally gave special representation in the other place to representatives of commercial and industrial interests, and it is most desirable that, when an opportunity arises of taking advantage of those who have special knowledge, it should be used. Government are unable to accept the suggestion of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta that they should withdraw this motion, and they very much trust that the House will see that in its own interest and in the interest of the country it is desirable that it should be referred to a Committee fully representative of every one in the matter.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That this Assembly do recommend to the Council of State that the Bill to establish a gold standard currency for British India and constitute a Reserve Bank of India, be referred to a Joint Committee of this Assembly and of the Council of State, and that the Joint Committee do consist of 28 members."

The motion was adopted.

THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA (AMENDMENT) BILL.

MOTION FOR REFERENCE TO A JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, the next motion which I move is strictly consequential. Mr. Jamnadas Mehta has suggested that it is not desirable that this Bill should be referred to the same Committee as the previous one, but it is, as he pointed out, legislation that is consequential on the other. The two obviously go together. I do not say that it is not possible eventually to give one decision about one and another decision about the other; but the two Bills obviously go together. If this Bill is not referred to the same Joint Committee as the Gold Standard and Reserve Bank of India Bill, it will in effect have to be examined by that Committee. I do not think, therefore, that the objection taken to this Bill being referred to the Joint Committee has any substance; in effect, it must be examined by the same Committee. Whether it is formally referred to that Committee or not, that Committee must examine its contents, and it is obviously, I think, in the interests of expedition that the Committee should examine the Bill and report on it to this House, a Committee that will have informed itself fully on the subject when it deals with the former Bill. The purposes of this Bill are fully explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, and, as in the case of the former Bill, I do not think it is necessary that I should at this stage enter into any exposition of the subject. Sir, I move:

"That this Assembly do recommend to the Council of State that the Bill further to amend the Imperial Bank of India Act, 1920, for certain purposes, be referred to a Joint Committee of this Assembly and of the Council of State, and that the Joint Committee do consist of 28 members."

The motion was adopted.

RESOLUTION RE SALARIES OF THE TWO MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL POSSESSING INDIAN EXPERIENCE.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, I beg to move the following Resolution:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to secure—

- (1) in the case of future appointments the enhancement of the salaries paid to the two members of His Majesty's Privy Council with Indian experience who sit on the Judicial Committee under the provisions of the Judicial Committee Act of 1833 to hear Indian appeals;
- (2) that they shall be persons possessed of recent knowledge of Indian law and practice;
- (3) that their salary shall be £4,000 per annum each, half of which shall be paid from Indian revenues; and
- (4) that during any period when this salary is enjoyed any pension payable to either of them from Indian revenues shall lapse."

Sir, this is a Resolution with a history. It has been before the Assembly before, though not before the Assembly as at present constituted. I brought an identical motion before the last Assembly on the 3rd February, 1926, and at that time I spoke at great length, and reading my speech in the full light of subsequent events, it seems to me, I spoke with considerable eloquence. (Laughter.) I think in a House which has suffered from a torrent of eloquence in the last few days that I should restrain myself to what is essential for putting forward my case. I will at any rate endeavour to be as brief as the circumstances admit. I have no doubt, moreover—indeed, I have every reason to believe it to be true—that many Members here have read the debate on the previous records of this House, and, therefore, to those Members who have so far done us the justice to consider the matter, I must be merciful. But there may be, and no doubt there are, a few Members who have not done so, and therefore I must state the case briefly. Before I come to the actual Resolution that I have laid before the House, I must give the House a short account of what has taken place in the past in regard to this matter. This question of giving additional assistance to Their Lordships of the Privy Council in the disposal of Indian appeals is one in which I personally have taken a very great interest. It goes back to the time when I served in another department, and when I was under the orders and guidance of a very distinguished lawyer, Sir George Lowndes. He and I, or rather I should say he, pressed on the Government of India the desirability of improving the arrangements for hearing Indian appeals with all the force of his intimate knowledge of the decisions of that tribunal.

Well, Sir, one of the points of attack that was taken on the last occasion was that this was a proposal which had been forced on an unwilling Government of India by a wicked Secretary of State. Now, it is not necessary for me to defend the Secretary of State. He is quite able to take care of himself. But this is not a question where the Government of India were in any sense coerced. We moved in the matter also, and we moved of our own motion. Now, it is quite obvious that a change in the system for hearing Indian appeals and supplementing the salaries of those that hear them requires the concurrence of a number of authorities. First of all, it requires the concurrence of that hard-hearted man, the Honourable the Finance Member. Secondly, it requires the concurrence of the Government of India who are never, if I may say so, particularly favourable to expenditure on judicial matters. Having overcome

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those two fences, the next fence that faces any one who wishes to go on with this judicial reform is the India Office and he must also obtain the concurrence and the active support of the Lord Chancellor. Well, Lord Chancellors, as the House doubtless knows with its intimate acquaintance with them, are not persons who are very easy to move and behind that luminary of the law stands another dreadful dragon, and that is the British Treasury. Well, Sir, to get all these forces into line is no small achievement and after many years the stars completed their courses and the wheel of fortune came full circle. We had the great advantage that the then Viceroy was himself a most eminent lawyer and had been the Chief Justice of England. We had a complacent British Treasury and we had all necessary support at home. When I moved my Resolution on the last occasion I thought there was really some hope of this small reform going through. But I had forgotten there was an obstacle in the path of progress more serious than the British Treasury and more formidable than the lions of the Crown. This was the Assembly. I regret to say that the House, though it will no doubt proceed to revise its decision, on that occasion, by a vote of 50 to 40, would have nothing to do with my proposals and turned them down with contumely. I hope, Sir, though I can hardly say I am confident, that I may lead this Assembly into more reasonable paths, and that the House will also aid in this reform which I myself regard as a most important matter. On the last occasion when I was replying I complained of the very few Members who were attending the discussion after lunch. But on this occasion, either owing to the compulsory fast which we have all undergone—at any rate up to two o'clock—(laughter) there are more Members in the House and I hope I shall not have to say, when I rise to reply, that I am suffering from a feeling of extreme dejection.

On the last occasion an eminent lawyer in this Assembly was good enough to explain to us that the Judicial Committee is not really a Court. I thought that was really pressing the historical genesis of the Judicial Committee rather far. Of course, they are, in common parlance, a Court and, I see, the Attorney General, speaking in the House of Commons, referred to them as a Court. His actual words were—and I hope my Honourable friend will not take his old point again—

“As the House knows the ultimate court of appeal for England, Scotland and Northern Ireland is the House of Lords and for all the other parts of the Empire the Privy Council.”

Therefore, if the Attorney General is prepared in general parlance to concede that the Judicial Committee is a court, I at any rate may be pardoned for erring in this very good company.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhamadan): The Attorney General is, I submit, absolutely wrong. In Canada, South Africa and Australia, the Privy Council is not the Court of Appeal and everywhere else the decree is passed by the King. The Privy Council only advise.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I have no doubt the Attorney General will be extremely wounded by this reflection of the Honourable gentleman. But I myself am perfectly content to be in error with the Attorney General. Now, Sir, despite my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour, I affirm the proposition that a Judicial Committee is the highest Court of Appeal for all parts of the Empire outside England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. Now, the work of the Judicial Committee,

as probably every one in this House is aware, consists very largely of the Indian appeals. The last time I spoke, I gave the House a few figures and I regret to say that they were not very recent figures. But I have obtained rather more recent figures. The number of appeals before the Judicial Committee, from 1911 to 1917 excluding Prize Court Appeals, which of course is a class of work which arose entirely out of the War and ceased with the War, were Indian appeals—514, and other appeals—365. That gave roughly an average for Indian appeals of 73 per annum. That is, the Indian appeals formed 58 per cent. of the work of the Judicial Committee. I have now got the figures from 1917 up to date. From 1917 to 1926, the average number of Indian appeals was 88, and this represented 65 per cent. of the total work of the Privy Council. It is also in the knowledge I am sure of most of the Members of this House that the Privy Council now habitually sits in two divisions. One division deals with Indian appeals and the other division deals with the appeals from the Colonies and other Dominions. As a matter of fact, rather more than half the work of the Privy Council comes from India. Now, Sir, it was early recognised, very early in the history of the Privy Council and very early in the history of the judicial relations between the home country and India, that it was desirable that there should be some special assistance afforded to Their Lordships of the Privy Council when hearing Indian appeals, and in 1833 an Act was passed, known as the Judicial Committee Act, which provided that there should be persons learned in Indian law who should sit on the Privy Council in the hearing of Indian appeals and who should be remunerated by the munificent sum of £400 a year. And that sum was found by the British tax-payer, and he has been finding it for nearly a hundred years. Apart from that, there is one other Judge with Indian experience, who is appointed by an amending Act to which I need not refer in detail, who sits without any salary. Now, I do not think anybody can seriously controvert the proposition that, if Indian appeals are to be heard in London, it is desirable that they should be heard in a way which will ensure a Court which is likely to command the entire respect of those who resort to it. I agree entirely with what Sir Douglas Hogg said in the House of Commons on the 3rd December. He was then discussing a Bill to which I shall refer later which was before the House. He said:

“ While we have that Court ”

—(he was referring again to the Privy Council as a Court, though purists would demur)—

“ While we have that Court, it is of the first importance to this country as well as to the dominions that the personnel of the Court should be such as to command the respect of all those whose appeals may come before it.”

Well, Sir, I think that is a proposition that the House will not generally be inclined to deny. I can understand the view of those who do not want appeals to go to England at all. I can understand also the view being taken that you do not want to pay for improvements. That is a very common view. I can understand the view that you wish to have no connection with any English courts. That is another possible view. But if you take the view that the appeal should be heard in London, you may also take the view that it should be heard by a competent court.

Mr. T. C. Goswami (Calcutta Suburbs: Non-Muhammadan Urban): So far the court has not been competent—is that the contention?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: My Honourable friend, I think, has often said so. I do not subscribe to that view. If he has read my speech on the previous occasion he would have seen it.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: If it has been so very competent, what is the idea of making it more competent?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The position is, as I say, there is a large volume of business coming before this court and it is desired to strengthen the Court. Sir Douglas Hogg went on to point out the next step in the procedure was that when the late Viceroy, Lord Reading, was in England, this matter was the subject of discussion between the Secretary of State for India and the Lord Chancellor, and that, Sir, was the time when there came into harmony all those conflicting forces which without such intervention would certainly have remained unreconciled. Nor do I think that this House will seriously argue that the remuneration provided under the existing law is in any way adequate to the services rendered. The payment of £400 per year to Judges who sit and determine appeals of this importance and magnitude will, I think, by common consent be regarded as inadequate. I do not propose to stress that aspect of the question. The position, therefore, is this, that the English revenues and the English legal resources provide the very best lawyers in England who sit without any charge to you and hear your Indian appeals, and in addition, the English revenues at present provide a remuneration, however, inadequate it may be, amounting in all to £800 a year by which some Indian experience is imported into the Privy Council. Well, Sir, that was the position as it stood, and if my Resolution is accepted the position would be that you would still have the advantage of these distinguished lawyers—these distinguished Indian lawyers—and you would still receive from the English revenues a contribution towards the Indian experience in the Court 10 times as much in amount as is the case at present and you would secure that by a payment of £4,000 in appreciated rupees from your own revenues.

The House may ask why after having received a rebuff in the last Assembly, I venture to come forward again to present the case before this House. Sir, I have two reasons, perhaps more, but two only occur to me at the moment. The decision of the House when I last moved this Resolution attracted considerable unfavourable comment in quarters which are not usually very friendly to Government. I think there are many who look on any proposals that proceed from these Benches, and particularly possibly from me, with great suspicion. But on this occasion there were those who doubted whether the Assembly had been quite wise in throwing out the Resolution. That was one of the reasons that emboldened me to renew my proposals. The second reason, Sir, was this. In another place this Resolution was brought forward not by Government but by a non-official Member and it was adopted without a division. I think, therefore, I am justified in hoping that this Assembly may take a more favourable view of the proposition. After the Assembly had refused to entertain the present proposal the Home Government brought forward a Bill in the House of Commons on the 1st December, 1926, and the Attorney General moved and got the second reading of the Bill. But he explained quite clearly to the House that as far as the Bill then stood, it would only provide a charge on the English revenues, that is to say, that it proposed to pay £2,000 for each judge from English revenues.

Unless and until the Indian Legislature were prepared to put its hand in its pocket, that would be the pay of the judges. He made it clear, moreover, in debate that if this Assembly was not going to agree to the proposition, there would be no attempt to use any special powers to ensure the money being found, and that the whole question of the extra £2,000 would rest with this Assembly. We have often seen that this Assembly has got no real responsibility. In this particular matter it has got a very definite responsibility and I can assure the Assembly here and now that if they reject this Resolution, there is very little likelihood of the Bill being proceeded with in the House of Commons and that we may well be left in the position we are now in. I do not know whether this House thinks that we are going to get many able Indian lawyers to go home and stay for some years and get £400 a year for doing so. That is a point that I hope the House will consider.

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Did I hear the Honourable Member say "Indian lawyers"?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I said Indian lawyers, and by Indian lawyers I include all those who have practised the law in India. (Laughter). I have no authority to say it, but I think anybody who has read the debates in the House of Commons must be well aware of it, that the Bill is likely to be a dead bird, to use a colloquialism, unless this Resolution is accepted by this House. Everybody knows that the British Treasury at this moment is probably more heavily pressed than the treasury in this country so ably conducted by my Honourable friend Sir Basil Blackett. (*An Honourable Member:* "Question.") My own experience—and it is a bitter one—is that whenever there is a question of retrenchment it is in the judicial department that the retrenchment is apt to be enforced, which I regard as a very undesirable habit.

Now, as far as I can see, I would ask the House to bear with me if I am unfair—I have no desire to be unfair—as far as I can see, those who oppose this Bill fall into three classes. The first is composed of those who would like to weaken every link that binds India to the rest of the Empire. (*Mr. T. C. Goswami:* "Hear, hear".) I am glad to hear that voice supporting me, for I am free to admit and my Honourable friend can take it that the Privy Council is such a link, and if you strengthen that Court, you would tighten that link. I make a present of that to any one who opposes my Resolution on that ground. But I do not think I need address any other arguments to a person who takes that line. Those who desire that—it may be proper from their own point of view—but it is obvious that no servant of the Crown and no loyal subject can have any sympathy with that view. Those who would oppose this Resolution because they desire to weaken the links of the Empire I do not desire to address further.

The next class of persons who object to this Resolution are those who look forward to the time when India will have her own Supreme Court. I do not wish to revive the controversy on that question. But the actual position is this. The last time that that proposition was brought forward in this House the motion was lost by a large majority. I do not want to put it too high, because as I am asking the House to change its opinion on this Resolution, it may change its opinion on that

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matter too, but I hope that the result of that motion for the establishment of a Supreme Court does show that there are a number of persons, and I believe they are in a majority, who think that the time for a Supreme Court has not yet come. But I do not think that the fact that others desire a Supreme Court ought to take them into the opposite lobby to me. They must surely recognise that the Supreme Court is not in sight, is not even on the horizon—I do not say it will not come, it may come—but it is not in sight. In the meantime, why should they oppose what is a harmless attempt to improve the present arrangements for the hearing of the Indian appeals? Because they hope for the establishment of a Supreme Court in a far distant time, it does not seem to me that those two positions are incompatible. I do not ask them to give up their scheme of a Supreme Court. I do not ask them not to agitate for it: but I do ask them not to oppose this Resolution.

There is a third class of persons who, as far as I can gather from the debates, appear to be influenced by some idea that in this matter India is not being well treated by the Home Government, as compared with the Colonies. That I desire entirely to explode, and I think that any fair-minded man will agree that it can be exploded. Both the Colonies and India get, free of all charges on their own revenues, from the Home Government, the very best legal talent available. On the last occasion I moved this Resolution I read out to the House the constitution of the Judicial Committee. There are so many lawyers in this House and I am sure so many Members have read my previous speeches that I do not wish to bore the House by reading them again. But it will be remembered that the Dominions and India get free of all charge the best lawyers available in England. It is true that certain Colonial Judges are appointed members of the Privy Council, and it is true that they can take part in the hearing of the appeals. But in so far as they do so, it is entirely at the expense of those Colonies. The British Government make no contribution towards their expenses and if they come and sit in Westminster, their Government I presume, but certainly not the English Government, has to pay their expenses. But that is not the case in regard to India. The British Government have at the present moment and for some hundred years charged the British tax-payer with the payment of £800 a year for the two Judges with Indian experience and they propose, as I have stated before, to go further and provide a total salary for those Judges of £4,000 a year. Really it is not right or fair, therefore, to argue that the Home Government is treating the colonies better than it is treating India. The facts are quite otherwise. India has been better treated than any of the other dominions or colonies.

Another point which on the last occasion I think may have prejudiced my case and for which perhaps I am myself to blame was that there should be a definite pledge that all the appointments would be made from persons who have not merely practised in India but were Indians. I was not then able to accept an amendment to that effect. As I made it plain then and I make it plain now, we intend to get the best men we can irrespective of race. But when I find that my refusal to accept this amendment is used as an argument why the additional salary should not

be given, then I must say that I feel some difficulty. Obviously, if you are going to get an Indian who is a lawyer in full practice, who is a man commanding a large income, you are not likely to get him to go to England and live there for a considerable number of years on a pay of £2,000 a year. The larger pay is in itself a very good reason why Indians are more likely to be appointed than if you have a smaller pay. I cannot understand myself, nor do I believe the House will take the view, that a brilliant Indian lawyer, unless he is one of those Indians who has become anglicised and desires to spend the rest of his life in England, will care to go to that country, live there and do strenuous work on a pay of £2,000 a year. I do not think it is possible. Therefore, if you do not provide this extra money for the purpose of augmenting the pay of these Judges, you will be making it more difficult for Indians to take part in the proceedings of the Privy Council, and you will make it infinitely more difficult if the House entirely rejects this proposition and the English Government drop their Bill. Certainly, if you will not get brilliant Indian lawyers to live in England for a period of years for £2,000 a year, you will not get them for £400 a year. On the last occasion I took an opportunity of referring to the past services of the Privy Council to India. I gather from the debates I have recently heard in this House that arguments based on past services are not well received. I was told the other day that gratitude is unknown. It may be so, at any rate I am not going to stress that aspect of the case on the present occasion. I do not appeal to the gratitude, I appeal to the intelligence and the self-interest of India. I do think that it is in the best interests of this country, at any rate at the present moment, that it should have its appeals heard by a tribunal which, if constituted in the manner it would be constituted if my Resolution is accepted, would be an unrivalled tribunal.

I have spoken at some considerable length, longer than I had intended, but this is a subject which is rather dear to my heart. I do hope that the House has not come in, as it sometimes does, having made up its mind not to listen to what is said on this side of the House, but that Members will approach this question with an open mind, that they will see that really with the exception of the first class of persons whom I have mentioned, and whom I have no hope whatever of convincing, that they have no substantial reason for voting against this Resolution. Moreover, I am convinced that this is the last time the proposition will be brought forward before the House. If on this occasion the House turns it down, I think they have heard the last of it; I think they have heard the last of the Bill which is pending in the House of Commons and we shall have to go back to the arrangements now subsisting. That is really a very serious matter. I know the House is at times very prodigal. We know that three crores of rupees of taxation were lost in two hours. This is not a question of three crores in two hours, but it is a question of the future judicial administration of this country for a considerable period of years. I can tell the House that the question of Supreme Court is certainly not likely to be decided in a very great hurry. Moreover, I press on the House this point of view that, having regard to the services rendered by the Privy Council and the services to be rendered by the Privy Council as strengthened under my Resolution, the amount of money involved is really a very small matter. You add, with the greatest pleasure and without the slightest objection in the local Councils, to the

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strength of Sub-Judges, District Judges and High Court Judges, and yet what is it that we are asking you to provide to add strength to the final tribunal of the Empire? £4,000 or Rs. 60,000 a year. I do not think the House will be able to get a competent Judge for less than that. I do hope the House will therefore take a favourable view of this Resolution and support it.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): I beg to move the amendment that stands in my name:

"That in clause (2) after the word 'persons' the words 'who are *bona fide* residents of India and' be inserted."

The amendment only means this, that the persons with recent experience of Indian law and practice should be Indians. That is what the amendment is really intended to mean and I will try to address the House on the points relating to this amendment only. The necessity of having the highest judicial tribunal located in London is admitted in a way as an unavoidable necessity under existing conditions. Having conceded that necessity the question reduces itself to this simple form. If any contribution is to be made by this country towards the maintenance of two Judges on the Judicial Committee for hearing Indian appeals, then I desire this House to consider whether that contribution is to be made with some condition fastened to it or not. That is the whole point. Sir, I do not see that any very cogent arguments have been advanced either at the time when this question came up last time in the Assembly or in the speech which the Honourable the Home Member has just made for not accepting an amendment of this nature. A similar amendment was moved last time by Mr. T. Rangachariar. The objection that was then taken was that the amendment purports to introduce some sort of racial discrimination. That was one objection. The second objection was that it would create difficulties sometimes to get the best men to serve on that Committee. These are the two objections raised by the Honourable the Home Member on the last occasion. If the Honourable Members of this House have perused the whole debate carefully, they will also find that these two objections have been already very cogently met and replied to. In the first place I do not understand how the principle of racial discrimination can be said to have been introduced by the amendment, immediately as we say that the two Judges for whose salaries we are called upon to make a contribution should be Indians or residents of India. On the other hand I maintain that instead of making any claim on the ground of racial discrimination we make a claim on the ground of an equality in status and ability with other English Judges who serve on the Judicial Committee. The claim is urged as a condition because we feel confident that there are Indians eminently qualified to occupy seats of this responsibility, in every way competent to efficiently discharge the duties of this office. Feeling this sort of confidence in ourselves we are emboldened to make a suggestion to this effect. If any contribution is to be made by India towards the maintenance of the two seats on the Judicial Committee hereafter this House will be thoroughly justified in imposing a condition that these two persons should be Indians in the accepted sense of that term and none else. There is no racial discrimination in it. It is only an assertion of the status of equality and confidence of equal ability possessed by Indians along with other English jurists and lawyers. It was also stated that it would be

sometimes difficult to find men of the best type if any condition like this is tacked on. I can not understand that. I believe that whenever any opportunity for Indians to serve on offices of responsibility has been thrown open, eminent members of the Indian bar and even of other paying and lucrative professions have invariably and willingly come forward to occupy these seats in spite of the pecuniary sacrifices involved. I am sure that is the experience which the Government of India have got up to the present time even in regard to appointments on the Judicial Committee, and if opportunities were given hereafter to Indians to occupy seats on that Committee there ought to be no difficulty felt whatever by the Government of India in finding qualified Indians from the leading members of the Indian bar with a large and lucrative practice willing to sit on the Judicial Committee for a certain number of years. That difficulty, therefore, is not in my opinion of a serious nature. We have found Indians going as members of the India Office. We have found Indians working as Executive Councillors. In doing this, I am sure, and it has been frankly recognised by the Government also, that some of them had to make enormous sacrifices. But knowing that this is also a patriotic duty to be rendered to the country, they did not mind the sacrifice involved and they have invariably willingly come forward to occupy these responsible positions. That being the previous experience, the difficulty of finding out the best Indians ought not to deter the Government of India in accepting an amendment of this kind or imposing a condition of the nature I have suggested. These two difficulties being thus disposed of, I really do not see any reason why the Honourable the Home Member should not be willing to accept this amendment. By acceptance of this amendment he would probably pave the way for the success of the proposition he has put forward. What I suggest is that if this House is to sanction this expenditure of £2,000, it should take care that it at least imposes a condition of the nature I have suggested. On the broader question whether India should make a contribution of this nature towards the maintenance of this tribunal, or not, there is undoubtedly room for a difference of opinion as it really involves a question of principle. The one argument which was advanced now and before also is that the Judicial Committee is a tribunal which serves as a link which binds the whole Empire together. It is a fact and probably, as the Honourable the Home Member has just said, on that very ground there might be a section of this House which is opposed to it. That opposition is also perfectly understandable. It ought not to be difficult for anybody to understand that position in this 20th century. But assuming however that the Judicial Committee is a great binding link in the Empire represents the correct position and that it is therefore a desirable one, the party which desires to have this link properly forged and is mainly to profit by it ought to be the one to bear the necessary expense. That is a consequence naturally arising out of that position. Therefore, the question whether India should make a contribution or not stands on a different footing. My amendment is based on the condition that if the contribution is to be made at all, the House should take care to impose a condition of the nature I have suggested and it is, I submit, in the existing circumstances the most desirable and necessary step for this House to take. It is in that spirit that I have brought the amendment and I believe the experience which the Home Member has gained particularly from the fate which this proposition met with last year in this Assembly must have made him more cautious, and I therefore hope that he will see that it is to his advantage to accept my amendment. With these words I move it.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, the Honourable the Home Member has referred to the history of his Resolution. I fear, Sir, I am mainly, if not entirely responsible for the Resolution, which had been prompted by a Resolution moved by me as far back as the 26th March 1921. At that time I asked the first Assembly to give its concurrence to the establishment of a Supreme Court in India, and in moving that Resolution I traced the history of the Privy Council and I pointed out that historically as well as in fact the Privy Council is not a Court but merely an advisory body of the King constituted *ad hoc* in the 15th century and continued till the establishment of regular Courts of Appeal in the major Colonies of England. Sir, I then said that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not a tribunal or court but merely an advisory body constituted and intended to advise the King in his capacity as the highest tribunal for his Dominions. Early in the 15th century as England came to expand into a large colonial power, territories were ceded or acquired by conquest and it became necessary for the Government to administer justice to those scattered Dominions, with the result that the Judicial Committee was requisitioned by His Majesty to advise him on the administration of civil justice. The growth of jurisdiction of the Privy Council can be traced to this fact. The Honourable the Law Member who conditionally accepted my Resolution did not contravene this fact. Now, Sir, I wish very briefly to inform this House as to what has taken place since this Resolution was accepted by the House.

Mr. H. Tonkinson (Burma: Nominated Official): Sir, on a point of information, I do not think that the Resolution was ever accepted by the House. Dr. Sapru moved an amendment and it was the amendment that was accepted.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I said, Sir, it was conditionally accepted. The Government promised to circulate my Resolution and to collect opinions and then to see how far it was necessary to give effect to that Resolution. That was what I meant when I said that the Resolution was conditionally accepted, and I repeat that statement. Now, Sir, this book is a compilation of the opinions collected from the various public bodies on the subject of the establishment of a Supreme Court in this country, and, as the Honourable the Home Member said on another occasion, there is a considerable body of opinion in favour of the establishment of a Supreme Court here. Now, Sir, so far as the Privy Council is concerned, I moved another Resolution in this House which unfortunately was thrown out, thrown out because there was the same lack of interest in the House which was displayed on the last occasion when the Honourable the Home Member moved his own Resolution on the subject. And in consequence of that Resolution His Excellency the Viceroy in addressing this Chamber on the 20th January, 1926, gave expression to these pregnant words. And remember that if you accepted these Resolutions you will be perpetuating the Privy Council. I told this House on the last occasion that he who votes in favour of this Resolution must not forget that he will be perpetuating the Privy Council. Let me give you, Sir, the exact words of His Excellency. He said:

"I and my Government share the general opinion of the very valuable services rendered to India by these two members of the final Court of Appeal, and we desire to ensure that India shall continue to benefit in the future from a system the advantages of which have been so unmistakably demonstrated. In order to perpetuate the benefits of the scheme it is desired in future appointments to secure persons from India of eminent qualifications as regards knowledge and experience of Indian law and practice."

That, Sir, was the pronouncement made by His Excellency the Viceroy to the last Assembly, and it is in consequence of that pronouncement that the Honourable the Home Member moved his Resolution which this House negatived on the 3rd of February 1928. Now, Sir, in asking this House to re-affirm its decision given only last year I wish to categorise a few facts and bring them to the notice of Honourable Members. Honourable Members will remember that so far as the major Colonies of England are concerned, they have their own Supreme Courts. Let me give the facts. In Canada the Supreme Court Act was passed in 1867 and a Supreme Court was actually constituted in 1875. In Australia by the Constitution of Australia Act the Supreme Court was constituted in 1900. In South Africa on the close of the Boer war, when the constitution was revised, a Supreme Court was constituted. And let me in this connection point out that so far as South Africa is concerned, from the very constitution of the Act of 1909 the Supreme Court is paramount and supreme. And only last year in the Imperial Conference, which changed the title of His Majesty to King of the United Kingdom, it has been settled—a settlement which has now been ratified by Parliament—that all the Colonies have got co-equal sovereign rights. Consequently the existence of any paramount supreme judicial authority over the Colonies has become inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Colonies declared and ratified by the Parliament of England. The result therefore is that so far as the major Colonies are concerned, they have their own Supreme Courts. It is perfectly true that under the constitution of Canada and Australia a certain option is given to a litigant either to appeal to the local Supreme Court or to the Privy Council. But, as was pointed out in the Canadian Parliament last year on the close of the general elections, it was the intention of the Government to take away that right of optional appeal to the Privy Council. Honourable Members will also find, if they look at the proceedings of the Imperial Conference from 1918 onwards, that at that Conference it was proposed to constitute a Court of Imperial Appeal, and all the Colonies revolted against the idea of having a central Court of Appeal. The result is that that idea has been abandoned. The position therefore is, so far as the major Colonies of England are concerned, that they have their own Supreme Courts, and those Courts are part of the local autonomy which was given to them by the various Acts of the Imperial Parliament. India, Sir, is the largest part of the British Empire and, let me venture to add, forms its most important component. Can we be denied the right which even smaller Colonies, comparatively speaking, such as Canada, Australia and South Africa, have been enjoying for a generation past? I venture to submit that, if this House passes the Resolution moved by the Government, they will be applying a very sharp axe to their own future constitution, because the perpetuation of the Privy Council would be inconsistent with the expansion of Reforms. Honourable Members will probably remember that small book published under the aegis of the Home Department by your predecessor, Sir Frederick Whyte, in which he has pointed out that the creation of a federal government is only possible with the assistance of a Supreme Court. In all federal countries where there is a federal government such as you have in the United States of America, you must set up an impartial tribunal to decide upon all disputes between the Executive and the Legislature. Now, have we got such a tribunal here? As far back as 1918, when the late lamented Mr. Montagu was in this country, some of us pointed out to him that a scheme for the commencement of federation in this country

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would be incomplete without the constitution of a supreme judicial authority to interpret and uphold the constitution. And, Sir, the result was that though the Secretary of State at the time was unable to accept that view of the deputation he left it to be decided upon its own merits later on. But the fact remains that, if you turn to the Government of India Act, you will find that if there is any question of dispute or doubt arising as to what is a provincial subject, reserved subject, what is a votable or non-votable subject, these questions are excluded from the purview of the Government of India Act, and it is the Executive that decides much to the chagrin and disappointment of the Legislature. I therefore submit that the very existence of the Reform Act of 1919 is inconsistent and incomplete without the constitution of the highest tribunal charged with the duty of interpreting and upholding the constitution. Lord Bryce in his book on democracies written after his visits to the major Colonies of England has pointed out that in all the Colonies to which I have adverted, the Supreme Courts have given extreme satisfaction. They are courts possessed of considerable influence and independence. Their impartiality is unquestioned, and the Legislatures look up to them for upholding their dignity and preserving the constitution, and, what is more, in cases of conflict between the Executive and the legislature, they are the just arbiters between the two parts of the State. I therefore submit, Sir, that in two years' time we are bound to have a Royal Commission, and this question of the Supreme Court, if the future of India is to be along the lines of a federal government, must of necessity come before the Royal Commission, and you will be prejudicing the establishment of a Supreme Court if you were to

Mr. President: The Honourable Member's time is over.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, in view of the importance of the subject and the deep personal interest I have taken in it for the last 7 years, I hope you will extend to me some indulgence

Mr. President: I would certainly extend a great deal of indulgence if we were discussing the question of the establishment of a Supreme Court in India, but the issue raised by the Resolution moved by the Home Member is a limited one.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, this is sweeping away my Supreme Court, it is an obstacle in the way of my Supreme Court, and unless I sweep that away, my Supreme Court will never come into existence. So, Sir, I beg of you to give me a little more time to enable me to remove that unsightly obstacle that stands in the way of my Supreme Court. I promise to be as brief as possible.

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy (Nominated: Indian Christians): May I ask the Honourable Member for information if the existence of a Supreme Court in the larger Dominions prevents or reduces the jurisdiction of the Privy Council?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Yes, undoubtedly. It affects the jurisdiction of the Privy Council in Australia; in Canada, technically it does not, but as Lord Bryce points out, very few cases go to the Privy Council, but not all cases which are certified for certain reasons, interpretation of the constitution and so on; the jurisdiction of the Privy Council is *pro tanto* narrowed by the expansion of the judicial administration in these large Colonies.

Now, Sir, I have pointed out that the Privy Council is not the Court. Now, Sir, I wish with the utmost respect to their Lordships of the Privy Council to point out that the Privy Council have themselves declared in several reported cases that they suffer from lack of local experience, and in many cases they are not able to decide cases with due advertence to the dictates of justice. In cases under the Land Acquisition Act, where local knowledge as to the valuation of the property and the estimate as to its value is necessary, their Lordships again and again have said that they are at a disadvantage in not being able to inspect the sites. Then take the case of inspection of documents; the case of application of personal law. Latterly the Home Member has himself brought forward one Bill to correct the mistakes of their Lordships of the Privy Council on the interpretation of the Transfer of Property Act, or rather the Registration Act. I myself, Sir, was the author of another Bill to amend the Transfer of Property Act regarding attestation upon which the view of their Lordships of the Privy Council was at variance with the Indian current view. Then their Lordships have in several cases pointed out that in criminal cases, they are neither a court of appeal nor a court of revision, and Honourable Members conversant with criminal law are aware that in criminal cases the final sentencing tribunal is the High Court, and while the High Court passes a sentence of death, there is really no right of appeal at all. Now in England the anomaly which existed has been swept away by the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal, and I submit, therefore, the time is ripe when we should press for the establishment of a central court of criminal appeal in cases where a sentence of death or transportation for life is passed by the superior courts in this country.

Then, Sir, in my previous speeches before this House, I have pointed out that the question of time, the question of distance, the cost of visualisation of justice and the difficulty of both parties being represented before the Privy Council are insuperable obstacles to the disposal of cases with due regard to the rights of the parties. I have also, Sir, pointed out that with a growing national sentiment in this country it is absolutely necessary that we should have a court of our own, and we cannot possibly have a court of our own if you were to-day to give your vote in favour of the perpetuation of the Privy Council in the manner stated by the Home Member.

Sir, I wish finally to appeal to this House that only 12 months ago this House rejected the motion of the Honourable the Home Member. Have any fresh facts come to light which would justify

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: How long ago was your motion for a Supreme Court rejected?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, I have already given this House the history of my Supreme Court.

Mr. M. A. Jinnah (Bombay City: Muhammadan Urban): Two wrongs do not make one right.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: My friend Mr. Jinnah says that two wrongs do not make one right.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I agree.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: I have already pointed out that, with the growing consciousness of the people, with the growing desire that India should be self-contained, with the approach of the Royal Commission in the very

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near future, this House will be casting a vote in favour of the perpetuation of the Privy Council which every patriot and politician in this country including Mahatma Gandhi has condemned, and I ask those who are believers in Mahatma Gandhi to remember and recall how strongly he has castigated those Members of the House who on the last occasion, when my Resolution for the Supreme Court came on for discussion, cast their vote against it. Well, Sir, they have now the chance to rectify their mistake, and on these grounds, Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Thursday, the 25th March, 1927.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Friday, 25th March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

LONG HOURS OF WORK OF THE STAFF ON THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

1149. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** Will the Honourable Member kindly state if it is a fact that, owing to the heavy extra work thrown on the staff especially at the wayside stations on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, the men are compelled to perform very long hours of work?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have had no representations to this effect, but I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply to question No. 140 asked by Dr. K. G. Lohokare on the 20th August 1926.

EMPLOYMENT OF SUBORDINATES OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY IN HIGHER APPOINTMENTS WITHOUT ENHANCEMENT OF SALARIES.

1150. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (i) Is it a fact that on the Jhansi Division, Great Indian Peninsula Railway:

(a) there are 5 A grade station masters of whom only one man is a confirmed station master and the others have been officiating as such for years, but on assistant station masters' salaries?

(b) there are 4 Divisional Transportation Inspectors of whom only one is confirmed in that grade and the others have been kept officiating for years on a lower salary?

(c) there are many guards who, for years, have been kept acting as assistant station masters but on guards' salaries?

(ii) Is it a fact that in the Transportation Department, Bhusaval Division, Great Indian Peninsula Railway, there are several subordinates who have, for years, been acting as officers but who are drawing the lower salaries of their substantive appointments?

(iii) If the answers to parts (i) and (ii) are in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to state whether the retrenchment and economy effected in the Great Indian Peninsula Railway as reported in the Railway Budget for 1925-26 are due to such measures? If so, will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if this is the kind of retrenchment intended?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (i) and (ii). Government have no information.

(iii) There is no truth in the suggestion that subordinates promoted temporarily to higher grades are not confirmed as part of a deliberate policy of retrenchment and economy.

It is an ordinary practice to fill temporary vacancies caused by officers proceeding on leave, deputation, etc., by promoting subordinates to officiate. As a number of vacancies of this nature almost invariably exist, certain subordinates may act as officers for continuous periods of some length. Subordinates when so officiating receive the same pay as they would have received had they been confirmed on first appointment to officiate.

These temporary promotions in their turn afford opportunities for temporary promotion of subordinates in lower grades.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Besides these officiating appointments in the place of officers, who are on deputation and otherwise absent from their appointments, is it or is it not the policy of the railways to use subordinates for officiating appointments as a measure of retrenchment and economy? If so, may I inquire if there are any such cases?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Not so far as I am aware.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I have credible reasons to state on the floor of this House that there are a number of subordinates so employed as a deliberate policy of economy. May I ask the Honourable Member to make inquiries into what I have said?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: If the Honourable Member will send me details of any individual cases, I will look into them.

CONFIRMATION OF SUBORDINATES OF THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY EMPLOYED TO OFFICIATE AS OFFICERS.

1151. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (i) Is it a fact that with regard to acting officials, Great Indian Peninsula Railway, in the case of many subordinates who are, to-day, employed as officiating officials:

(a) They are denied confirmation as such, though they have been officiating for years?

(b) They have to revert to their substantive appointments and salary should they take privilege leave?

(c) Their gratuities are calculated on their substantive pay and not on their acting appointment at the time of retirement?

(ii) If the answers to (a), (b) and (c) are in the affirmative, do Government propose to remedy this state of affairs?

With regard to this question, Sir, with your permission I desire to inform the Honourable Member that there is a little incorrectness in the words used and I request that I may be allowed to alter it, when it will read as follows:

"Is it a fact that with regard to 'acting officials' on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, in the case of many subordinates who are, to-day, employed as officiating officials," and so on. In this alteration the words "Commercial Department" should read "acting officials."

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I have no objection to the alteration, Sir. I think my answer will cover the variation. The answer is as follows:

(i). (a) There are a number of subordinates officiating in Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

(b) and (c). Leave salaries of the employees of the late Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, taken over by the State and gratuities are based on the substantive pay.

(ii). (a) Confirmation is dependent on the occurrence of permanent vacancies.

(b) and (c). Government do not propose to alter the rules regulating the grant of leave salaries and gratuities on the basis of substantive pay.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will Government be good enough to state whether these acting appointments are part of the policy of economy and retrenchment?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I am not sure what the Honourable Member refers to when he mentions the policy of retrenchments. I cannot add anything to the answer which I gave to his previous question, that these temporary promotions to higher grades are not part of any deliberate policy of retrenchment and economy.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Do Government consider that this is honest retrenchment?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government do not consider that this is retrenchment at all. The position is simply this, that on this particular railway in certain departments the leave reserve for officers is obtained from the subordinate grades, thereby giving subordinates the opportunity of obtaining higher rates of pay when officers go on leave.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I am sorry, but the Honourable Member has not answered my question. The Honourable Member says that these officiating appointments are to fill vacancies created by officers who have gone on leave. I can quite understand this, but I am told that there are a large number of official appointments in which subordinates are employed in officiating capacities for years on lower pay and that the Railways are reaping the benefits so obtained of employing a skilled man on minimum wages.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is making a speech.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Mr. Parsons has already informed Colonel Gidney that if he will bring to notice cases of this kind they will be inquired into.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I am sorry, owing to the noise in the House, I could not hear the Honourable Member when he replied.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I was pointing out that if Colonel Gidney will bring to notice any particular case of that kind, it will be inquired into. I do not know what more we can do.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: My suggestion is that he can do something more.

Mr. President: Will the Honourable Member put a question?

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member enquire whether the facts as stated in my questions regarding Jhansi and Bhusawal are true or not?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Is that a case where a man has got officiating appointments for years as a measure of retrenchment?

PROMOTION OF SUBORDINATES ON COMPANY-MANAGED RAILWAYS.

1152. *Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: (a) Will the Honourable Member be pleased to state whether on Company-managed Railways, for the years 1914—1917, about 50 per cent. of their officials were promoted subordinates and that the Government of India have now decided that this promotion from the subordinate to the official grades will be only at a ratio of 1·5 in every 10 appointments made, irrespective of nationality?

(b) If so, will Government be pleased to state whether this ratio is to-day very far exceeded on all railways and will be so for many years to come and will consequently prevent for many years any further promotion from subordinates to officials in the terms promised by Government? If so, of what benefit is this ratio to railway subordinates? Under the circumstances, will Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to reconsider this ratio or abolish it absolutely?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to consider that in both ratios—25 per cent. Europeans and 75 per cent. Indians, there should be no restriction of ratio for the appointment of worthy subordinates and that they be promoted according to the circumstances and merits of the case irrespective of any fixed ratio and of castes, creed or colour?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Government have no information in respect of the first part of the question. As regards the latter part, the ratio of 1·5 in 10 was fixed, in consultation with the Central Advisory Council for Railways.

(b) In past years the proportion of promotion to subordinates to total recruitment for the State-worked Railways varied in different years. Of late years the proportion has ordinarily been about 15 per cent. In the past, no definite assurance was given to subordinates as to the extent to which such promotions would be granted. Such an assurance has now been given and really capable subordinates can now definitely look forward to promotion to the officer's grade. Government do not propose to reconsider the percentage or to abolish it.

(c) Claims of subordinates, irrespective of nationality for promotion will be considered according to the circumstances and the merits of each case. If a subordinate of non-Asiatic domicile is promoted, he will count against the 25 per cent. recruitment of persons of non-Asiatic domicile and not against the 75 per cent. recruitment of Indians.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will the Honourable Member kindly state whether the present percentage of 15 per cent. for promotion of subordinates to officials compares favourably with what it was before this new order appeared and whether it is of any material advantage to the subordinates?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The present percentage is more or less the percentage which obtained on State Railways during past years. It has been fixed in consultation with the Central Advisory Council and the Government of India have no intention of altering it.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Why not?

POWERS OF DISMISSAL OF DIVISIONAL SUPERINTENDENTS ON RAILWAYS.

1153. *Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: (i) Are Government aware of the fact that it is only since absolute powers of dismissal have been given

to Divisional Superintendents on Railways that most of the present unrest and trouble in the subordinate classes have developed?

(ii) Are Government prepared to consider the advisability of either:

(a) withholding the power of dismissal from Divisional Superintendents, or

(b) subjecting all such dismissals (i) to a full inquiry, (ii) to the confirmation of the Agent, and (iii) to appeal to the Railway Board?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (i) Government have no reason to believe that the facts are as stated by the Honourable Member.

(ii). (a) Government do not think that this is necessary.

(b). (i) The matter is engaging the attention of Government.

(ii) There is an appeal to the Agent.

(iii) Under present rules a dismissed employee of State-worked Railways can appeal to the Railway Board.

LOSS ON THE WORKING OF THE ASSAM BENGAL RAILWAY.

1154. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** I. (a) Is it a fact that the Assam-Bengal Railway Company has been working at a loss ever since its commencement?

(b) What is the capital sunk and what is the total loss incurred by that Railway up to now?

II. Was it not the intention that a commercial line, like the Assam-Bengal Railway, should pay its way within 5 years from its opening? Why was this test not applied to it?

III. (a) Will Government be pleased to state why they are allowing the Assam-Bengal Railway Company to construct some nine new lines in the face of these recurring losses?

(b) Are they satisfied that these new lines will be paying propositions?

(c) If so, do they propose to cover up to any extent the losses on the existing lines?

IV. Has the Assam-Bengal Railway Company fulfilled the condition of its contract that the Company's share of capital shall not be less than 8/11 of the total? If not, why has not the Company been called upon to fulfil it?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I. (a) The answer is in the affirmative.

(b) The capital outlay to the end of 1925-26 is Rs. 19,25,88,373. The total loss in working up to the 31st March 1926 is Rs. 10,23,66,865.

II. The estimate of financial prospects of the line made before the commencement of construction indicated that a return of over 5 per cent. would be obtained on the capital outlay. Apparently owing to the absence of reliable statistics at the time, this has not been realised.

III. (a) It is expected that the new lines will develop the resources of the country, improve communications, and prove financially remunerative.

(b) Yes.

(c) To the extent that they are remunerative they will of course cover losses on other parts of the line.

IV. Under the contract with the Company no fixed proportion of capital is required to be raised by them.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Who is responsible for the loss caused by the suggestion made before the construction took place?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I do not remember who framed the original estimates.

LOSS ON THE WORKING OF STRATEGIC RAILWAYS.

1155. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** (a) Have not the strategic railways been working at a huge loss every year?

(b) If so, have the Government ever considered the possibility of cutting down the expenditure on those lines to their earnings by reducing the staff and the number of trains run?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The strategic lines have been and are being worked at a loss. They exist for strategic reasons and cannot be expected to pay on a commercial basis.

(b) The question of improvements in working leading to economy in the case of all lines including strategic lines, has always the attention of the Government.

THE GUNTUR-GURZALA-MACHERLA RAILWAY.

1156. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** Will Government be pleased to state when the construction of the Guntur-Gurzala-Macherla line will be actually taken in hand?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The construction of the line was sanctioned in January last. Work is expected to be put in hand shortly.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE CUMBUM-KALAHASTI AND OOLLAPALEM-SINGARAYAKONDA KANIGIRI RAILWAYS.

1157. ***Mr. B. P. Naidu:** Will Government be pleased to state what conclusions they have come to with regard to the construction of the Cumbum-Kalahasti and Oollapalem-Singarayakonda Kanigiri lines, whose survey appears to have been finished?

Cumbum-Kalahasti Railway.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have not yet come to a final conclusion, but the investigations recently made into the project show that it is not a remunerative proposition.

Oollapalem-Singarayakonda Kanigiri Railway.

A detailed survey of this project was made in 1916, and it is proposed to re-examine it

ABOLITION OF THE POSTS OF SUPERIOR OFFICERS IN EACH OF THE DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1158. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of posts of superior officers recommended to be abolished by the Retrenchment Committee in each of the departments of the Government of India and how many have been abolished as recommended?

(b) Will they be pleased to state the names of the officers occupying those posts so retrenched?

(c) Will they be pleased to state the posts which have since been revived with the names of the departments where revived?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Information in the form asked for is not available, but I would invite attention to the main facts as given on pages 60—67 of the statement showing the action taken on the recommendations of the Retrenchment Committee which was recently circulated.

SLEEPING ACCOMMODATION FOR THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS ON THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

1159. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that some sample third class coaches providing sleeping accommodation for third class passengers were put on the Great Indian Peninsula Railway last year as an experimental measure?

(b) If so, were those coaches found suitable for traffic, and if so, have the number of such coaches been increased and put on other lines too? If not, why not?

(c) If they were unsuitable, have the Government made any other kind of coaches for providing sleeping accommodation for third class passengers? If not, why not?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). The information is being obtained from the Agent, Great Indian Peninsula Railway, and will be communicated to the Honourable Member.

(c) The matter will be considered on receipt of the report from the Agent, Great Indian Peninsula Railway.

ELECTRIC FANS IN THIRD CLASS RAILWAY CARRIAGES.

1160. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Are Government aware that during the hot season third class passengers are put to great hardships and discomforts owing to the absence of any cooling arrangements such as the supply of electric fans in the carriages?

(b) If so, do Government propose to supply electric fans to the third class coaches for the comforts of the third class passengers during the few months of the hot weather?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). The reply is in the negative.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Do I understand the Honourable Member to say that third class passengers do not suffer any inconvenience in the hot season?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No, Sir, the question says "great" hardship.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Do I understand the Honourable Member to mean that they do suffer some hardship?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: It is a matter of opinion, Sir.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Does the Honourable Member wish to state that there is no hardship caused to third class passengers in the hot season?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I do not wish to express an opinion, Sir.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Considering that it is the general opinion of Honourable Members on this side of the House that great hardship is caused to third class passengers in the hot season, will he take action to relieve their hardship?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask, Sir, whether the Government of India will place before the Standing Finance Committee for Railways an estimate of the expenditure required for supplying electric fans in third class compartments?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: My Honourable friend is anticipating the next question.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member whether he himself has ever travelled in a compartment without a fan in the hot season?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I should imagine that I have, Sir, but I really cannot remember.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Has the Honourable Member experienced any hardship while travelling without a fan in the hot season?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No great hardship.

Mr. J. M. Dunnett: Is my Honourable friend opposite aware that "safar aur saqar men ek nukta ka farak hai"?

Mr. Chaman Lall: I may inform the Honourable Member that as I am not sitting on the Treasury Benches I am not in a position to answer his question. (Laughter.)

PROVISION OF ELECTRIC FANS IN THIRD CLASS CARRIAGES ON STATE RAILWAYS.

1161. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the cost of a fan of the type generally fitted in a first or second class carriage?

(b) What is the cost of supply of current to each of the fans per hour of working the fan?

(c) What will be the total cost of supplying at least one in each third class compartment in all the State Railways?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) The figure is approximately Rs. 95 per fan.

(b) Since it is not possible to determine with any degree of accuracy what portion of the cost of running the locomotive, which drives the dynamo which charges the batteries which provides the current for working the fans, should be allocated to this work, the information which the Honourable Member seeks cannot be obtained.

(c) Similarly no reliable figure can be given of the cost of supplying one fan in each third class compartment on all the State Railways, for, in addition to the cost of the fans, either more or larger dynamos, larger batteries, and a good deal of wiring would be necessary. A rough estimate prepared on the East Indian Railway shows that the cost on that Railway alone would be Rs. 25 lakhs.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Considering the great profit which the Government of India make out of the third class passengers will they not be pleased to spend 25 lakhs of rupees for their benefit?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: My own opinion, Sir, is that when we are in a financial position to give further benefits to third class passengers, there are probably other directions than the provision of fans in third class compartments in which the money could better be spent.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether the Government of India will be pleased to discuss this question with the Standing Finance Committee for Railways?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Not until we have some definite proposal to put before them.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know what is the percentage this estimate for 25 lakhs of rupees bears to the total gross earnings derived from third class passengers on the East Indian Railway?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Sir, I am not good at mental arithmetic.

Mr. K. Ahmed: In view of the fact that the Government is not agreeable to spend 25 lakhs of rupees for electric fans, and in view of the fact that the comforts of third class passengers are not properly looked after, do Government propose to supply them with hand fans? (Laughter.)

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: Am I to understand that it is only for the present that funds cannot be provided for passengers in third class compartments, or that they will not be provided at all?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I am not prepared to commit myself to a statement that Government will never do so, and on the other hand I am not prepared to name any date within which they are likely to take up the question.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask whether it is not the intention of the Government of India to make third class passengers suffer in order to make them very loyal to them?

INCLUSION OF THE COST OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF RAISED PLATFORMS UNDER THE HEAD AMENITIES FOR THIRD CLASS PASSENGERS.

1162. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government be pleased to state the reasons for including the whole cost of the proposed construction of the raised platforms during the next financial year, under the head of amenities of third class passengers and not under the head of amenities of passengers in general?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The platforms referred to are at wayside stations where the bulk of the passenger traffic is lower class traffic.

NAMES OF THE RAILWAY STATIONS WHERE RAISED PLATFORMS WILL BE CONSTRUCTED.

1163. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** Will Government be pleased to place a statement showing the names of all the railway stations where raised platforms will be constructed during the next financial year?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The detailed programme for the provision of raised platforms during the next financial year has not yet been settled.

CARETAKERS FOR THE SECRETARIAT BUILDINGS AND THE COUNCIL HOUSE IN NEW DELHI.

1164. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Is it a fact that there are two caretakers for the Secretariat Buildings and the Council Buildings in New Delhi severally?

(b) If so will Government be pleased to state the name and the pay of these two officers?

(c) Is it a fact that each of them has been provided with free quarters?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state the qualifications of these two officers?

(e) Are they qualified engineers, overseers or sub-overseers from any recognised engineering school or college? If not, what are their special qualifications?

(f) Will Government be pleased to state the reasons why these two caretakers have been provided with free quarters when all other classes of Government servants in New Delhi are to pay rents?

(g) Why have they been allowed to occupy a portion of the office buildings? Do Government propose to shift them to quarters of their class? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes, but the caretaker of the Chamber discharges also the duties of "Superintendent of Quarters."

(b) Messrs. Palmer and Bradley, on Rs. 310 and Rs. 345 per mensem, respectively.

(c) Yes.

(d) The former has been in charge of Government buildings and furniture in both Old and New Delhi since 1924, and the latter in charge of the furniture of all the residential buildings in New Delhi since 1920.

(e) No. It is not essential that caretakers should have engineering qualifications.

(f) and (g). Because they are required to live on the premises and Government consider this essential for the proper discharge of their duties.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan: May I inquire what are the exact duties of the caretaker, Sir?

(Honourable Members: "To take care.")

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy: Are these caretakers Indians, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have given their names, Sir

Mr. Chaman Lall: Do I understand, Sir, since the Honourable Member has not answered the question, that these caretakers have no duties at all?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I was willing to answer the question, but my Honourable friend, Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, desired to occupy the attention of the House, and I could not possibly answer his question until he sat down. Well, the duties of caretakers are to look after the buildings except in regard to maintenance.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh: May I know their pay and qualifications, Sir?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have given their pay already. There is another question later on on the same subject, and I would ask the Honourable Member to be patient.

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy: Arising from the Honourable Member's answer to my supplementary question, may I ask whether it is always possible to ascertain the nationality from a man's name?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The information about the nationality of all these caretakers will be given presently in reply to another question.

Mr. T. C. Goswami: Is the Honourable Member's definition of "caretaker" taken from a good dictionary? (Laughter.)

NUMBER OF CARETAKERS IN CHARGE OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
AND COUNCIL BUILDINGS IN SIMLA AND DELHI.

1165. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the number of posts there are of caretakers for the Government of India office buildings and Council Buildings in Simla and Delhi?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state how many of such caretakers are Indians?

(c) Will they be pleased to state the names of all the caretakers with the names of the office buildings under the charge of each of them and the qualifications and the pay drawn by each?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Four in Simla and four in Delhi. In addition a part-time caretaker is appointed for the charge of the Council Chamber and the orthodox Members' quarters in Simla during the session period.

(b) Four including two statutory natives of India.

(c) A statement giving the information required is being sent to the Honourable Member.

ARTICLE IN THE *HINDUSTAN TIMES*, DATED THE 7TH FEBRUARY, 1927,
ENTITLED "LIFE IN RAISINA."

1166. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been invited to the editorial note under the caption "Life in Raisina" on page 8 of the *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, dated the 17th February 1927?

(b) Is there any truth in the statements made therein regarding the defective facilities for the protection of life and property, want of facilities for the education of children, high rents and want of tram or any other cheap communication between New Delhi and Delhi city?

(c) If so, do the Government propose to remove these grievances of the staff of the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes.

(b) Most of the statements made are incorrect or exaggerated. The police force in the area has recently been increased. The Municipality provides the school considered necessary by the educational authorities. Rents are not paid for the whole twelve months, but for the period of occupation at 1/12 of the annual rental per month and the occupants are further protected as they cannot be charged more than 10 per cent. of their pay. As regards means of communication between Old and New Delhi Government are prepared to consider favourably any proposition put before them, but hitherto no company has come forward with proposals.

(c) In view of the answer to (b), the question does not arise.

Mr. B. Das: May I inquire if the Honourable Member is right in saying that the statement in that particular Indian paper was incorrect?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have said so, Sir, already.

Mr. B. Das: Will the Honourable Member deny those charges?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Is it a fact that even after the Standing Finance Committee sanctioned the entertainment of an additional police force, theft cases continue to occur in New Delhi?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: If the Honourable Member will wait a minute, I will tell him all about the police.

THEFTS IN NEW DELHI.

1167. ***Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the news published in the *Hindustan Times*, Delhi, dated the 21st January 1927, and other subsequent dates regarding thefts in New Delhi?

(b) How many cases of thefts or attempted burglaries have been reported to the New Delhi police since the 15th of December 1926 and in how many cases was the police successful in finding out the culprits?

(c) Are the Government aware that most of the cases are not reported to the police as it causes unnecessary trouble and additional waste of time and money without any result?

(d) Has there been any decrease in the number of thefts after the 15th January? Are Government aware that the decrease is not due to the police arrangements but on account of the *chaukidars* employed by the residents themselves?

(e) When do the Government propose to make adequate police arrangements?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) Yes.

(b) 41 true cases of theft and burglary have been registered in New Delhi Police Station since the 15th December 1926. Of these, 2 cases ended in conviction, 6 are pending trial in the courts, 11 are under investigation and 22 have been filed as untraced.

(c) No.

(d) There has been a decrease, but its cause has not been established.

(e) Government have recently sanctioned an increase of police in Delhi which will enable additional protection to be arranged as soon as the training of the new staff has been completed.

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy: Are Government aware that residents in certain parts of Delhi are forced to employ private *chaukidars* at their own expense to protect themselves?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I know many people employ *chaukidars*; I employ one myself.

Mr. M. Ruthnaswamy: Does the Honourable Member take that as a compliment to the police?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I take it as a protection to myself.

Mr. H. G. Cocke: Will the Honourable Member kindly inform the House of the period of training that a man undergoes in India to become an expert policeman?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: That depends on the intelligence of the recruit, Sir. (Laughter.)

TRAINING IN WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

1168. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the exact nature of the facilities now provided by them for training in wireless telegraphy?

(b) Will they further state what action they propose to take with regard to the provision of a sea experience of six months which is necessary before an operator could be engaged on board a ship?

(c) Are they prepared in this connection to consider the advisability of approaching the shipping companies who obtain mail subsidies from the Government of India regarding the provision of the necessary sea experience for the wireless operators seeking employment on board a ship?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Apart from training of staff required for Government purposes Government has agreed to provide training for ship operators in the Government School at Calcutta. Up to 20 students will be trained in the first class and the training will be such as to enable suitable students to qualify for the Director-General's Certificate of Competency 1st Class. A fee will be charged which will not exceed the actual cost to Government. The exact amount is now under consideration.

(b) and (c). The points raised by the Honourable Member will receive due consideration.

EXPENDITURE ON THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON AGRICULTURE.

1169. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the total estimated cost of the Royal Commission on Agriculture?

(b) How much of this amount is votable and how much non-votable?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state if the members of the Royal Commission are paid on a uniform basis, if not, will they please state the various amounts paid to each of the members?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state the cost of the proposed visit to Europe by the Royal Commission on Agriculture?

(e) What is the number of non-Indians on the staff of the Royal Agriculture Commission and what are the salaries and allowances paid to each of them?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Rs. 12,91,776.

(b) Rs. 5,67,131 (voted) and Rs. 7,24,645 (non-voted).

(c) A statement is laid on the table giving the required information.

(d) The cost is estimated at £20,990 which includes the pay and allowances of the Members and the Staff, cost of passages and contingencies.

(e) Six. A statement giving their salaries and allowances is placed on the table.

Statement showing the remuneration of the Members of the Royal Commission on Agriculture.

Name of Members.	Pay.		Personal allowance.		Subsistence allowance.		Travelling allowance.	
	In India.	In England.	In India.	In England.	In India.	In England.	In India.	In England.
Lord Lialithgew (Chairman).	Nil.	Nil.	Rs. 1,500 per month.	None. (On voyage £100 p.m.)	Rs. 15 per diem continuously.	£1-5-0 per diem subject to India Office travelling rules.	Travelling expenses admissible to an officer of the 1st Class under G. S. Regulations.	First fares.
Sir James Mackenna (official from India).	Rs. 3,500 per month.	23-rds of pay = Rs. 2,385. 6-4 per month.	None	None	Do.	Ditto	Do.	Do.
Mr. H. Calvert (official from India).	Rs. 3,000 per month. Overseas pay £3-6-8 per month.	23-rds of pay = Rs. 2,000 p.m.	None	None	Do.	Ditto or alternately 16s. 8d. per day throughout.	Do.	Do.
Sir Henry Lawrence (Non-official from United Kingdom).	None	None	Rs. 1,500 p.m.	£2-00 per month during voyage.	Do.	£1-5-0 per day subject to India Office travelling rules.	Do.	Do.
Sir Thomas Middleton (Non-official from the United Kingdom).	None	None	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Do.	Do.
Sir Ganga Ram (Non-official from India).	None	None	Do.	£100 per month (also during voyage).	Do.	£1-5-0 per day continuously while with Commission.	Do.	Do.
Raja of Parla-Kimedi (Non-official from India).	None	None	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Do.	Do.
Prof. N. N. Gangulee (Non-official from India).	None	None	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Do.	Do.
Prof. L. K. Hyder (Non-official from India).	None	None	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Do.	Do.
Mr. B. S. Karnat (Non-official from India).	None	None	Do.	Do.	Do.	Ditto	Do.	Do.

Statement showing the salaries and allowances of Non-Indian Members of the staff of the Agricultural Commission.

Designation.	Pay.	Personal allowance.	Subsistence allowance.	Travelling allowance.
Attached Officer.	Rs. 3,750 per month in India and 1/3rds of that sum in the United Kingdom.	Nil	Rs. 15 per diem continuously in India and in England £1-5-0 per diem subject to I. O. travelling rules.	In the United Kingdom and on voyage 1st class fares and in India travelling expenses permissible to an Officer of the 1st class under Civil Service Regulations.
Joint Secretary from England.	£1,000 per annum .	Rs. 1,000 per month in India and £300 a year in the United Kingdom and in India and £63-12-4 on voyage. An outfit allowance of £50.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
Assistant Secretary.	Rs. 750 per month in India and 1/3rds of that sum in the United Kingdom plus £25 per month overseas pay.	Rs. 180 per month in India and in the United Kingdom.	Ditto . .	Ditto.
2 Personal Secretaries to the Chairman.	£21 a week for each throughout the period of their employment.	Nil	Rs. 6/0 per month each in India and 50s. per day each for overland journeys in Europe and 7/6d. each per diem during Voyage. Outfit allowance of £50 each	Actual travelling expenses at 1st class rates in India when no special trains are provided, with gharry and portage.
1 Reporter .	Rs. 450 per month .	Nil	Usual daily allowances permissible under the Supplementary Rules.	Travelling allowance under Supplementary Rules.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Are these paid, Sir, as allowances or as emoluments?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The information, Sir, is given fully in the statement which I am laying on the table, but if the Honourable Member wants information as to daily allowance, it is Rs. 15.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Is it Rs. 50 or Rs. 10 plus Rs. 5, Sir?

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know whether the non-Indians referred to in clause (e) of the question include the appointment of a new non-Indian officer in addition to the two Secretaries to serve on the Commission?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Yes, Sir.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know, Sir, why that new officer has been appointed?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: In order to assist the Chairman in carrying out his duties.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Is it then understood that the two Secretaries have been found incompetent to assist the Chairman to carry on his duties?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Not to my knowledge.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I inquire why this assistance is now required?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: That is a question, Sir, to which I am not able in a few words to give a complete reply, but shortly, in the view of the Chairman, it is absolutely essential for him to have further assistance to enable the Commission to digest the enormous mass of material which has been collected and to examine the financial problems which have to be faced.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I take it, Sir, that the Chairman of the Royal Commission reported that over and beyond the work that was done by the two Secretaries, he was in need of a third Secretary?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: He reported, Sir, that he was in need of a third officer to enable him more easily to tackle both the ordinary work and the very large financial questions which had to be considered before the Commission could come to considered conclusions.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Did he say, Sir, that the Secretaries were incompetent to deal with these large issues?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: He said that they were overworked and that he desired another officer with large experience to enable him to deal satisfactorily with these questions.

Mr. B. Das: May I inquire whether the Honourable Member thinks that in the case of a member of the Royal Commission who is, I understand, going to attend the International Economic Conference at Geneva as a delegate, there will be no interruption of his duties in connection with the Royal Commission meetings in London?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: No, Sir, I do not think there will be any material interruption of those duties. It will be a short visit which he will be able to fit in with the course of his ordinary duties on the Commission.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Sir, with regard to the answer regarding the allowance of Rs. 15 per day, Government do not disclose the fact as to how much the members get per mensem or for days together, by way of remuneration.

Mr. J. W. Bhore: If the Honourable Member will wait, he will see that all the information he desires is contained in the statements which I am placing on the table.

Mr. B. Das: Is it considered economical, Sir, to allow the same officer of the Royal Commission also to attend the International Economic Conference?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Undoubtedly, Sir.

Mr. Ohaman Lall: Is it not a fact, Sir, that the same Member is going to try the novel experiment of growing cabbages on the waters of the lake of Geneva? (Laughter.)

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The Honourable Member can refer to the Member himself.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I ask what is the experience of financial matters of the new gentleman appointed to the Royal Commission?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: He is an officer, Sir, of very wide experience who has had to deal with and has been brought into close contact with large financial questions in the course of a very varied experience.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: May I know what that varied experience is?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: I am afraid I cannot give that information in the course of a brief reply to a question. The Honourable Member may refer to the history of services from which he will see that the officer in question is exceptionally fitted for this work.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: Does the Indian Civil Service mean financial experience?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: Is there any justification for more than half of the total expenditure on this Commission being regarded as non-voted?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The classification follows the usual rules in regard to voted and non-voted expenditure and I am not in a position to alter that.

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: May I further enquire, Sir, whether, in view of the fact that Dr. Hyder, one of the gentlemen appointed to the Economic Conference at Geneva, will be detained in Geneva for approximately a fortnight or more, there is no work for the Agricultural Commission in Europe during those weeks?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Not at all, Sir. It is not uncommon for a Member of a Commission to fit in two sets of duties without detriment to either and we consider in this case that it is in the interests of economy that this should be done.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: With reference to the appointment of the new officer, does the Honourable Member wish this House to understand that that appointment was made at the express desire of the Chairman of the Commission?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Yes, Sir.

NEW BUILDING FOR THE OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA IN LONDON.

1170. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will the Government of India be pleased to state whether they own the building in Charles Street, Whitehall, London, wherein the India Office is located? If so, do they receive any hire for the building from the British Treasury?

(b) Have the Government of India considered the desirability of inviting the High Commissioner to occupy this building instead of erecting a new one for his occupation?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state the total estimated cost of the new building proposed to be erected for the office of the High Commissioner in London?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes. No rent is recovered from the British Treasury.

(b) No. Sir.

(c) £300,000 approximately.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Have the Government ever considered the advisability of asking the High Commissioner to occupy the building of the India Office in Whitehall?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I dare say that idea has crossed our minds, but we did not think it worth while to pursue it.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Is it not a fact that the Government have at present a proposal in mind to build a separate building for the High Commissioner's office in London?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Yes, Sir.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: And in that connection, Sir, may I know why the Government did not consider whether it was advisable to ask the High Commissioner to occupy the India Office in Whitehall?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Because we did not think it either useful or desirable to take up the consideration of the question.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Would it not have been economical to do so? Would it not have saved a lot of money if the High Commissioner were to occupy the India Office?

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Have the Government . . .

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member to answer my question?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: He can draw his own conclusion from my answer to part (c) of the question.

Mr. Chaman Lall: I take it that it would be economical if the High Commissioner were to occupy rooms in the India Office. In view of the fact that the Government of India are always pressed very hard for money would it not have been an advisable course to adopt to ask the High Commissioner to go to the India Office instead of building a new building for him?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No, Sir.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know, Sir, whether the question of locating the High Commissioner's office in Whitehall was ever considered by the Government of India?

Mr. T. C. Goswami: Ever seriously considered?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I have already answered that question in reply to Mr. Chetty.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know whether it was merely a question of the thing crossing the mind of the Government or whether it was seriously considered?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: In the first place, we considered it entirely unsuitable to put the High Commissioner, particularly the Trade Commissioner, in the India Office, and in the second place we did not think it would be of the slightest use considering this suggestion.

Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty: Was this conclusion arrived at as a result of any examination by the Government of India as to the suitability of the India Office for the High Commissioner or is it only the opinion of the Honourable Member?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I have already told the House that when the Commerce Member speaks in this House, he speaks for the Government of India.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: What we do want to know, Sir, is whether the question of locating the High Commissioner's office in Whitehall, London, was taken up by the Government of India and decided against?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member may take it that it was decided against.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: And the reasons therefor?

Mr. K. Ahmed: In view of the nature of the work done in the High Commissioner's office and in view of the nature of the work which is carried on in the India Office, Whitehall, at present, is it not improper, Sir, for Honourable Members to put again and again the question, which does not arise?

Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji: In view of the general opinion expressed on the floor of the House, will the Government of India kindly reconsider their decision with regard to the advisability of having the present India Office building utilised by the High Commissioner?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Certainly not, Sir.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I ask whether this question was ever referred to the Secretary of State or to His Majesty's Government?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I must ask for notice of this question, Sir.

MEDICAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE.

1171. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Are the Government considering the appointment of a Committee on the establishment of a Medical Research Institute?

(b) If so, will they please state the number of Indians, official and non-official, they propose to nominate on the Committee?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Yes.

(b) The personnel of the Committee is under consideration.

ACTION TAKEN ON THE REPORT OF THE INDIAN DECK PASSENGER COMMITTEE.

1172. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the year in which they appointed the Indian Deck Passenger Committee and the date on which the Committee submitted their Report?

(b) Have the Government published any Resolution on the Report?

(c) Have the Government taken any action on the Report? If not, when do they propose to take such action?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The Deck Passenger Committee was appointed in February 1921 and submitted their Report to Government in April of the same year.

(b) and (c). Draft amendments to the rules dealing with the more important recommendations were published in June and July 1925, and the opinions received thereon are now under consideration of Government.

RUNNING OF THE WESTERN HOSTEL, NEW DELHI, AS A HOTEL.

1173. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state whether they have received any replies to their recent advertisements in the public Press asking for tenders to run the Western Hostel in connection with the construction of a new hotel in its vicinity?

(b) If any replies have been received, will the Government please state their nature?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) No tenders have been received in response to the advertisement.

(b) Does not arise.

LOSS INCURRED ON THE WESTERN HOSTEL, NEW DELHI.

1174. ***Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand Haji:** (a) Will the Government please state if any offers have been received to build a new hotel in New Delhi?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state how many officials drawing salaries of Rs. 2,000 and over have been residing in the Western Hostel during the current cold weather?

(c) Is it a fact that the rate at which the present contractor provides food in the Hostel is Rs. 5-8 a day?

(d) What loss does the Government expect to incur on the Western Hostel this year?

(e) Will the Government please give details of the tenders which it recently received for some sixty sites advertised for sale in New Delhi and how many of the offers made are likely to be accepted?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) No.

(b) Twelve; six of them were for short periods only.

(c) Rs. 5 to Rs. 5/8 a day in the case of resident adults and 0-8-0 to Rs. 4/ a day in the case of children.

(d) Rs. 9,000, approximately.

(e) None of the tenders are being accepted and the sites are being auctioned at the end of this month with a reserve of Rs. 5,000 per site. With two exceptions none of the tenders amounted to this sum.

ESTABLISHMENT ROLLS OF THE STAFF OF THE DIFFERENT DEPARTMENTS
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1175. ***Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta:** (a) Is it a fact that the different Departments of the Government of India Secretariats print annually an Establishment Roll of their staff?

(b) If so, do Government propose to place a copy each of the Establishment Rolls of the different Departments of the Government of India on the table of this House?

(c) Is there anything confidential or secret in such Establishment Rolls? If so, what are they?

(d) If the answer to the above be in the negative, will the Government be pleased to state the reasons for not placing such copies on the table of this House?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey to Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan's question (No. 603), on the 8th March 1924.

APPOINTMENT OF AN ASSISTANT COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS AT TUTICORIN.

1176. ***Sir Walter Willson:** (a) Will Government please state what the revenue derived from the Port of Chittagong was when an Assistant Collector was first appointed at Chittagong?

(b) Are Government prepared to consider the appointment of a Customs Officer of the rank of Assistant Collector at Tuticorin?

(c) Is it the second port of the Madras Presidency and did the value of its trade exceed Rs. 12 crores in 1924-25?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The post of Customs Collector at Chittagong has been included in the cadre of the Imperial Customs Service from its inception in 1906, but the provincial officer who at that time held the position, and who was of the status of an Assistant Collector, held the post until 1915, when on his death he was succeeded by an officer of the Imperial Customs Service. The revenue of the port in 1905-06 was about 10½ lakhs and in 1914-15 about 17½ lakhs.

(b) The Government of India do not consider that the amount and responsibility of the Customs work at Tuticorin justify the posting of an officer of the Imperial Customs Service to that Port. We have only 35 officers in the Service and Tuticorin contributes less than $\frac{1}{80}$ th part of our Customs revenue.

(c) Yes.

PROPOSED SCHEME OF ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE SECOND PREFERENCE
SHAREHOLDERS OF THE TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY.

1177. ***Sir Walter Willson:** Will Government please state:

(1) whether they were consulted by the Tata Iron and Steel Company regarding their proposed scheme of arrangements with their Second Preference Shareholders and others?

(2) whether the scheme adopted had the approval of Government, specific or implied?

- (3) whether the Government at any time expressed approval of that portion of the scheme whereby the rights of the 7½ per cent. Cumulative Second Preference Shareholders (especially with regard to arrears of cumulative preference dividends) were transferred to a position behind the rights to dividend of the ordinary shareholders?
- (4) whether the agreement reached in regard thereto is contrary to the specific terms upon which the Second Preference Shareholders were invited to and did subscribe for their shares?
- (5) what were the stipulations, if any, with regard to readjustment of shareholders' rights under which Government agreed to advance a loan of 50 lakhs?
- (6) Will Government either lay on the table the correspondence with the Tata Iron and Steel Company, with reference thereto, or make a general statement?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (1) The Tata Iron and Steel Company explained the scheme in a letter addressed to the Government of India.

(2) and (3). No. The Government of India replied merely that they noted the contents of the letter. They made no comments of any kind on the scheme. Subsequently however the Steel Company informed the Government of India that the shareholders who opposed the scheme had stated in an affidavit to the Court that Government did not desire the scheme and would not be satisfied with it. The Directors were accordingly authorised to say that the Government were satisfied that the scheme was a serious attempt on the part of the Company to respond to the message sent from Government in the Assembly.

(4) The Government do not know.

(5) None.

(6) The Government are not prepared to lay the correspondence on the table.

OPENING OF SUGAR INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS, ETC.

1178. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (1) Have Government made any arrangement for the opening of the sugar industrial schools as recommended by the Indian Sugar Committee? If the answer be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state the place or places where such schools have been started? If the answer be in the negative, will the Government be pleased to state why this valuable recommendation of the Committee has not been given a practical shape?

(2) Have the Government instituted any Sugar Board as recommended by the Sugar Committee? If the answer be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state the constitution and function of such a Board? If no such Board has been constituted will the Government be pleased to state the reasons as to why this recommendation has not been given effect to?

(3) Will the Government be pleased to state the steps taken on the recommendation of the Indian Sugar Committee's Report?

(4) Have the Government created some scholarships for the study of the sugar industry in foreign countries?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (1) and (2). The Indian Sugar Committee recommended *inter alia* the establishment of (a) a Sugar Research Institute with research sub-stations in the provinces; (b) a Sugar Board; (c) a Sugar School and (d) a Government Pioneer Factory in Upper India. The Capital cost of (a), (b) and (c) was estimated at Rs. 35½ lakhs and the recurring charges at Rs. 12 lakhs per annum. The capital cost of (d) was estimated at Rs. 56 lakhs. Government have not been in a position to undertake this heavy expenditure, but at the same time they have taken such action as they could on the Committee's Report. For example, the Cane-breeding Station at Coimbatore has been brought under Imperial control, on a permanent basis, with effect from the 1st April 1925. A sum of Rs. 1,03,600 was provided during the year 1925-26, Rs. 1,00,000 during 1926-27 and Rs. 1,20,500 during 1927-28 for the expansion of this station.

(3) A statement of the action taken on the recommendations of the Committee will be supplied to the Honourable Member.

(4) No.

SCHOLARSHIPS FOR THE STUDY OF CERTAIN SUBJECTS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

1179. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (1) Have Government created any scholarships for the study of the following subjects in foreign countries:

- (a) Co-operative Banks.
- (b) Agriculture.
- (c) Cattle Breeding and animal husbandry.
- (d) Fruit culture.
- (e) Railway Engineering.

(2) Is there any such scheme under contemplation?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: 1 and 2. The reply is in the negative.

NUMBER OF MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS EMPLOYED IN THE POLICE FORCE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE AND DELHI.

1180. ***Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of Muslims and non-Muslims employed in the police force in the North-West Frontier and Delhi Provinces as (a) Constables, (b) Sub-Inspector of Police, (c) Inspector of Police, (d) Deputy Superintendent of Police, (e) Superintendent of Police?

(b) What steps do Government propose to take to increase the proportion of non-Muslims?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state their policy as regards the representation in services of the different communities? Do the Government sacrifice efficiency over communal representation in the services or is communal representation the only guide in making appointments?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) and (b). The information asked for is being collected and will be supplied to the Honourable Member.

(c) I would refer the Honourable Member to my speech of the 2nd March 1925 in the Council of State, and to the reply that I gave in the Assembly to a question of Maulvi Muhammad Yakub on the 24th of the same month.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Do Government propose to consider the advisability of fixing the proportion of representation of the various communities in Government services with due regard to educational qualifications, to settle this vexed question once for all and get rid of answering these ever increasing questions, at least in the minor provinces directly under them if nowhere else?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I should be very glad, Sir, if any method I knew of would prevent these questions, which I agree with the Honourable Member lead to most unfortunate recriminations in this House.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Do Government propose to fix the numbers of the two communities in the police in equal numbers throughout India so that there may be no fear of bias in the performance of their duties?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I think, Sir, that might be rather difficult. The police are recruited in local areas, and if the different communities in those areas do not propagate in equal numbers, it is difficult to appoint the police in equal numbers.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will that not solve the difficulty to a great extent, if the police are half and half in Bengal at least?

Mr. President: But, what is the answer to the difficulty raised by the Honourable the Home Member?

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Considering that in many cases the answer is that the answer will be supplied to the Honourable Member, will the Honourable Member consider the advisability of laying it on the table in every case for the benefit of the House?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, Sir. I always lay a statement which I regard of any importance. If the Honourable Member will look at this question, he will see the details that are asked for, and I really cannot agree to Government incurring printing charges for long statements as to the number of Mussalman and Hindu constables in different places in India.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will Government consider the question of the numbers of Mussalmans in the Education Department, to which my friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub has so often referred, with respect to the Delhi Province and in other departments of Government too besides the police?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I am afraid I did not follow the Honourable Member.

Nawab Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qaiyum: Will Government consider, along with this question of police raised by Mr. Mukhtar Singh, the advisability of going into the whole question of communal representation in services in respect of the other departments of the Government besides the police, such as Education, Accounts, and various other departments, where certain communities are very badly represented?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: If the Honourable Member is asking as regards the other departments in the provinces I suggest he should put down a question because I am not in a position to answer that.

PROCEDURE TO BE FOLLOWED BEFORE THE DISMISSAL OF ITS EMPLOYEES
BY THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY:

1181. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Will the Honourable Member please state if it is a fact that the Agent, Bengal Nagpur Railway, has agreed not to dismiss any railway employee without charges being framed against him and a proper inquiry being held on them?

(b) If the answer is in the affirmative will the Honourable Member be pleased to state if he is prepared to issue similar instructions to Agents of all State Railways, and advise all other Company-managed Railways to follow the Bengal Nagpur Railway? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: There is of course a distinction between dismissal and discharge. The Government of India agree that before the penalty of dismissal is enforced, the procedure indicated by the Honourable Member should be followed. They have no reason to suppose that the procedure is not already being followed on Company Railways other than the Bengal Nagpur Railway, but they will draw the attention of Company Railway Administrations to the subject.

DISCHARGE OF MATRONS OF MILITARY FAMILY HOSPITALS.

1182. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Will Government be good enough to state if it is a fact that the services of Matrons of over ten years' service employed at Military Family Hospitals are to be dispensed with and a younger staff employed?

(b) Is it a fact that two such Matrons, Mrs. Arnold of Secunderabad and Mrs. Knight of Purandah, have already received notices of their congé? If so, why?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The answer is in the negative.

(b) No, Sir. The Government of India are informed that Mrs. Arnold has resigned on account of private affairs; and that no orders have issued or are contemplated for the termination of the services of Mrs. Knight.

STANDARDISATION OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES.

1183. ***Kumar Ganganand Sinha:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what action has been taken on the Resolution of Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha regarding the standardisation of weights and measures discussed in the Council of State?

(b) How far have the Provincial Governments contributed towards the fulfilment of the object?

(c) If no action has been taken by the Local Government, why?

(d) How do the Government propose to accelerate the fulfilment of the object?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to the Resolution of the Government of India, No. 9, dated the 3rd January, 1922, published in the Supplement to the Gazette of India, dated the 7th January 1922, which shows the action taken by them on Dr. Ganganath Jha's Resolution.

(b), (c) and (d). Enquiries will be made and the Honourable Member will be informed of the result in due course.

PREVENTION OF THE SALE OF TEA BELOW A PRESCRIBED STANDARD OF QUALITY.

1184. ***Sir Darcy Lindsay:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state which of the Provincial Governments have adopted Food Regulation Acts and have brought the same into operation?

(b) Have any of the Provincial Governments other than Bengal made special provision under the Act to prevent the sale of low quality and worthless teas below a prescribed standard of quality?

(c) Are Government aware that there is a considerable import of black teas, chiefly from Java and Ceylon, and that the tea industry apprehend that much of this foreign tea is of a very inferior quality and not genuine tea fit for human consumption?

(d) Are Government prepared to consider the desirability of prescribing a standard quality of teas below which imports will not be allowed by the Customs authorities, and thereby afford the same protection to the people of India against adulteration as is enjoyed by other countries?

(e) Are Government aware that in the United Kingdom, United States, Canada and Australia Custom regulations prescribe a standard with which imported teas for human consumption must comply?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Practically all the major provinces have Food Adulteration Acts.

(b) The Government of India have no information on the subject.

(c) Yes.

(d) The suggestion was considered in 1924-25 in consultation with Local Governments, the majority of whom were not in favour of it.

(e) It is possible that regulations of the kind referred to by the Honourable Member exist, but definite information is not readily available.

SALE OF SURPLUS TEA WASTE IN INDIA.

1185. ***Sir Darcy Lindsay:** (a) Will Government after consulting their medical experts state whether or not tea waste (sweepings) contains impurities and is unfit for human consumption?

(b) Are Government aware that for the seasons 1916 to 1920 on a production of 1,844,400,000 lbs. tea practically the whole of the tea waste of 27,666,000 lbs., computed on a basis of $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of manufactured tea was exported for manufacture of caffeine and that for the years 1921 to 1925 out of 25,500,000 lbs. of tea waste believed to be available, calculated on the same basis, only 13,284,000 has been exported? Also that for the ten months of 1926-27 the export of tea waste has fallen about 30 per cent. on the export for a like period of 1925-26?

(c) Have Government any information as to whether much of this surplus tea waste is being sold in India for human consumption and are Government prepared to press upon Provincial Governments—other than Bengal—the urgency of prescribing a standard quality of teas under the Food Adulteration Act, where such Act is in force, and where not, that early steps be taken to bring the Act into force?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) and (c). The matter primarily concerns Local Governments to whom the Honourable Member's suggestions will be conveyed.

(b) Yes, except that the exports of tea ~~waste~~ ^{During} the years 1921—1925 amounted to 13,458,000 pounds and ~~not~~ 13,284,000 pounds.

STOPPAGE OF THE RECRUITMENT OF HINDUS IN THE POSTAL SERVICE OF THE PUNJAB AND NORTH-WEST FRONTIER CIRCLES.

1186. ***Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state what action the Director General and the Postmaster General, Punjab and North-West Frontier Circles, have taken in cancelling the orders regarding the stoppage of recruitment of Hindus other than graduates in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Circles as promised by the Honourable Member in charge of Industries and Labour in reply to a question put by the Honourable Rai Bahadur Lala Ram Saran Das in the Council of State in 1925?

(b) If the orders of the Postmaster General, Punjab and North-West Frontier Circles, have since been cancelled will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a copy of the instructions issued for cancelling those orders as well as a statement showing separately the number of Hindus and Muhammadans recruited in the Punjab and North-West Frontier Circles, after the reply of the Honourable Member in 1925?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) and (b). I would refer the Honourable Member to the portion of my speech in this House on the 11th March last in connection with "Postal grievances", which deals with this particular matter.

The statement asked for by the Honourable Member is being compiled and will be furnished to the Honourable Member in due course.

IMPROVEMENT OF THE PRESENT CONDITION OF THE COAL INDUSTRY.

1187. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (1) Will Government be pleased to make a statement describing the present condition of the coal industry in India?

(2) Are Government considering the desirability of taking any steps for improving the condition of the coal industry, particularly in the direction of reducing railway freight and also otherwise helping to popularise coal as a domestic fuel?

(3) Have Government recently received any request from the Board of Industries in Bihar and Orissa, or from the trade, for a reduction of the railway freight of coal to Bombay and Karachi by a rebate or otherwise? If so, what is the attitude of Government towards this request?

(4) Will Government be pleased to state their policy in the matter of the expansion of railway collieries?

(5) Have Government taken any steps for the preparation of annual balance sheets and statements of assets and liabilities in respect of each railway colliery, on the footing of a regular independent business concern?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (1) I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply I gave to question No. 967 asked by Mr. Siddheswar Sinha on the 16th March 1927.

(2) Government do not at present contemplate making any further general reduction in freight rates on coal. But, the question has been raised whether it would be possible to reduce the railway freight on soft coke in order to popularise it as a domestic fuel. This question is under consideration.

(3) The answer to first part of the question is in the affirmative. The Government are considering whether a reduction in railway rates on coal to Bombay in full train loads would so stimulate traffic as to be feasible without loss to railway revenues.

(4) The policy which Government have at present under consideration is that of adjusting the development of railway collieries so that railways may continue to take from private collieries approximately the same amount of coal as they are taking at present.

(5) The question of the best form of accounts to be maintained for railway collieries has been referred to the expert accountants who are employed on investigating the whole system of Railway Accounts and Government do not propose to modify the existing system until Sir Arthur Dickinson's report has been received and considered.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I know if it is not a fact that the Standing Finance Committee for Railways were given an assurance that balance sheets would be prepared for these railway collieries?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid I do not know, but the position is as stated in the answer to the last part of the Honourable Member's question, namely, that as soon as we get Sir Arthur Dickinson's report we shall look into the matter.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Has the attention of Government been drawn to a recent statement of the President of the Indian Mining Association that in view of the reduction in coal prices, it might benefit the railway to purchase coal from the market instead of maintaining their own collieries?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I have no doubt he said it.

ADDITIONAL STAFF FOR REORGANISATION WORK IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES.

1188. ***Mr. K. C. Neogy:** (a) With reference to the statement in the Standing Finance Committee proceedings, dated the 4th February, 1927, at page 497, regarding additional establishment required for reorganisation work in the Office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, will Government be pleased to state the reasons of the great delay and difficulty with which the special staff was secured, and of the fact that the staff secured was not of the necessary calibre?

(b) Is it a fact that the Accountant General himself visited several places in search of the necessary staff, if so, with what result?

(c) From what offices was the staff ultimately obtained?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) Only accountants and clerks possessing previous experience of a certain kind could be employed usefully on the work. There have been heavy calls in various directions for the services of men trained in audit and account offices. In consequence of the depletion of their staff, heads of such offices could not make many men of this description available; and, even of those who were made available, some were unwilling to come on the terms which could be offered.

(b) As a result of his interviews, the Accountant General, Central Revenues, secured the men who were appointed in connection with the reorganisation work.

(c) From the offices of the Accountant General, Central Provinces, Nagpur, the Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Nagpur, the Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Madras, the Accountant General, Punjab, Lahore, the Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Delhi, the Auditor General, and the Finance Department of the Government of India.

**RECRUITMENT OF CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL,
CENTRAL REVENUES.**

1189. ***Mr. K. O. Neogy:** (a) Is it a fact that the Accountant General, Central Revenues, confines recruitment of clerks of his office to a few select provinces and students of a few select universities?

(b) If so, was approval of the Government of India taken by the said officer prior to the adoption of this principle?

(c) How many examinations were held for recruitment of clerks of the said office between October, 1925, and January, 1927; what was the number of candidates who appeared at each of these examinations and how many were recruited each time?

(d) What was the total expenditure on each of these examinations—including advertisement charges?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) and (b). Attention is invited to the reply given on the 2nd February, 1926, to question No. 556 by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh. The rules on the subject were framed in consultation with the Auditor General and have the approval of the Government of India.

(c) Three examinations were held between October, 1925, and January 1927; the number of candidates who appeared were 93, 157 and 164, respectively, and the numbers ultimately recruited were 24, 11 and 9.

(d) Rs. 384; Rs. 548 and Rs. 986.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: May I know, Sir, whether the approval of Government to the rules referred to by the Honourable Member was obtained previous to the publication of the Notification or subsequent to it?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am afraid I shall have to enquire.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: With reference to the reply to the previous question to which I was referred by the Honourable Member, is it a fact that the previous notification left certain discretion to the Accountant General to permit men from the other provinces and graduates of the other Universities to appear at the examination, and that this discretion has since been taken away?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am afraid I must ask for notice of that question.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail: May I ask if Government are aware that the degrees of certain Indian Universities are much more valuable than the degrees of some other Indian Universities?

Mr. K. O. Neogy: May I know why is it that the Public Service Commission is not asked to recruit clerks for the Accountant General's Office?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do not think that question arises; I must ask for notice of it. I do not carry all the details of this question in my head.

Mr. B. Das: Will the Honourable the Finance Member specifically enquire why the Accountant General did not allow the graduates of Bengal and of the province of Bihar and Orissa to apply for these posts? What was the reason why these provinces were excluded?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I am not aware that he did not.

Mr. B. Das: But I know he did.

SCHOOLS MAINTAINED BY THE EAST INDIAN RAILWAY IN BENGAL AND THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1190. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Does the East Indian Railway maintain any schools for the education of the children of its employees? If so, how many schools does it maintain for:

- (a) European and Anglo-Indian children, and
- (b) Indian children,

in Bengal and the United Provinces, respectively?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The East Indian Railway maintain the following schools in Bengal and the United Provinces:

- (a) Schools for European and Anglo-Indian children:
 - Bengal—6 Primary Schools.
 - United Provinces—6 Primary and one High School.
- (b) Schools for Indian Children:
 - Bengal—1 Middle and 1 High School.
 - United Provinces—1 Primary, 2 Middle and 1 High School.

EXPENDITURE ON RAILWAY SCHOOLS FOR EUROPEANS AND INDIANS.

1191. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** (a) How much money does the Government of India spend annually on these railway schools for (a) Europeans and (b) Indians?

(b) How much money is spent in providing medical and travelling facilities, etc., in connection with the above institutions for (a) Europeans and (b) Indians?

(c) Do these railway schools receive any grants from the Provincial Governments in whose jurisdiction they are situated? If so, how much?

(d) What are the other sources of income of these purely railway schools?

RAILWAY SCHOOLS.

1192. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** (a) Are these schools under the Government of India or the Local Governments concerned?

(b) Is it a fact that the East Indian Railway does not issue passes to its non-Christian employees during Christmas? If so, are Government prepared to take steps to have this religious distinction removed?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I propose, with your permission, Sir, to answer questions Nos. 1191 and 1192 together.

An enquiry is now being made into the whole question of expenditure on the education of the children of railway employees and an officer has been placed on special duty for the purpose.

As regards part (b) of the second question, Government have no information. But there is no limitation of passes based on religion. Passes are issued under the Pass Rules; but limits have to be placed on issue of passes at holiday periods to prevent overcrowding of trains.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Will Government be pleased to make an enquiry with regard to the grievance mentioned in 1192(b)?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: If the Honourable Member wants me to, I will, Sir. You mean the suggestion that there is discrimination?

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Yes, I have been told there is. That is why I am anxious that Government should enquire.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I will enquire, but my information is, there is not.

CONTRACTS FOR THE SUPPLY OF PORTERS FOR DELHI RAILWAY STATION.

1193. ***Lala Rang Behari Lal:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state the names of persons who have been given contracts for the supply of railway porters for the Delhi railway station from 1920 up to date?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the duration of each of these contracts?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state if they are aware of the fact that the Contractor charges four annas a day from each licensed porter as his commission?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: (a) and (b). I am obtaining the information and will send it to the Honourable Member.

(c) Yes.

HARASSMENT OF THE TRAVELLING PUBLIC BY RAILWAY COOLIES AT DELHI JUNCTION.

1194. ***Lala Rang Behari Lal:** Has the attention of the Government been drawn to a paragraph on page 5 of the *Hindustan Times* of 11th March, 1927, regarding the harassment of the travelling public by railway coolies at Delhi Junction? Will Government be pleased to state if any action is being taken in the matter?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have seen a letter on the subject which appeared in the *Hindustan Times* on the same date. The matter is one for the Agent to whom a copy of the Honourable Member's question has been sent.

INSPECTORS APPOINTED TO SUPERVISE THE WORK OF THE COOLIE CONTRACTOR AT DELHI JUNCTION.

1195. ***Lala Rang Behari Lal:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state if any Inspectors have been employed by the Railway to look after the work of the Coolie Contractor at Delhi Junction?

(b) If so, how many of them are Indians?

Mr. A. A. I. Parsons: (a) The reply is in the negative.

(b) Does not arise.

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS OF LALA BHIM SEN, SECOND CLERK IN
THE OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF EDUCATION, DELHI AND
AJMER-MERWARA.

1196. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Is it a fact that one Lala Bhim Sen has been appointed second clerk in the office of the Superintendent of Education, Delhi and Ajmer-Merwara, in 1926? If so, will Government be pleased to state his educational qualifications, university examination, if any, passed by him, and the year in which he passed the examination, and his age at the time of the university examination according to the university certificate?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Yes. The Honourable Member is referred to the information supplied to him by letter, on the 23rd March, in reply to part (g) of his question No. 933.

PROVINCIALISATION OF DISTRICT AND MUNICIPAL BOARD SCHOOLS.

1197. ***Maulvi Muhammad Yakub:** Will Government be pleased to state their policy in the Education Department in the Delhi Province for the provincialisation of district and municipal board schools? Is it a fact that most of the board schools in the Punjab have been provincialised? Is it a fact that in pursuance of the policy followed in the Punjab the Delhi Government have provincialised the Industrial School, Delhi city, formerly under the Municipal control? Are Government prepared similarly to provincialise a district board school in justice to the rural population?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: There is only one high school in the Delhi Province under district board or municipal management, which it is not proposed to provincialise. It is understood that the Punjab Government have provincialised a certain number of board high schools. There is only one industrial school, that in Delhi, which will be provincialised in April next.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

COLLISION AT BHADRAK ON THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY.

Mr. B. Das: (a) Have Government noticed the press report about the collision of the Madras Mail, Bengal Nagpur Railway, off Bhadrak Station (Orissa)?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the loss of human lives ascertained so far:

A. (1) Europeans, (2) Indians,

B. (1) First and second class passengers, (2) Third class passengers, in that collision?

(c) Was it a fact that large number of casualties were railway employees?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) Yes.

(b) A. (1) Nil.

A. (2) 15.

B. (1) Nil.

B. (2) 14.

(c) No.

COLLISION AT BHADRAK ON THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY.

Mr. B. Das: (a) Is it a fact that two third class carriages were telescoped and both of these carriages were fully occupied at the time of the accident?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the number of people sent to hospital for treatment?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) In addition to the luggage van which was next to the engine, two third class carriages which were practically full, were telescoped.

(b) Forty-one.

Mr. B. Das: Have Government noticed the press interview that appeared in the press all over India that the students of the Cuttack College who entered a railway special to go to that place for the relief of these people suffering from the accident, were not allowed to proceed there, but were held up at a roadside station for three hours?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I think, Sir, there is a subsequent question about that by my Honourable friend Pandit Nilakantha Das.

APPOINTMENT OF A COMMITTEE TO ENQUIRE INTO THE COLLISION AT BHADRAK ON THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY.

Mr. B. Das: (a) Do Government propose to appoint a Committee to enquire into the causes of this accident?

(b) Are Government prepared to enforce payment of compensation for property and lives endangered by this accident on the Bengal Nagpur Railway authorities?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (a) The necessary technical enquiry by the Government Inspector as to the cause of the accident was held at the site of accident the next day. The District Magistrate was present at the enquiry.

(b) The matter is one for settlement between the Administration and the parties concerned. If any one is not satisfied with the Agent's decision, his remedy lies in a court of law.

COLLISION AT BHADRAK ON THE BENGAL NAGPUR RAILWAY.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: (a) Will the Government please make a statement regarding the railway collision at Bhadrak (Bengal Nagpur Railway) Up Madras Mail on the 18th instant?

(b) What is the number and extent of the casualties and damage?

(c) Is it a fact that students of the Cuttack College—60 of them,—who were coming to give relief, were detained at Manjuri Road station for about an hour?

(d) What has been done with the dead and the injured?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No. 4 Up Calcutta-Madras Mail left the previous station Markona (mile 174) at 22.18 hours on the 13th instant and was to have been received on the platform line No. 1 at Bhadrak station. The train, however, entered the station on line No. 5 and collided with a shunting engine attached to about 55 goods wagons on that line. I propose not to say anything about the reason why the train was admitted on the wrong line, because it is possible that criminal proceedings may take place. Both the engines were considerably damaged. A luggage van which was next to the engine, the whole of the body of the second vehicle and half the body of the third, both third class carriages, were smashed to pieces as a result of the collision and one upper class composite carriage was derailed.

(a) The number of casualties was as follows:

Fifteen persons were killed and 69 injured, 26 seriously. The estimated cost of damages to rolling-stock and railway property has not yet been ascertained.

(b) The Agent reports that he has no knowledge of Cuttack College students having been detained at Manjuri Road station, but intimates that all passenger trains on both sides of Bhadrak were detained for sometime after the collision. It may be mentioned for the Honourable Member's information that the Medical Officer, Kharagpur, reports having received considerable assistance from Bengali students believed to have come from Cuttack in carrying the wounded.

(c) The dead were placed in the Bhadrak mortuary in charge of the police. 35 injured were sent to Kharagpur hospital and six to Bhadrak hospital to be removed later to Kharagpur. Twenty-three lascars who were bruised in the accident continued their journey and five passengers who were slightly injured refused to go to Kharagpur.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Sir, are the Government aware that there is a kind of suspicion generally that in cases of collisions people are not allowed to get at the real truth of the casualties, and in this case particularly when the Down Express arrived at the Bhadrak station at about the same time no passenger was allowed to get out and see the amount or extent of the damage done?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid that it is quite impossible to keep pace with suspicions of the kind mentioned by the Honourable Member, but he may take it from me that at the earliest possible moment the fullest possible information about this accident was given to the Press and the public. And if trains were prevented from coming into the station where the accident occurred, I think the Honourable Member can readily understand the reason himself, namely, that with so much confusion at that station the whole organisation is disorganised and it is quite impossible to admit other trains.

Mr. B. Das: Has the attention of the Honourable Member been drawn to the press interview given by Babu Purna Chandra Saha to the

representative of the *New Empire* which was quoted all over India in the Press? This is what the *Indian Daily Mail* of Bombay, 12 Noon. said, I will quote the particular passage:

“At Cuttack station these students were detained for about three hours by the station staff who were alleged to have tried to persuade them not to go to the place of occurrence representing that the accident was not very serious. They however persisted and were allowed to go by a down train which was detained for about three hours.”

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: No, Sir; I had not seen that statement. I have given all the information I have got at my disposal at the present moment.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: May I ask whether the driver in charge of the engine was a new officer or an old and experienced man?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I have no information on that point, Sir.

Mr. B. Das: Are the railway staff or even the Government suspicious of those who want to go and do some good in case of these accidents, and whose sole motive was to relieve the distress of suffering humanity?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Not at all. I have already stated that the District Medical Officer received great assistance from certain students from Cuttack and he was very grateful for it.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Was the engine in this particular case fitted with a searchlight?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I do not think it would have made any difference at all whether there was a searchlight on this particular train, because the train was admitted to the wrong line. But the Honourable Member knows that we are fitting searchlights to passenger trains as fast as possible, and I think he may take it that in this particular case there was a searchlight on the engine of the mail train.

Mr. B. Das: Will the Government ask the Bengal Nagpur Railway to have the interlocking system of signalling introduced between stations and have this old method changed?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Yes, Sir. We shall certainly take up this particular matter soon.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

REPAIRS TO THE BOOKING OFFICE AND WAITING ROOM AT DELHI SADAR STATION.

218. **Mr. Mukhtar Singh:** Are Government aware that the Delhi Sadar station booking office and the waiting room both require immediate repairs and during the rains the whole of the roof leaks very badly and there is no room left for the passengers to sit in?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Government have received no complaints to this effect; but the Delhi Sadar station will shortly be replaced by a new station, which is at present under construction near the Ajmer Gate overbridge

RULES GOVERNING THE DISMISSAL OF EMPLOYEES ON STATE AND COMPANY-MANAGED RAILWAYS.

219. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will Government be pleased to state what rules govern the dismissal of employees on State Railways as also on Company-managed railways, and will Government kindly place a copy of these rules on the table?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: So far as State-worked Railways are concerned, the Honourable Member is referred to rule 298 (2) of State Railway Open Line Code, Volume II.

A copy of this rule will be sent to the Honourable Member.

As regards Company-worked Railways, I am making enquiries and will inform the Honourable Member in due course.

NEW PENSION RATES FOR THE INDIAN MEDICAL DEPARTMENT.

220. Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will Government be pleased to state why the new pension rates for the Indian Medical Department have not been published as yet, and when is it likely that they will be published?

Mr. G. M. Young: The rates have not yet been settled. The proposals of the Government of India will be formulated as soon as possible after the present Session.

TRANSMISSION OF TELEGRAMS BY POST.

221. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: (a) How many telegrams were sent by post throughout India during the year 1926-27?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state the amount of charges recovered from the senders of such telegrams?

(c) Are there any rules whereby the Telegraph Department is enjoined not to accept any telegrams in case the impossibility of transmission is apparent?

(d) Was any money received from the senders of telegrams subsequently posted refunded to the senders?

(e) Are there any rules providing for such refund?

(f) Do the Government propose to refund in future the charges of such telegrams as cannot be transmitted by the Telegraph Department by telegraph wires?

Sir Ganesh Roy: (a), (b) and (d). The required information is being collected and will be furnished to the Honourable Member in due course.

(c) No. When it becomes apparent to the Department that telegrams cannot be disposed of by wire due to interruption or imperfect communication of lines, the public are duly informed through the agency of the Press and by notices hung up in booking offices that telegrams to or from places concerned are liable to serious delay and it is open to the sender to send a telegram or not.

(e) Yes, Rules 150 and 331 of the Indian Telegraph Rules, 1927.

(f) Provision already exists for granting refunds and each case is considered on its merits.

PROMOTIONS OF CAPTAINS IN THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE TO THE RANK OF MAJOR.

222. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: (a) Is it a fact that Captains (I. M. S.) get their promotions to the rank of Major six months earlier if they acquire some higher professional or academical qualifications approved by the Secretary of State for India?

(b) Is it a fact that the appointments to professional chairs in the various Medical Colleges in India, as well as other special appointments depend upon the acquisition of higher professional or academical qualifications which are only available by a study in Europe?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) Yes.

(b) Professorial appointments in Government Colleges are made on the strength of qualifications appropriate to the post to be filled, irrespective of where those qualifications were acquired. Normally, however, persons appointed to these posts are men who have studied in Europe or America where exceptional facilities exist for specialisation.

GRANT OF PASSAGE FACILITIES TO THE INDIAN MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE PROCEEDING TO THE UNITED KINGDOM ON STUDY LEAVE.

223. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if the Indian members of the Indian Medical Service have been granted any facilities for further study in Europe by way of free passages, to and from Great Britain or other parts of Europe?

(b) Are there any facilities by way of free passages for European members of the Indian Medical Service?

(c) Are there facilities alike for Europeans and Indians?

(d) If not, will the Government kindly state the difference between the respective facilities for Europeans and Indians and the reason for the same?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The Government of India have decided in consultation with the Secretary of State to grant passage facilities to Indian Medical Service officers of Asiatic domicile proceeding to the United Kingdom on study leave. The details of the scheme are being worked out.

(b) European officers of the Indian Medical Service are given no special facilities in the way of free passages for study leave in Europe. They are entitled however to the Lee Commission passage concessions.

(c) As the rules stand, there are no special facilities for either.

(d) Does not arise.

CORRECT OFFICIAL DESIGNATIONS OF OFFICERS IN THE INDIAN ARMY.

224. Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: (a) Is it a fact that officers in the Army are generally classed under the heads "British officers" and "Indian officers" to denote roughly King's commissioned officers and Viceroy's Commissioned officers?

(b) In view of the fact that Indian gentlemen now hold King's commissions in the Indian Army and Indian Medical Service, do the Government propose to substitute the said expressions by King's commissioned officers and Viceroy's commissioned officers?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a)—(b). The correct official designations are, and always have been, King's Commissioned Officers and Viceroy's Commissioned Officers, respectively.

OVERSEAS PAY OF INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE OFFICERS.

225. **Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava:** (a) Is it a fact that Indian Medical Service officers of European domicile draw more overseas pay than Indian Medical Service officers of Indian domicile whose wife or legitimate child or children do not happen to reside in Europe in so far as the previous named officers get their overseas pay in sterling at the rate of 2 shillings a rupee?

(b) If the Indian Medical Service officers of European domicile are paid their overseas pay in sterling at the rate of 2 shillings a rupee, will the Government be pleased to give reasons for the differential treatment?

(c) In view of this apparent differentiation do the Government propose to pay all Indian Medical Service officers of whatever domicile they may be at a uniform rate?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Yes.

(b) The reasons are stated in Chapter VI of the Lee Commission Report.

(c) The reply is in the negative.

STATEMENT *RE* EXPENDITURE ON THE DESPATCH OF TROOPS TO CHINA.

Mr. G. M. Young (Army Secretary): Sir, with your permission, I should like to make a statement about the incidence of expenditure on the troops sent from India to China. In answer to a question on the 16th, I undertook to inform the House on this subject before the end of the present Session. Since I gave that answer, discussions have taken place between His Majesty's Government and the Government of India, and it has been decided that Indian revenues will bear no part of the cost of the contingent furnished from India.

RESOLUTION *RE* SALARIES OF THE TWO MEMBERS OF THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL POSSESSING INDIAN EXPERIENCE—*contd.*

Mr. President: The Assembly will now resume further consideration of the following Resolution moved by the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to secure:

- (1) in the case of future appointments the enhancement of the salaries paid to the two members of His Majesty's Privy Council with Indian experience who sit on the Judicial Committee under the provisions of the Judicial Committee Act of 1833 to hear Indian appeals;
- (2) that they shall be persons possessed of recent knowledge of Indian law and practice;

- (3) that their salary shall be £4,000 per annum each, half of which shall be paid from Indian revenues; and
- (4) that during any period when this salary is enjoyed any pension payable to either of them from Indian revenues shall lapse."

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadian Urban): Sir, I do not think I shall keep the House for any length of time. I rise to say a few words as Dr. Gour asked me to express my opinion and as this is a non-political subject upon which my opinion is not known, I should say at the outset that no case whatever has been made out for this extraordinary proposition which has been made by the Honourable the Home Member on the other side. It is admitted on all hands that the Privy Council jurisdiction is a prerogative jurisdiction founded in British history and is not one which is due to any demand of the Indian people. It is a residuary jurisdiction which they claim for themselves and nobody asks that they should exercise that jurisdiction. Therefore those who claim the prerogative right to hear appeals from other parts of the Empire are bound to pay for that prerogative right; and in many cases the right is denied, because it is said, in criminal cases for instance, as a matter of practice, though they have got the right to exercise jurisdiction, they refuse to exercise it as a matter of discretion, as was ruled in Dillott's case and the cases following. Therefore it is entirely a matter, I submit, of prerogative and the British Exchequer must therefore pay the full expenses of such strengthening or improvement as the British Government may consider necessary for the purpose of making the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council more acceptable to the various populations which are scattered over the British Empire.

Sir, it has been suggested that they want persons of Indian experience. I do not say that I am in agreement with this Privy Council jurisdiction at all. I am very much in sympathy with the view taken by one section of the House and by Sir Hari Singh Gour that there should be a Supreme Court for India; but I know at the present stage it is a highly controversial matter and the decision of the House on the last occasion was against it. I associate myself, however, with that opinion, namely, that the time has come for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India and that this further strengthening of the Privy Council is a formidable obstacle in the way of such establishment, and on that ground also I oppose the motion that has been made.

But taking it that the Privy Council should continue, from more than one point of view it is unnecessary that the Indian Exchequer should bear the burden which is sought to be imposed upon it. In the first place the view may well be entertained and is held in very competent circles, though I do not see eye to eye with that section, that if you are to have the utility of the Privy Council at all as a judicial body, it is very much better that the Privy Council should function as it used to function in the days of Moore's Indian Appeals, composed of Judges of British experience and not drawn from Indian experience. As regards the recruitment of Judges from India we have no control whatever and therefore it is said—and there is a great deal of force in that—that it is unnecessary that Judges of Indian experience should be sent to England and that the British Government can provide such competent judiciary as it deems fit for the purpose. I know that very competent men hold the view strongly that it is very much better to have these appeals decided by unbiassed opinion of England trained Judges without any Indian experience. I may agree with that or I may not agree with that;

[Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar.]

but there is that point of view and I know it is held in legal circles, and I must therefore bring that also to the notice of the House prominently to show that there is really no case made out for Judges with Indian experience. I may ask conversely "What is the Indian experience of Judges who are brought to India and who are made to preside over the various courts?" They have no experience. If that is the case I do not see why Judges of Indian experience are required in England. It may be that they may have to find out whether certain particular terms which are used in the vernacular have one meaning or another. It has been suggested also that in dealing with translations and other things Judges of Indian experience will have greater facilities. But I want to say that all this is merely special pleading. When you come to it, you really will not get the right type of Judges that you want, whether they are Judges of Indian experience or others. Therefore, I want that we should not interfere with the Privy Council and we should not indicate, either expressly or by necessary implication, our support of the institution of the Privy Council and say that we should bear the burden of salaries or half the salaries of certain Judges.

There is also another reason which I think should be borne in mind. There has been a view that the Privy Council is a very efficient and competent institution. My own experience has been latterly, even after the introduction of Judges of Indian experience—and Judges of Indian experience do not necessarily mean judges of Indian nationality—that the Privy Council is not such a competent judicial tribunal as to encourage me in the belief that it is necessary that I should vote for any strengthening of its emoluments. In many cases we know they misread the Statutes. Their decisions are a fruitful source of litigation in this country and legislation also. We had only the other day the Privy Council interpreting the Registration Act in one particular way and the Honourable the Home Member bringing forward a fresh proposal to set it right. Far from the Privy Council operating as a body which is intended to co-ordinate the different judicial dicta in the various provinces and harmonising them, I have known instances, say in the case of liability of a son for his father's debts and in many other cases where they have been riding roughshod over well settled decisions in India. I rather think that the Privy Council was all right in the earlier days when the Indian Judiciary and Indian courts were not as competent as they are at present. I am glad to be able to say that in my humble judgment the Indian judiciary and the Indian tribunals are on the whole far more efficient and competent to deal with the complicated litigious data presented in courts by litigants and their advisers than any foreign tribunal imposed upon us. I therefore think that whatever the utility of the Privy Council may have been in the earlier days there is not now that necessity for the Privy Council functioning. What are the necessities served by this Privy Council jurisdiction? It is a luxury for the rich people. If it is found that it is necessary that they should have more fees it is perfectly open to the Judicial Committee or those who are competent to do it to raise the fees to provide for the increased emoluments of the members of the Judicial Committee. There is no necessity why the democracy of India, why the general tax-payer should be made to pay for what after all is a luxury for zamindars and sowcars and such other people who want to go to the Privy Council after thrashing out their fortunes in the Indian courts. I am one who is in

favour of minimising litigation. After the bitterest experience of courts and litigation in this country, I have come to the conclusion definitely that litigation should not be encouraged by providing more and more appeals. I agree entirely with the view presented by Sir Hari Singh Gour that so far as the federal constitution of India may be in sight, it is very much more convenient and in fact it is necessary that we should have a Supreme Court in India rather than a continuance of the Judicial Committee in England. Apart from that I do not see why the ordinary litigant should not be content with the judgment of the High Courts in the country and therefore it is a special privilege which is sought to be conferred on a few people at the expense of the general tax-payer. It may be that the money which is sought is, relatively speaking, not very great and it may be that the already depleted Exchequer may be able to provide it because of the hidden surpluses. At the same time I do not see why this House should go in for this kind of differentiation in the matter of providing for the rich persons and for the purpose of providing for those who gamble in litigation. In the earlier days I am free to admit that the Judicial Committee provided a wholesome check upon the apology for a judicial administration that prevailed in this country, but at the present moment, having regard to the high level of judicial efficiency in our country and the way in which Judges and the Bar have come to laugh at the scattered dicta in the judgments of the Privy Council which are the starting point for endless litigation in this country, I submit that it is not really necessary to enthuse over this proposition which was so humorously supported by the Honourable the Home Member.

I would suggest also the reconsideration of one other matter and that is this, whether the time has not come for the establishment of the Supreme Court. I know I may not be able to carry conviction in the minds of those who still have a vague feeling in favour of the Privy Council and I do not propose to discuss that question at length here, as its relevancy is not as obvious as it would be in a debate raised upon the specific issue. I therefore would simply object to this motion being supported by any Member of this House on the ground that it will not make the Privy Council more useful and that the Privy Council even with the aid of Judges of Indian experience is not really going to do any great good. Having regard to our own experience, we know that those who have been out of touch with the courts have very little working knowledge of the latest decisions in the reports and their acquaintance with case law becomes rusty and their acquaintance with principles is also of a somewhat shadowy character. Therefore my own opinion is that people of Indian experience when they retire or when they are taken away and put in there will not be really in touch with Indian case law or with the general trend of it. We know what an exacting mistress the legal profession is and how difficult it is to keep in touch with its developments even for those who have got what Sir Henry Maine used to call the gift of memory which gives one a disgraceful advantage over all the finer qualities of the legal intellect, to keep pace with the multiplication of decisions and with the subtleties and ramifications of case law. I would suggest that even though people may have been trained in India and get Anglicised as my Honourable friend on the other side remarked they would not be very different from the other members of the Judicial Committee. It is better to have purely British Judges unbiassed by any Indian opinion, looking at the matter with detached minds and coming to it from the study of general

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principles rather than details. The Indian law is now embodied in Statutes and these Statutes are always in English and I do not understand how Judges with Indian experience may be able to construe these things very much better than other Judges in England. It is a mere question of interpretation and in some cases is a question of comparing case law here and comparing one judgment with another, seeing whether the Bombay decision is sounder or the Calcutta decision or the Madras decision is sounder still. That after all is a question upon which the Judicial Committee constituted as it is can easily propound its own decisions. And the tables groan with the Indian decisions. Therefore there is no lack of material for the Judges in England. They can look into these cases and they can come to their conclusions.

Then it is said that a knowledge of the vernacular is of first-class importance. Sir, I think the Privy Council has only translations. It is true, in exceptional cases, the original may be submitted when they may be looked into. But after all it is the translations certified by the Registrars of the respective High Courts that form the authentic and original record so far as the Privy Council is concerned; and though the originals may be of some value in cases here and there, the number of such cases is infinitesimal. I say the translations being the real record before the Privy Council it is really useless to say that Indian Judges are required. I know cases in my own experience in which even though there were Indian Judges and counsel of Indian experience and some having a leading practice in Allahabad and elsewhere, they were unable to deal with the vernacular terms accurately and the Privy Council took an erroneous view, as of course in half the cases they do take erroneous views in these things. The effect of these things is that the vernacular terms do not really play that part which we want that they should play. For instance in the construction of wills and deeds of gift no doubt it is very important for the tribunal adjudicating to have the actual words of the originals before it. But what guarantee is there that Judges of Indian experience taken from one province or another, say from Allahabad or Calcutta, for instance, would be able to understand a Tamil or Telegu or an Oriya will, or a Gujerati or Marwari will. I understand also that the dialects of Upper India differ, though not for the practical purpose of conversation and understanding, in their literary sense, and I do not know that it will be possible for two Judges of Indian experience drawn from one province or another to master the subtleties of the various vernaculars or even to understand the originals if they are presented to them.

Therefore my submission is that the advantages which are sought to be provided by the employment of Judges of Indian experience are really not substantial. And finally there is no guarantee that Indians are going to be appointed. I do not suggest that even if Indians are going to be appointed that we should agree to vote this sum. But I say there is no guarantee whatever. The Honourable the Home Member was quite frank and scrupulously accurate when he stated he could not give that guarantee. Instead he said that possibly, or probably or on occasion and so on, they may be appointed. And we know all those words, Sir. Therefore, Sir, for all these reasons I say I must unhesitatingly give my vote

against this proposal which has been moved by the Honourable the Home Member.

Mr. F. W. Allison (Bombay: Nominated Official): When, Sir, doubtless like every other Member of this House, I read through the lengthy debate here and in another place on the Resolution last year, I felt considerable surprise at the strenuous opposition which was raised from several quarters on several grounds to an arrangement which seems to promise to this country a substantial benefit, and that on conditions which appear to me not only reasonable but actually advantageous to India. But Sir, the surprise which I felt when I read those debates pales into positive insignificance when compared to astonishment with which I hear an Honourable Member of the Swaraj Party, himself a distinguished member of the Bar, get up in this House and say that the Privy Council is not an efficient tribunal. Sir, I do not think this needs argument. I do not believe that the Honourable Member would carry with him any support either from among Indian lawyers or from the public, and I am quite sure that argument will attract to him no supporters in this Assembly. For the rest of his speech I will observe that it seemed to me to contain several useful admissions which no doubt will be of help to some of us in future arguments in this House. But I would point out to the Honourable Member that in one particular he seems to have misunderstood the object of this Resolution entirely. One of the main objects is to ensure that there shall be on the Privy Council a succession at short intervals of the best lawyers who can be found in India to accept the terms offered. One of the weaknesses of the Privy Council up till last year—and that is a weakness which this Resolution and the Bill in Parliament are particularly designed to overcome—has been that the only two Judges of Indian experience who sat with any consistency on the Privy Council for, I believe, nearly 20 years, were two extremely old men, Sir John Edge, who was 87 when he died, and Mr. Justice Ameer Ali who is now nearly 80. And it was I say in order to ensure that the representatives of India on the Council should not be aged men who had lost all contact with up-to-date conditions in India, but that instead we should have a succession of competent Judges engaged in practice at the Bar or possibly sitting on the Bench in India and entirely up-to-date in their knowledge of Indian law, that this Resolution was brought forward. Well, Sir, part of the opposition in those previous debates was based on the plea that India wanted and ought at once to have a Supreme Court, and that the present Resolution if passed by this House would delay or prevent the establishment of that Court. Well, Sir, that point of view is at any rate intelligible, but I venture to think that on examination it will appear to be unsound. This plea for a Supreme Court was again put forward yesterday by my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour, who has associated himself with it for many years and has raised it on every possible occasion, with that indomitable perseverance which we in this House have learned to associate with him. But I put it to him and to this House that, generally speaking, the question of a Supreme Court at this moment is not a live issue. I noticed indeed that the Honourable Member did not yesterday move the amendment which stands in his name, and I think that when he was pleading the cause of his Supreme Court yesterday I detected a pathetic note in his voice which seemed to indicate that even he at last realized that his favourite project had become a forlorn hope. As that amendment is not actually before

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the House I need only indicate as shortly as possible why in my opinion, and I think in the general opinion, the question of a Supreme Court does not afford any adequate ground for opposing this Resolution. First, Sir, we have the fact that when Sir Hari Singh Gour introduced his Resolution into this House nearly two years ago, it was rejected on an entirely free vote by an overwhelming majority. I believe I am right in saying that the majority is a record in the history of divisions taken in this Assembly. This suggests irresistibly I think that the bulk of public opinion is strongly against Sir Hari Singh Gour and his proposal. In the second place, if I may say so with modesty, I have taken myself a personal interest in this subject. I have often discussed it with my Indian friends, of whom I am proud to have many both at the Bar and among the general public. I am sure, and my conviction is borne out by what has often been said by Honourable Members of this House, that neither Indian lawyers as a whole nor the Indian public—and by the Indian public I mean those people who have had experience of litigation or are likely to be concerned in litigation of sufficient importance to go to the Privy Council—want a Supreme Court. In spite of what the Honourable the Leader of the Swaraj Party has said, the Privy Council has a deservedly high reputation as the most competent judicial tribunal in the world, and even Sir Hari Singh Gour will not I think quarrel with that description of the Privy Council—whether or not it is to be classed as a court, whether the Council is or is not a court, has not in my humble judgment any practical effect on this Resolution. I say, Sir, it is regarded and will be regarded by the Indian public as an extremely valuable privilege to be able to appeal in the last resort to the Privy Council. Incidentally, Sir, I may say that in conversation, a friend of mine, a very able lawyer, summed up the Supreme Court somewhat contemptuously I am afraid, and perhaps a trifle unfairly, as being a merely glorified High Court. The implication was that so long as only considerations of judicial efficiency are concerned, the public would not be satisfied to lose the valuable right of appeal to the Privy Council for the sake of a local Supreme Court. I would just mention briefly a third reason which is likely to be an important factor in this case. There is, Sir, I believe, a large body of opinion both in this House and outside that even if a Supreme Court for India were desirable in itself, still it should not be established or even asked for until India has obtained responsible self-government. An apostle of this school of thought, I may mention, is a distinguished Member of this House, Pandit Motilal Nehru. Then, Sir Hari Singh Gour seems distressed at the idea that if this Resolution were carried, it would in some way perpetuate—that is the word he used in quoting some authority, but I suppose he really meant “prolong”.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): I was quoting His Excellency Lord Reading's opening address.

Mr. F. W. Allison: I did not catch the name, but, with all respect to the highest person in the land, “perpetuate” could not possibly be the proper word to use. I think the meaning of the late Viceroy and of the Honourable Member is to “prolong” the appellate power of the Privy Council. In my humble view, Sir, this is entirely a misconception. As soon as India has responsible self-government, as I understand it, nothing

can prevent her from having a Supreme Court if she then chooses. If I may say so without any offence to Sir Hari Singh Gour, I think he has been misled by the mistaken idea that this Supreme Court is in some way a condition precedent to responsible self-government. In my view, and I think in the general view, it is not so at all. It is merely a possible consequence of self-government, as indeed, if he will consider the matter, is plain from the analogy of those self-governing Dominions which he has quoted. I suggest then, Sir, that this Resolution must be discussed on the basis that for some years at least there will be, and must be, appeals from India to the Supreme Court. Then, Sir, there remains the practical question as to how these appeals are to be decided. As the House knows, appeals to the Privy Council are generally decided by a Board of four or five Members, (*Sir Hari Singh Gour*: "Three sometimes."), sometimes three, sometimes four, sometimes five Members. (*Sir Hari Singh Gour*: "Three is the quorum.") It so happens that the last appeal that I myself read in the current number of the *Calcutta Weekly Notes* had five. However, the point is, Sir, that the majority of those Judges are Lords of Appeal. They are known to be some of the most eminent Judges in the world, and they receive a salary of £8,000 per year. Also on the panel are eminent ex-Lord Chancellors, and they receive, most of them, and can receive if they apply for it, a very large pension. With these have sat up to the present two gentlemen, Judges with experience of Indian law, who have been drawing the miserable pittance described under another name of £400 a year. Well, Sir, one essential thing is that there should be Members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council who would be willing to be, and could afford to be, in constant attendance. There are other Judges, we are told, under the Act of 1895 who can attend and occasionally do attend. Sir Lawrence Jenkins is one at present and Lord Sinha is another and has sat on one or two appeals but he is in India at present. You cannot expect a Member of the Privy Council who is not paid and has other calls on his time to attend constantly at the meetings of the Board. That, Sir, is a very important point, and that is one reason why it is at any rate in my poor judgment essential that those Members who represent India on that Board should be given, I will not say a competent salary, but a salary which at any rate is very much more than the miserable £400 which is their lot at present. I think, Sir, it is obvious that we must have men of Indian experience, who must be men of first-rate ability, full of vigour of mind and quite up to date in their knowledge of Indian law and practice. And it is important to have men who will also command as great respect in the eyes of the legal profession as the Lords of Appeal with whom they are to sit, and that, Sir, I put before the House as an object very valuable in itself and which the House should not lose this opportunity of securing.

I will speak very briefly, Sir, as to the amendment. I am, Sir, a very humble cog in the machinery of the bureaucracy. I am not in the confidence of the Government of India, still less of the Home Government, but I believe for myself that if these appointments are created, they will in the main be filled by Indians, the best Indians—and that is important, we must have the best men available whether Indians or not—if the best Indians will accept these appointments, I think they will be so filled. With regard to the amendment, first of all there is the constitutional point. Neither this House nor the House of Commons can limit the prerogative of His Majesty the King Emperor to appoint anyone he will to his own

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Privy Council. In practice, Sir, this amendment is not necessary. We know that there is no Statute ordaining that any number of Members of the Governor General's Executive Council shall be Indians, but it is not in the least likely that the present custom will be abandoned. I think also that on the ground of self-interest, it may be supposed that the British Government, the advisers of the King Emperor himself, will choose Indians if possible, and for this reason; it has been stated that the Privy Council as the Supreme Court of the whole Empire, is a strong link which binds the whole Empire together, and it seems to me obvious that this link will be stronger if Indians are appointed, and this is likely to appeal most vividly both to India and the rest of the Empire alike. For this reason, Sir, I think this amendment is not necessary. It would wreck the object of the Resolution and should not be approved by this House. Well, Sir, we have got rid, I am glad to say, we all are glad to say, of the Finance Bill and the Ratio Bill. I seem to detect, Sir, a sort of holiday feeling in the air—very obvious at question time this morning—and at such times I think the House may be disposed to accept with good will the appeal of the Honourable the Leader of the House, which he made so engagingly. I think I have shown to the House that the proposal contains no ground for offence and is in the best interests of India. It contains no political issue and there is no question of racial preference or prejudice in the Resolution, as I understand it. Sir, I commend this Resolution both to the good sense and the good feeling of the House.

Mr. K. O. Neogy (Dacca Division Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, if you will permit me, I shall move an amendment of which I could not give proper notice. I may say at the very beginning that the amendment which I propose to move is a mere variation of Mr. Aney's amendment and that my Honourable friend has agreed to withdraw his amendment in favour of mine. Sir, I move:

"That for clause 3 of the Resolution, substitute the following:

'(3) That if either of them is a person with an Indian domicile, £2,000 per annum shall be paid from Indian revenues as allowance to him in addition to such salary as may be granted to him from the British exchequer'."

And there is a consequential amendment to clause (4), namely:

"In clause 4 for the word 'salary' substitute the word 'allowance'."

Sir, my Honourable friend who has just sat down pointed out that there is a constitutional objection to the amendment moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Aney. This amendment is intended chiefly to obviate that difficulty. I admit that it is not within the competence of this House to fetter the prerogative of the Crown or the choice of the Lord Chancellor, which determines the selection of the members of the Judicial Committee. The distinction between Mr. Aney's amendment and mine is this. Whereas Mr. Aney's amendment would make it incumbent on the authorities in England to have two Indians appointed, invariably two Indians, on condition that half of their salary is to be borne by the British Exchequer and half by the Indian revenues, my amendment contemplates that the salary, properly so called, would be the amount that would be

paid to the Members of the Judicial Committee who may be appointed in pursuance of the Bill now pending in the House of Commons and that any amount which India is expected to pay would be considered to be an additional allowance to be paid only in the event of Indians being appointed. Sir, the position as I find it to be under the Bill which is just now before the Houses of Parliament is this. They have fixed £2,000 as the salary. There is, however, a clause in the Bill which provides that the salary of the Members appointed may be increased by such sum not exceeding £2,000 as may be provided out of the revenues of India. So that whatever our decision may be on the present occasion, the Members of the Judicial Committee to be appointed under the new Bill will draw £2,000 per annum as salary from the British Exchequer. The position was made quite clear by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords when this Bill was under discussion. This is what the Lord Chancellor said :

"What we now propose to Parliament is that His Majesty should have authority to appoint two Members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council with special experience of India at a remuneration of £2,000 per annum each, but that if hereafter India should provide a further sum, then that sum shall go to the Members appointed. Meanwhile, we think that a remuneration of £2,000 *plus* such pension as the persons appointed may happen to have may be accepted as a sufficient remuneration for each of them."

In the House of Commons, again, when an Honourable Member put a question to the Attorney General while the matter was under discussion we find that this point was further cleared up. The question was :

"What will happen if the Indian Legislature do not find their £2,000."

The Attorney General said :

"The persons appointed will have to accept the lower salary of £2,000. That, I anticipate, they will be willing to do in the circumstances."

Sir, therefore I said that the present Bill contemplates £2,000 as the normal salary to the person to be appointed under its provisions; and when a man in the position of the Lord Chancellor says that that would be considered sufficient for the time being so long as Indian revenues are not prepared to bear a further burden, I say that this amount ought to be considered sufficient for anybody whose domicile is in England. The Honourable the Home Member in his speech yesterday made it quite clear that this amount of £2,000 a year would be sufficient for anybody who was domiciled in England, and that the necessity for providing for a larger salary was to see that Indians, eminent Indians either of the position of retired High Court Judges or eminent Indian lawyers, should find it possible to accept this exalted office. If that be so, then there should be no difficulty in the way of my Honourable friend accepting my amendment. Sir, this allowance can be supported on the ground that it bears some analogy to the over-seas pay. The Honourable gentleman who has just sat down stated that we were introducing racial discrimination.

Mr. F. W. Allison: No, Sir. I denied it entirely. There was no racial question.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I am sorry that I did not hear him correctly. But I think the point was made on the last occasion, that by putting forward the demand that Indians should be appointed we were seeking to introduce an element of racial discrimination. I would like to point out in reply to that that so far as Indian Members of the Secretary of State's Council are concerned, they are in receipt of a higher salary than the European Members of the Secretary of State's Council. So, if there is any element of racial discrimination involved in this amendment, there is ample precedent for this House to impose it in the present circumstances. Sir, reference has been made to the fact that there is a considerable volume of opinion in this country which is in favour of the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. I may inform the House that so far as Bengal is concerned, a very large volume of opinion, legal opinion and also lay opinion, is against this proposal. I do not know whether the opinion in Madras is unanimously in favour of a Supreme Court. I did not understand my Honourable friend Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar to make that statement. But, Sir, when my Honourable friend, the ex-Advocate General of Madras, stated that it might be an advantage, or that some people consider that it might be an advantage, to have men in the Judicial Committee with no Indian experience, for the good reason that we would prefer to have men who have absolutely no bias in any matter, I wondered if in the same breath anyone can urge the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. Because, if we have the Supreme Court in India the Judges of that Court certainly will have experience of Indian conditions which is considered undesirable in the case of Members of the Judicial Committee. Sir, on this point it is interesting to find that another very eminent Madras lawyer, no less a person than Sir Sankaran Nair, who himself was an eminent Advocate, ex-Justice of the Madras High Court, and an ex-Member of the Executive Council of the Government of India, and also an ex-President of the Indian National Congress

An Honourable Member: He was not President of the Congress.

Mr. M. S. Anay (Berar Representative): Yes, he was, long before you had any connection with the Councils or the Congress.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadian Rural): And who also had a bitter experience of British Justice.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Sir, this is what he stated when the matter came up for discussion in the other House:

"As long as Hindu Law is not codified, we would like to have an Indian Judge always to take part in the decision of questions relating to Hindu Law. Similarly, as long as Muhammadan Law is not codified, we would like to have a Muhammadan Judge to take part in the decision of questions relating to Muhammadan Law. When they are codified, the question will become altogether different; and therefore in the Privy Council, when they decide cases relating to Hindu Law or to Muhammadan Law, we would like to have a Hindu or a Muhammadan Judge sitting there to advise the other Judges and himself taking part in the discussion and decision."

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, I should like to make a statement.

Mr. President: Why does the Honourable Member wish to make a statement?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: On a question of fact.

Mr. President: Is it a matter of personal explanation?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Yes, Sir, I have the authority of Sir Sankaran Nair himself . . .

Mr. President: Order, order.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I understand the reason why my Honourable friend is so very nervous because I have just reminded this House that legal opinion in the province from which I come is not in favour of my Honourable friend's Supreme Court

Sir Hari Singh Gour: You have not read the opinions at all.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Read them yourself. I therefore venture to think that opinion is not altogether against the idea of having men of Indian experience in the Privy Council.

Sir, I should like to mention one other point before I sit down. On the last occasion when this matter came up before the Assembly I was one of those who voted against the Resolution. The amendment which has now been moved by my Honourable friend Mr. Aney is similar to the amendment which was moved on that occasion by a friend of ours. If that amendment had been voted upon, I would have voted in favour of it, but as it did not come to a division we had no opportunity of voting. I might mention another fact, that when, after disposing of that Resolution, we went back to our homes, I was not congratulated by my lawyer friends in Calcutta for having turned down the proposal of Government in the summary way we did. Of course in regard to the question of attaching the condition on which we are prepared to find the money, Indian opinion is unanimous that we can never find a part of the expenses required unless we are assured that Indians will be appointed. Subject to that reservation, opinion in Calcutta, so far as I have been able to find out from among my lawyer friends, is certainly in favour of having eminent lawyers of Indian experience in the Privy Council; and if they are Indians, then certainly public opinion, as far as I know, would not mind paying an over-seas allowance to them at the rate of £2,000 a year.

Mr. T. Gavin-Jones (United Provinces: European): Sir, I know very little about this subject. Therefore I shall not discuss the merits or the demerits of appointing a Supreme Court of Appeals in India. It seems to me that His Majesty's Privy Council is necessary for the present, and as long as it is necessary, it is absolutely essential that Judges should be appointed who have a knowledge of India. But I do feel, and I know other Honourable Members sitting on these Benches feel the same, that it is a pity that the Government of India should have to come to this House to ask for a petty sum like £4,000 towards a court which is, after all, an Imperial Court, and I believe I am correct in saying that none of the Dominions pay any contribution towards the Privy Council.

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I think the Government of India might appeal to the British Government in future not to place them in this rather awkward, and if I may say so, rather humiliating position of having to come to this House for a small sum like this. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I oppose this Resolution on grounds which are quite different from those on which it has been opposed by others. I look upon the Privy Council and its Judicial Committee as an entirely British institution. It is no part of the Government of India and the Government of India Act has got nothing to do with it. You cannot control the actions of the Privy Council; you cannot confer jurisdiction on it or take away jurisdiction from it. So it is an entirely British institution and the services the Privy Council renders to India are certainly not greater than the services the Secretary of State for India renders to India. (*An Honourable Member*: "Question?")

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Contempt of Court, Sir.

Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder: I mean the services which the Secretary of State is supposed to render to the Government of India and the Indian Empire. You may look at it in this way. After persistent agitation we have been able only very recently to put the expenses of the Secretary of State for India on the British Exchequer. Are we now going to go up to the British Government and tell them that we are willing to take a part of the expenses of your administration or your institutions? Shall we not be stultifying ourselves if we do that? And once we open the door we do not know who will come in one after another.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur cum Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to oppose the Resolution of my Honourable friend the Home Member

Mr. President: What about the amendment?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: I am opposing the Resolution itself. Am I not entitled to do it?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is entitled to do so, but the Chair would like to know what the attitude of the Honourable Member is towards the amendment.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Last year the Home Member brought forward this Resolution, but it was rejected by the House; and since then no new materials have been placed before us and no new arguments have been advanced. The Home Member is very anxious to bring forward the Resolution about adding to the efficiency of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but he seems unwilling to move in the matter of adding to the efficiency of the judicial administration in this country. I might mention one matter, the question of the separation of the judicial from executive functions

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): On a point of order, is that relevant?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: It was a very important matter, but he has been moving at a snail's pace in this matter . . .

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: On a point of order . . .

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: I am not referring to it at greater length. I was only mentioning it by the way, as an example.

Mr. President: Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh is very discreet.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: I know why my Honourable friend is so anxious to saddle India with an annual sum of £4,000. Yesterday, in the course of his speech, my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour referred to the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi, but evidently he had not the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi with him. I happen to have with me a cutting from the *Hindustan Times* dated the 7th August 1926, in which the opinion of Mahatma Gandhi has been reproduced. I want to have his opinion on record, and so with your permission I should like to read one short paragraph. This is what he says:

"I have been following the controversy. I gathered together papers with a view to writing upon it for *Young India* and then decided not to write anything. I will now reconsider the thing. The objections raised by distinguished lawyers have made absolutely no appeal to me. Indeed it has been a painful surprise to me to observe opposition to Sir Hari Singh's very mild and very innocent proposal, but we have lost all confidence in ourselves. I have some little experience of the Privy Council cases, and it is my firm belief that the Members of the Privy Council are not free from political bias and on highly intricate matters of custom, in spite of all their labours, they often make egregious blunders."

Mr. K. Ahmed: Contempt of Court, Sir.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: I may refer the House to two cases. One is the case of Bal Gangadhar Tilak *vs.* Valentine Chirol, and the other is the recent case of Sir Michael O'Dwyer *vs.* Sir Sankaran Nair

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member is wide of the mark.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Emperor *vs.* Bal Gangadhar Tilak was the case I wanted to refer to.

Mr. K. Ahmed: That was in 1909; this refers to future appointments.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: The Home Member does not give a guarantee that Indians will be appointed to these posts. I have a shrewd suspicion that in making appointments those European gentlemen
1 p.m. who have been either acting as Judges of any of the Indian High Courts, or who want to retire after a lucrative practice at the Bar will fill up those appointments. With regard to the observations of my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy I would like to refer this House to the opinion of Sir Abdur Rahim, who was a Member of the Executive Council of Bengal. This is what he says

Mr. President: Order, order. I have got a request from some Moslem Members that for their convenience I should adjourn the House at 1 o'clock. I may inform them I am not going to take a division on this question before recess, so they may well go and return by 2-30 p.m.

Mr. K. Ahmed: But still, Sir, for the benefit of those Members who want to hear the debate it may be adjourned.

Mr. President: The Session is coming to an end and we must finish the business.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: This is what Sir Abdur Rahim, who was then a Member of the Executive Council in Bengal, said:

"I am not disposed to minimise the significance of the fact that the majority of those who were consulted including the High Court at Calcutta, the Calcutta Bar and the Vakils' Association and several prominent Barristers and Pleaders have advised against the establishment of a final Court of Appeal in India. On the other hand considerable importance should be attached to the views of the British Indian Association which represent very important and extensive landed interests and of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce and the Marwari Association who represent the Indian Commercial community of the province, as they may be relied on to voice between them the opinions of the classes who resort from Bengal to the Privy Council for a final decision of their legal disputes. When these important public bodies have emphasised in clear terms the need for establishing a final Court of Appeal in India it seems to me that it would hardly be correct to say that 'there is no public demand' for such a Court."

With these few words, I oppose the motion.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I just want to occupy the attention of the House for a few minutes and put before them a point of view which is very different from those which have been urged by those who have spoken so far. Sir, I oppose this motion and I submit that the least the House can do is to support the amendment proposed either by my Honourable friend Mr. Aney or Mr. Neogy; I oppose it on grounds which may seem novel to the House. The Honourable the Home Member is often very accurate in his analysis of the classes of his opponents, but this time I fear he has gone egregiously wrong. He classified his opponents as belonging to one or another of three classes. First, those who want to break the link of India with the Empire, to which class I may say I do not belong. Another class was of those who desire that India should have a separate Court of its own. On this, my own personal view is that the time has not yet come when we could have a Supreme Court of our own. I say this with great respect for my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour's view. I do not then belong to this class either. The third class which the Home Member mentioned consisted of those who held the view that India not being properly treated by the Colonies should have nothing to do with any institution connected with the Colonies. In this analysis the Home Member neglected a fourth class of people, the class to which I belong, and their view is that this experiment of importing ex-Indian Judges or Judges with Indian experience into the Privy Council has not been very successful of late, and ought not to be encouraged. It may seem a very novel view to my Honourable friends but I hold the view which is shared by a considerable section of my profession, that if the Privy Council has to be maintained under the political conditions of this country for yet a few more years, nothing should be done to import into that body any material which may carry elements of prejudice or misconception, as is likely to be done if you introduce an Anglo-Indian Judge into that assembly. I hold the view, which my profession very largely shares, that the section which was introduced by the Act of 1833 providing for Judges of Indian experience, to quote the expression used here, has not been successful. We have been safe up to now from the extreme results of that mistake owing to the very wholesome rule which prevents these places being turned into lucrative jobs, namely, the provision only of £400 a year which was given by way of indemnity against personal expenses. The result was that the appointment was not regarded as a job; it had no element of a job about it.

The salary was not attractive, the surroundings were not attractive, with the result that only those people for whom the law had a real fascination or who were mentally gifted with all those attributes which make a great lawyer, coveted these places. The result was that up to now the few appointments which have so far been made to the Privy Council of ex-Indian judges have all of them, except a few, been of men who cared for the seat for its own sake. As the Honourable the Home Member rightly remarked, and I agree entirely with him, that we cannot induce the right type of Indian to go to England. He very wisely remarked and it shows his great knowledge of an insight into Indian affairs, only the Anglicised type of Indian will go, and often he is not the right type of Indian to go.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Is an Anglicised Indian not the right type of Indian?

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: Not from the point of view of the provision which the Home Member wishes to make, as an aid to the work of the English Judges in the Privy Council. If we could get a combination of men like Muthuswami Ayyar J. or Sir V. Bashyam Ayyangar J. sitting with men like Lords Macnaghten and Shaw, we should have an ideal combination. But even if we pass this Act we cannot induce such men to go; and until we have men of that type we will not have true representatives of the Indian mind or view. After all, what is all this shibboleth about "Indian experience?" What is the Indian law? I am not speaking for the moment of the personal law of the Hindus and Muhammadans. Even then I say, Sir, with great respect to Mahatma Gandhi's opinion quoted before this House a few minutes ago, that although the cases which go up to the Privy Council have to be decided by English Judges their decisions on the whole have not been unsound. But leaving this on one side, for the moment, what is our Indian law? A distant imitation, a defective reflection of British law. I have heard it said by a Judge of great experience in Bombay, who later on adorned the Privy Council benches, that he learnt the whole of the Indian law in the course of a fortnight's voyage from London to Bombay! Indian law, with all its peculiarities, with all its difficulties, is as I said, but a distant and very often a defective reflection of British law. Take the Transfer of Property law. What is it but real property law mixed up with rules of Equity in England.

This Resolution lays undue stress on the importance of "Indian experience." My fear is that if we provide this attractive salary of £4,000 a year, as proposed by the Resolution, we will make these places jobs with all the bad qualities of jobs about them—all the scramble, the scheming, the designing on the part of the unworthy, from which these places have been free so far. I hold the view, Sir, that the Privy Council ought to be adorned only by men who are the greatest lawyers of the Empire working for the dignity of their office. I personally have spent the most important years of my life in legal Chambers in England. I have come across some of the best and most important men in the legal world of England at that time, and I have a great respect for their eminence. For Heaven's sake, let us not perpetrate by means of this Resolution a job, the result of which will be that the right type of men will not be drawn, and which will only be an easy, comfortable, snug place for inferior men who have made their fortunes in this country and want to continue the process in their retirement. I personally hold the view which the Honourable Member who is not in his place, Mr. Allison, rightly expressed that men of first-rate ability, of full vigour of mind, should go into those places. Do you think,

[Mr. M. R. Jayakar.]

Sir, taking the compulsory age of retirement for a judge to be 60, that any Indian is going to a foreign place after such an age and possibly after 35 or 40 years of strenuous life in this country? How many of them can be said to preserve first-rate ability or full vigour of mind at that age?

Remember, Sir, that the average age of retirement is 60 years for a High Court Judge. Who are our Judges drawn from? Not often from the successful men at the Bar. I may say under our present system such men seldom become Judges. Everybody knows

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: For what reason, may I ask the Honourable Member?

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: Because the Government are often suspicious of the practising lawyer.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Because he will not accept the judgeship that is offered to him.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: Yes, it may sometimes be for the reason that the practising lawyer does not feel much attraction for Rs. 4,000 a month. Whatever the cause may be, the fact is there that our Judges are very infrequently drawn from the class of practising lawyers. To him this provision is not temptation at all. He wants to go to England but for six months a year to enjoy himself in the Spas and the baths of Europe; he does not wish to go into the Privy Council. I am stating what is a fact. Take Bombay for instance. Take then the civilian Judge who retires after 35 years of service sundried with strenuous work. Let us say he has spent in the High Court or as a Judge some 25 years. With great respect to the civilian, may I say that very often though he has been a High Court Judge for some years he retains the mentality which he developed as a junior collector. Having spent his early life in the midst of Police Inspectors and people of that description, very often he does not represent the highest type of the judicial mind. With great respect to the Home Member and his class, I will say this; but leaving that aside for a moment, whom are we providing for when we say "with Indian experience"? Can the Honourable the Home Member provide a system—for which I shall be very thankful if it can be done—by which you could weed out the undesirable Judge and give us the right type of Indian Judge to go there? Therefore I submit that by choosing Judges under the guise of very sound and wholesome arguments, this House will be perpetrating a jobbery. I am purposely using that word, without offence, to anybody. We are practically creating two handsome posts which may become jobs. Please do not be under a misgiving; the right type of Indian will not go to these posts. You will simply be creating comfortable places for third and fourth-rate non-Indian Judges who want to continue the process of money-making on their retirement from India; and I submit on these grounds the Honourable the Home Member is very much mistaken if he thinks that he will get the right type of Indian Judge by this process.

Let us take things as they are and see how far the experiment is likely to be successful. I ask the Honourable Member to state, without giving instances, how many successful Judges he has found in the Privy Council, since 1833, out of those who were promoted for their Indian experience. Will he kindly name a dozen at least? Since 1833 up to now it is nearly a century. How many Indian Judges with Indian experience—to quote

the words of his Resolution—have distinguished themselves by their eminence? I only know of one during recent times and he unfortunately owing to his age and his illness has not been able to take any large part in the decisions of the Privy Council. And I may tell the Honourable the Home Member that, speaking of the Bench in the Bombay High Court, he will be surprised to hear, that when I sometimes quote a Privy Council decision, *e.g.*, a decision which happened to be of two ex-Indian Judges sitting there, the Judges asked me: "Oh; proceed to some other ruling, Mr. Jayakar; leave this aside for a moment." I am telling him the plain facts of the profession. To-day in the profession the decisions of pure English Judges of the Privy Council are valued more. I had occasion only two years ago to rely upon a famous decision of an ex-Indian Judge—I shall not name him—and I was not allowed to proceed for more than half an hour on the ground that that decision did not command assent. The Honourable the Home Member began by saying, "The Court must be such"—I will quote his very words. I do not doubt that the Privy Council is a court, I will accept his argument that it is a court—he said "The court must be such as to command the respect of all including the litigants." I take that as a very sound and wholesome dictum. I say, therefore, if we want to preserve this wise rule, let the Privy Council be kept absolutely uncontaminated by attractions of lucre. It is bad enough that under the law of 1833 we have got to send two Indian Judges of Indian experience to this tribunal. But we will make it worse if we couple with that office a sordid and attractive remuneration like £4,000 a year. I oppose the Resolution, Sir, on these grounds, which are somewhat novel—they have not been expressed before this House up to now by any speaker—because I am anxious that the dignity and integrity of the Privy Council should be maintained. The remarks may seem somewhat queer, proceeding from an occupant of these Benches that I should give the Privy Council such credit; but I have lived in their midst; I have seen the legal system of England at close quarters and I have the highest respect for it. Somebody spoke of political prejudices being imported into the Privy Council. Well, Sir, shall I say quite frankly that that is perhaps the result of introducing the Indian element there? I know there are cases where the Privy Council is not free from political prejudice. But let us not make matters worse by making these places attractive jobs for retired Judges. This is apart from the ground rightly stated by my friend, Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder, that the Privy Council is a purely British institution I am not averse to giving £4,000 a year—it is not a very big salary in the legal profession but the question is whether we will not strive to keep, pure from the scramble of cupidity, the institution called the Judicial Committee on which eminent men of England have so far served practically without remuneration—the Lord Chancellor does not charge anything separately for his work nor also other big lawyers who go and dispense justice there. I want that tradition to be maintained as far as possible. But if you turn that into a job like £4,000 a year my fear is that third and fourth-rate men, Indian or non-Indian—I do not care, I am concerned more with the quality of the men—will try to get in; I am sure the right type of Indian will not be induced to go and spend 10 or 20 years in England on this salary. It is the more ambitious, not necessarily the more able man who will go, attracted by these salaries. On these grounds, Sir, I oppose this motion.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Sir, I thought when the Honourable the Home Member spoke of three classes of opponents, he had not

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

exhausted the list and I wanted to claim to belong to the fourth class; but as my friend, Mr. Jayakar, has appropriated the fourth class to himself, I must say that I belong to the fifth class. Sir, I oppose both the Resolution moved by the Home Member as well as the amendment moved by my friend, Mr. Neogy. Sir, from my point of view I am opposed to the existence of either the Privy Council in England or the Supreme Court in India. The courts that we have in India are sufficient in themselves, and I do not want that parties and people in this country should be further impoverished by opening up a larger vista of courts for them. My Honourable friend, Sir Hari Singh Gour, is always fond of speaking of the Supreme Court as "my Supreme Court" and saying that he is personally interested in the matter. I have always been at a loss to know what his personal interest is, unless, perhaps when the Supreme Court comes into being, he claims to be the first Judge of that Court, I do not grudge him that position; having fought for it so long he ought to gain it first; but I would stand as much as possible in the way of the court itself coming into being before he can take his seat there. (Laughter.) Sir, from my point of view litigation has of late become more or less a gamble. I would not say that the courts are gambling houses, but at any rate the confidence that people once had in courts of justice is gradually going away and the question now is who has got the longest purse, and the uncertainties of the courts of law are so great, that people are becoming day after day impoverished by the various courts that are opened to them. I must say that after the village panchayats have been ruthlessly killed and extinguished, some of the courts at any rate are necessary evils in this country. Why should we multiply them? My Honourable friend Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar at the fag end of his practice says to-day that the courts are too numerous and that as much as possible the courts must be curtailed and litigation must be curtailed. (Laughter.) I am likewise at the fag end of my practice and both of us think that there should be no further litigation. Both of us are alive to the fact that we have in our own way contributed a great deal to the impoverishment of the people. We have been abettors also in the miscarriage of justice. Both of us will have to stand answerable before God. I am only glad that Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar will be the first accused. At any rate I am convinced that it is high time that all of us should advocate as much as possible the boycotting of the courts, and I do not want that further scope must be given to have access to the Privy Council or Judicial Committee whatever it may be called. My Honourable friend the Home Member was giving some statistics of a superficial kind. He said that many cases of late have been coming before the Privy Council of which the percentage of India was large. I would ask him to quote further statistics and point out how many of these judgments were *ex parte*, how many were left unrepresented and how many were the cases of rich men who alone have the purse to go to the Privy Council to oppress the poor. I would ask him to state how many appeals that were preferred were dismissed and how many were allowed or modified in any manner. If he finds that in a large number of cases which went up to the Privy Council the appeals were allowed, then I say it is due to something wrong in the selection of Judges in our courts here. It is because Judges are not always selected according to merit. Sometimes they get in by nepotism and that is why we find that in so many cases the judgments are reversed in the Privy Council. If on the other hand

you turn your attention to the constitution of these High Courts and make them perfect, there will be no charm in any one getting into a steamer, crossing the ocean and then blossoming suddenly into a big personage as a Member of the Privy Council whose judgment must be much more respected than the judgment of the same gentleman delivered from this side of the ocean. It all depends upon the personnel of the High Court. An efficient personnel will satisfy the ends of justice and not the sending of one man to another country and calling him a Member of the Judicial Committee and then saying that his judgments must be valued more than the judgments of those on this side of the water. Now, Sir, I would ask what are the costs of prosecuting an appeal before the Privy Council. Has even the successful man ever returned in a better condition than what he was before? Is not the successful man more impoverished than the defeated man? Why multiply all this litigation and thereby impoverish the people? I ask the Home Member to state the average time taken for a decision of the Privy Council, between a decision of the High Court and a decision of the Privy Council on the same matter. I have made a rough calculation and it has come to four or five years. If the Privy Council has entertained an appeal it takes five years before a decision is arrived at. I find that the number of judgments that have been actually delivered during the last three or four years are not many.

In 1922-23, 38 cases were decided by the Privy Council. In 1923-24 41 cases were decided. In 1924-25 50 cases were decided. Of those 50 cases 30 were dismissed so far as I have been able to calculate.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: What figures is the Honourable Member quoting?

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I am giving the figures of the decided cases in the Indian appeals, by a regular counting from the Reports themselves last night and I am sure I am accurate. If the Home Member is so much enamoured of the efficiency of the Privy Council, I would like him to become an appellant or a respondent before the Privy Council one day. The Honourable Sir Charles Innes and the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett had some experience in the matter of imported duties which were recovered by the Customs Department and which were asked to be refunded to the Railway Department. But that was a sham fight though at the cost of the tax-payer. But what happens to the people? I will quote one typical instance. There is a case in 50 Indian Appeals, p. 301. That case started in the year 1904 in India. It ended in 1924.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Is that a Madras case?

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I am not quite sure. Probably it was a Madras case. That case is a case in which a zamindar filed a suit against tenants for rents. It cannot be in each case more than Rs. 10,000 in value. The matter went up to the Privy Council by a consolidated valuation of the batch of cases. Now, Sir, that was a case which was started before an ordinary revenue court for rents against tenants. The revenue courts decided it in a particular manner. The district courts confirmed it. The High Court confirmed it. Then the matter was taken to the Privy Council. The Privy Council reversed the judgment of the High Court. That was in 1914. The High Court had decided it in favour of the landlord in 1908. He filed intermediate suits between 1908 and 1914 on the basis of the decision of the High Court. After the Privy Council reversed it the tenants went back for a refund of all the amounts which were collected by the landlord between 1908 and 1914. That matter was

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

decided in favour of the tenants by the subordinate judge, confirmed by the High Court. The matter went up to the Privy Council, but the Privy Council said that the tenants were not entitled to get a refund of the amount. So the matter went up twice to the Privy Council. On the first occasion the tenants succeeded in having the rent established at Rs. 2-12-0 an acre. The second time it went up the landlord succeeded in establishing it at Rs. 6 an acre. The same case went on between the same two parties—I will not say the same two parties, because they would not be alive for such a long time (Laughter) or the legal representatives of the parties. This is exactly the efficiency of the Private Council. May I quote another small instance, if you will have the patience to hear it, of justice, equity and good conscience which is administered for the benefit of the people. A man aged 19 years executed a will in which he disposed of some property and in which he also authorised his wife to make an adoption after his death, and the document registered. Then the matter went right up to the Privy Council on the question of adoption. The Privy Council, contrary to the decisions of the Indian courts, decided that the registration of that document was invalid, because he was a minor under the Guardian and Wards Act, though he was 19 years old, and therefore his disposition of the property was illegal. Now as to the authority to adopt, the age of majority is only 16 years according to the Hindu Law when a man can give authority to adopt. But unfortunately in this case that authority to adopt was incorporated in that document, and as the registration of that document was held to be invalid, so the authority to adopt was also rendered invalid. (Laughter.) This is the equity and good conscience which is imparted to us from a distant shore. So, Sir, in spite of the admiration which my friend Mr. Jayakar has for the efficiency of that Committee, and even supposing the competence of Indians to sit on the Privy Council is denied by Mr. Jayakar, we have had enough of decisions which have caused troubles over even settled laws and which have developed litigation, as my friend Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar put it. I will not go into all the cases and points, because we cannot carry all these things in our heads, particularly Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, who gets his juniors to put up all these points to him.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar: On a point of personal explanation, I may say, I was also a junior once. (Laughter.)

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: In regard to the decision of the Privy Council regarding an antecedent debt to support the validity of alienation made by a father, in regard to the effect of attestation in a document, and in regard to the effect of the registration of a document, about which this House has now my Bill pending before it and which has on the motion of Sir Hari Singh Gour been circulated for public opinion—all these points, including also the presumption to be drawn in the case of inam-grants, are matters in which the decisions of the Privy Council have led to a number of conflicting decisions which have upset all the previous settled law in this country. One notable example was a case in 51 Indian Appeals 129. The previous decision of the Privy Council in 44 Indian Appeals 126 was interpreted in different ways, one in the way of the Full Bench of the Madras High Court and the other as in Allahabad. And both had to be reconciled in this other Privy Council decision contained in 51 Indian Appeals 120 in which the observation in the previous decision are not

approved. What is it that this country has gained, therefore, by sending 20 or 30 cases annually, which comes to an average of two or three cases per province? And all this is proposed to be at the cost of the tax-payer, and to the detriment of poor litigants at the cost of the rich who have taken cases for decision to that eminent body called the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. What is it, Sir, I ask, that this country has gained, either in the way of an education in law or for the betterment of the condition of the people? I say that it is an absolute disadvantage to us to have a large number of courts, and particularly a court beyond our shores.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member must conclude his observations now. His time is finished.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Sir, I would only mention one point, and that is I would suggest that if it is necessary we must have some tribunal here in this country which must sit to reconcile conflicting views or settle serious cases of importance either in our civil or criminal administration. I would suggest that a Judge be taken from each of the principal Courts in this country to form a tribunal which will sit for a week or two every year to bring together all conflicting decisions and decide important points without any cost or additional charge. That, I submit, Sir, will be a proper remedy for the settlement of these intricate questions of law.

The Assembly then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty Minutes to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, the question before the House is the Resolution moved by the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman, the Home Member. With regard to that motion, I neither am in favour of it nor quite against it. I am not against it in the sense that Judges of Indian experience, if they have to go to the Privy Council, will no doubt be an acquisition to the Privy Council, but I object to it on the ground that that in itself would not be of so great an advantage that we Indians should have to pay for that and that the pay of those Judges should come from the Indian revenues. It is entirely on this financial ground that I am opposed to it; otherwise, so far as the securing of Judges of Indian experience is concerned, I think there is no doubt that there will be an advantage. Some Honourable Members have made remarks regarding the point that the time has not come for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. Well, Sir, I am quite opposed to that view. Now if the time has come for the establishment of self-government in India, then there is no reason to think that the time has not come for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. There is not the slightest reason why there should not be a Supreme Court here in India to decide all constitutional questions of law instead of going so far as England for it; such a Court will itself have to decide the matters here, matters which have had to be carried outside to the

[Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan.]

Privy Council. And, further if the time has not come for the establishment of self-government in India, why do you clamour for it? So in my opinion it is as clear as broad day light that the time has come for the establishment of a Supreme Court in India and there is no reason why this question should be held up any longer. Doubts have been expressed as to the integrity of courts. I am quite opposed to that view. I have had a long experience of courts and have not found that so far as the miscarriage of justice is concerned the courts are to blame; but rather that it is due to the members of the bar; it is they, the vakils with their satellites and their touts who create all the trouble. I hope I will be pardoned for expressing these views. So it is neither the fault of the courts here nor of the High Courts nor of the Privy Council in England that miscarriages of justice occur. It is true I think that an addition of Judges of Indian experience to the Privy Council, as proposed by the Honourable the Home Member, will in every sense be an advantage. Then, Sir, much doubt has been expressed with regard to the decisions of the Privy Council. If you go on arguing in this way, you can have no end of it. Even the *fatwas* have been disputed at times. Mistakes occur everywhere. So if mistakes are made by Pandits, by Maulvis and theologians even in religion, there is no reason why we should attach so much importance to mistakes made here or there in district courts, in the High Courts. So, taking all these things into consideration, I oppose the Resolution moved only on financial grounds and not on political grounds.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava (Ambala Division: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I rise to oppose the Resolution of the Honourable the Home Member and to warn the House against the narcotic sought to be administered through the insidious platitudes and implications of Indian experience and possession of knowledge of recent Indian law and practice. As an abstract proposition by itself, the Resolution has its attractions, but to my mind, beneath its attractive veneer lies the repelling prospect of the perpetuation of the Privy Council in its present shape. I deem this Resolution, Sir, as an attempt to indefinitely put off the establishment of a Supreme Court in India. Sleeping draughts are not now favoured in medical science, but palliatives are still regarded as honoured recipes in political laboratories. I believe, Sir, the establishment of a Supreme Court is long overdue. It should have come as an integral part of the reforms laying the foundation of judicial autonomy on the basis of similar colonial Supreme Courts. Sir, just as legislative bodies and other institutions provide a framework through which the national life of India is to pulsate vigorously and develop to the heights of which it is capable in the fulness of time, the Supreme Court should have provided a framework of judicial autonomy: and my humble submission is that this framework of judicial autonomy should have been provided *pari passu* with other frameworks. In some quarters, Sir, this argument has been regarded as the argument of sentiment. It has been said, Sir, that there is no real demand for such a Supreme Court, and that there is a practical utility in the continuance of present arrangements, and that efficiency should not be sacrificed to sentiment. Sir, even if the gravamen of this argument were sound, I have no hesitation in saying that national sentiment would outweigh all other considerations. Sir, sentiment is the real bedrock of all that is good in human nature. Sentiment is the life-blood of self-respect and sense of honour. Why fight shy

of this sentiment? How those who know its value are influenced by this consideration would appear from the opinion of the Honourable the Chief Justice of Allahabad. He says:

"I think it desirable to establish a Supreme Court of Appeal in India for the trial of Civil Appeals on the ground of sentiment and encouragement of nationalism provided Indians are willing to bear the cost."

It will be interesting in this connection to quote the opinion of the Government of the Punjab also. They say in their letter No. 5741, dated the 29th September 1921:

"That though purely administrative arguments are against the establishment of this Supreme Court in India, the Governor in Council is of opinion that the establishment is necessary for reasons connected with national sentiment in order to give to India that which Canada and Australia already possess."

The Madras High Court and other bodies are in favour of this proposal and almost all the Bar Associations of the Punjab and the United Provinces have favoured the idea. I will not trouble the House with any further quotations. But I submit, Sir, that on this ground alone the position of India should be assimilated to those in the Colonies and a Supreme Court should be established in India. Apart from that, Sir, there are other very good reasons why there should be a Supreme Court in India. My first reason is that the present criminal law of India provides only one appeal in Sessions cases. In cases where capital sentences are given the High Court is the final judge. In civil cases worth only Rs. 600 two appeals are provided by law. Moreover in appeals against acquittals there is very good reason why there should be a court sitting over the High Courts. We know, Sir, that the Privy Council is disinclined to interfere in criminal cases unless those are cases of manifest injustice or infraction of some well established principle of law. What to speak of other cases? The Privy Council did not interfere even in the Punjab Martial Law cases. It is necessary to have a court in India with powers of criminal revision, reference and review sitting over the different High Courts. My second reason is that since a constitution has been granted to India and it is likely that questions of importance will arise, it is necessary to have a court to interpret and uphold the constitution. In all federations, such courts are an absolute necessity. The third point is the question of expense. This needs very serious consideration. Of late there is a tendency and it is generally felt that law is the servant of the long purse and the poor people cannot have their cases decided rightly. I know of several cases in my district which have gone to the Privy Council. In one case the property involved was about Rs. 12,000. It was a pre-emption case and the expenses incurred amounted to the same amount plus Rs. 5,000 or Rs. 6,000 extra by way of interest which the people of that village had to pay. In fact, Sir, in many cases the poor party goes unrepresented in the Privy Council. It will be interesting to find how many cases which were decided by the Privy Council were heard *ex parte*. The fourth point is, Sir, that the cases are not well represented before the Judges of the Privy Council. Legal practitioners before the Privy Council are not acquainted with the usages, custom and personal law of the parties and it is very difficult for ordinary litigants to go personally to such a long distance and instruct their counsel. So in many cases proper justice is not done. Because the judgments of the Privy Council are the judgments of the highest Court, and they are cited subsequently by High Courts as precedents, so in many cases great injustice is done. We have just heard how a case was decided in 20 years. But, Sir, I understand that 5 years is the average duration

[Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava.]

and justice delayed is justice denied, to quote the Honourable the Home Member himself. It has been said, Sir, that if a Supreme Court were established in India able and competent Judges will not be found in India to fill the post and we shall be

Mr. F. W. Allison: Does the Honourable Member commit himself to the statement that the average duration of a case in the Privy Council is five years?

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: I know of some cases in which the duration has been much more than five years, and if the Honourable Member wishes me to give a list of those cases, I will supply him with that.

Mr. F. W. Allison: I should like to have that.

Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava: It has been said that if a Supreme Court is established in India able and competent Judges will not be found to fill the posts and we shall be deprived of the services and ability of distinguished Judges of the Privy Council. Being a lawyer myself, I must say that in many cases the judgments of the Privy Council inspire confidence and are a masterly exposition of the principles of justice and law, but need many instances be quoted in which the Judges have produced an intolerable amount of mischief and uncertainty into established principles of law. As an illustration I would quote 39 Allahabad, page 437. Sir, in this ruling, their Lordships have defined "antecedent debts". If I mistake not at least 50 judgments have been delivered by various High Courts and almost all the High Courts interpreted the ruling differently and the Privy Council have again themselves put another interpretation on their previous ruling. May I quote 101 and 124 Punjab R. 1918 in which 2 per cent. per mensem rate of interest was upheld by the Privy Council. Sir, even conceding without admitting that we shall lose judicial perspicacity and reasoning, I must reiterate that the argument is one which must be dismissed as soon as it is entertained. Does the Supreme Court of any other country possess British Judges? And then, Sir, Sir Hari Singh Gour's proposal does not say that British Judges should not be appointed.

Mr. M. S. Aney: But that is not before the House.

Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava: The proposal means the establishment of a Supreme Court and nothing else. That is the negation of the Resolution of the Honourable the Home Member and as such it is before the House.

It is very convenient, Sir, for the Honourable Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar and the Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar at the fag end of their career and practice, to find out that courts are evils and they should be boycotted, at least not multiplied, but the establishment of a Supreme Court does not multiply courts, nor does it increase litigation. The whole scheme of the establishment of a Supreme Court is conceived in the spirit of robust nationalism, of which the Honourable Sir Srinivasa Iyengar and Mr. Duraiswami Aiyangar are the best exponents. But, Sir, some of them may be the likely competitors of Dr. Gour and they would rather not have a Supreme Court than have a formidable rival in Dr. Gour. Sir, I oppose the Resolution.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar: Sir, on a point of personal explanation, I am not a "Sir" or a titled person at all.

Mr. T. Prakasam (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I am much obliged to the Honourable the Home Member for the analysis which he has made about the position of the Members and parties on this side here with regard to this proposition. He has divided them into three groups and my friends have made them into five groups. My Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar was telling us in this House a few days ago that wisdom was dawning upon some of us; now three groups have developed into five groups. The Honourable the Home Member was frank in his statement—that his Government would not give us Swaraj or self-government and that it is a matter in which we should help ourselves. It was really very good on his part to have said so and that is a correct position which I, for my part, will accept; and he has been consistently very generous and quite impartial to everyone of the groups in this House; no partiality—absolute impartiality in any and every respect. He has been

3 P.M. very good in telling us: "You may belong to any party you like; so far as the Government is concerned, the position is this, you can never think of getting anything of self-government from the Government itself." So wisdom must be dawning upon some of us having regard to this very impartial treatment of every one of us. I cannot agree with my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar when he says that Indian judges were not so popular as some of the civilian judges. (*An Honourable Member*: "He never said that.") I thought he said so. If I am mistaken in that respect I do not wish to refer to it at all. I oppose this proposition first on the ground that the cost of taking a case to the Privy Council has been almost prohibitive even to those who can afford to pay, secondly, on the ground of delay that is caused in the administration of justice. I can tell the Honourable Members of this House that I have known some cases which have not been finally decided even after 15 or 16 years. The parties, successful as well as unsuccessful, have been ruined on account of the expenses of litigation

Mr. K. Ahmed: Whose fault is that?

Mr. T. Prakasam: It is the fault of the system and of the people who have not been able to realise the evil consequences of litigation. Anybody who has to take a case to the Privy Council has to incur prohibitive printing charges he has to deposit a security for costs of the other side and he has to engage counsel and solicitors in England paying enormous charges. This cost is the first great trouble. Then as regards the constitution and character of the Privy Council, my Honourable friend Mr. Allison over there challenged the statement of the Honourable Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar that the Privy Council is not really a judicial tribunal. It is a very elementary matter; every one knows it and nobody can dispute, that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council is not really a judicial tribunal. It is a tribunal that has arisen out of the prerogative of His Majesty the King Emperor. That has continued in some form or other. I happened to be in that court not merely as a student, but even as a lawyer, in cases argued before that tribunal: and I can tell you how cases were heard, on occasions when I happened to be present. One of the most eminent of the presiding Judges got out of his seat and went to the chimney in which a fire was burning, and stood in front of the fireplace as

[Mr. T. Prakasam.]

the case was argued. It is just like the hearing of a case by His Majesty the King Emperor himself when His Majesty was exercising the Royal prerogative. Now about the competency of the Judges, Sir. As my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar has pointed out, it is quite true that some of the most eminent Judges of the House of Lords and other courts in England sit on that Committee and attempt to understand and decide cases. Two Judges who have been presiding for a very long time are Sir John Edge and Mr. Ameer Ali. There were cases in which I myself found it very difficult to instruct the senior counsel with whom I was associated there, in Hindu Law cases, because the subjects were so difficult and they were not familiar with them. The top-most gentlemen in the legal profession including ex-Attorney General were engaged sometimes in Indian cases and even they found it very difficult to grasp the several questions presented to them by their own juniors. In the end what a mess was made. These are cases involving several crores and lakhs of rupees, and how were they disposed of by the Judges who did not understand the custom or law, with the aid of the counsel who were not able to present the cases well owing to their inability to understand? How could they be expected to decide cases under Muhammadan law and cases under Hindu law? Formerly there were Supreme Courts in India. The present High Courts are supposed to have taken the place of those Supreme Courts. In those days justice was done much better than now. When questions affecting Hindu or Muhammadan law came up Pandits and Maulvis were sitting by the side of the Judges interpreting the texts and original documents to enable the Judges to do justice. Now, to say that justice could be done in these days, with regard to these laws, is simply a perversion of truth. It is a mere chance and accident; it is a gamble in litigation, it is a criminal waste of money. I may tell the Honourable Members of this House of one typical instance to show the incompetency of this tribunal. There was a case in which my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar appeared against my client in one of the courts. It was a very simple case. A mortgage bond was executed by one zamindar, his client, in favour of mine, another zamindar. It was a registered document, duly attested. When a suit was filed for recovery of the money, an extraordinary defence was raised by the client of this ingenious friend of mine, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Laughter) relying upon a Privy Council decision. The plea was: "It is quite true that I executed this mortgage bond, it is quite true that I borrowed some lakhs from the plaintiff, but I say that this document is invalid because I did not sign in the presence of the two testators who signed the document." For this he relied upon a Privy Council decision. There was a Privy Council decision which was quite wrong. Could you ever think of a decision like that? In England where the common law courts were exercising their jurisdiction in a most technical manner, sticking to the letter of the law and denying substantial justice, equity courts jurisdiction came in. It was again equity jurisdiction of His Majesty the King Emperor

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: What was the fate of your client in that case?

Mr. T. Prakasam: The fate of my client was quite good because the Judge was one who could get out of the letter of the law of the Privy Council decision and he characterised the defendant as one of the perjurers and liars of this country. (Laughter). But allow me to complete the

story, Sir. It so happens that this gentleman who has been characterised to be a liar was lifted up to one of the topmost places in the Presidency by the Government of Madras and the Judge who gave such a judgment had lost all prospect of becoming a Judge of the High Court. So my submission is that it is really cruel that this country should be now called upon to pay £4,000. My submission is that £400 which is now paid under the old Act

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Who is it being paid by?

Lala Lajpat Rai: By the English Exchequer for an English Court.

Mr. T. Prakasam: Sir, I submit that £400 is an adequate honorarium for the gracious services which these gentlemen render by presiding over the Judicial Committee and hearing cases while they warm themselves in front of a fire and ultimately giving judgment on a technical point or on a point of law. When they give decisions on points of law after they understand the case clearly I admit that their decisions are masterly productions and I have the greatest respect for the learned Judges of Great Britain because I had been a student there myself and had learnt much from them. I have nothing to say against them. But when they have to decide Indian cases and apply the principles of Indian law after hearing counsel for one or two hours it is really a difficult matter. The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as it is to-day has contributed more towards perpetrating unhealthy and unholy litigation in this land by much hair-splitting

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar: In the law of adoption particularly.

Mr. T. Prakasam: In everything; it would be a fruitless task to go into details in these matters. They considered it their duty to do some service to this land by presiding over this Committee for an annual sum of £400. That is quite a good amount and India should not be taxed to pay more. Whether we get self-government or not, whether you give it or not, the people outside are watching you and us and they will take good care of what you and we do and also of self-government themselves. You will no doubt be doing your duty and they will do their duty and we will do ours. I appeal to you, Sir, to please withdraw this Resolution.

Honourable Members: I move that the question be now put.

Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan Roy (Bengal Mahajan Sabha: Indian Commerce): Sir, I desire to occupy the attention of this House just for a few brief minutes only. I am sorry I cannot support my Honourable friend Sir Hari Singh Gour's demand for the establishment of a Supreme Court here in India. I stand here to-day more as a litigant and a business man than as a lawyer. I cannot believe that such a costly institution as a Supreme Court should be established in India.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: On a point of order, Sir. I submit that is not the question before the House.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member himself spoke for twenty-five minutes on the question of the Supreme Court. (Laughter.)

Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan Roy: Sir, I do not think that I am using the language of exaggeration when I say that such an institution would be an unmixed evil in this country. It would add to the cost of litigation in an impoverished country like India. I oppose this. I cannot understand why such a costly institution should be established here inasmuch

[Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan Roy.]

as the Judicial Committee would remain all the same in England, and we cannot do without the same. We cannot think of another Supreme Court so long as the Judicial Committee cannot be dispensed with. That is the view which I take. My Association, which I represent here, would not support such an institution. My Honourable friend Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh has referred to the opinion which was expressed by the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce of which I am a member, and the Marwari Association. I believe they expressed their opinion in support of a Supreme Court in India under the impression that the Judicial Committee would give place to the Supreme Court in India. Of course I am speaking subject to correction. I can say this with confidence and without fear of contradiction that Bengal does not want this Supreme Court. The Calcutta High Court have expressed their opinion definitely against it, and what is more, the Bar Association and the Vakils' Association, the members of which would be directly benefited and would gain by such an institution in India, have themselves disapproved of this project. I am sorry I cannot lend my support to this scheme. My Honourable friend Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar has paid a glowing tribute to the Indian Judiciary which is appointed, on the recommendation of the High Courts, by the Government of India and the Local Governments. There may be jobbery in the case of these appointments here by sundried bureaucrats; but I believe the Lord Chancellor of England would be impartial in making appointments to the Judicial Committees. I therefore do not share, I am sorry, the view which has been expressed by my esteemed friend Mr. Jayakar on this point. I support the amendment of my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy which appears to me to be an eminently sensible proposition. A clear precedent has been created in the Council of India to which reference has been made by the Parliamentary Joint Committee. In their report they have stated as follows:

"Later on in this Report it will be suggested that Indian Members of the Council of India in London should be paid a higher scale of remuneration than those members of the Council domiciled in the United Kingdom. The same principle might suggest to the Legislative Council that it was reasonable for the ministers of the provincial Government domiciled in India to be paid on a lower scale of remuneration than the European members."

My friend Mr. Neogy has referred to this fact in support of the amendment which he has placed before the House. I think on the same principle Indian lawyers of experience ought to be remunerated on a higher scale by means of an allowance. Their ordinary salary ought to be fixed at £2,000 a year and if any Indian lawyers of experience—and I believe they will be available to serve on the Judicial Committee—are appointed another extra allowance of £2,000 ought to be provided for them. I think the better class of lawyers and the better type of Indian lawyers of experience will be attracted to the Judicial Committee if such a provision is made. Otherwise I fear the anticipations of my friend Mr. Jayakar may prove correct. Can we think of a better man than Lord Sinha to serve on the Judicial Committee? I am sure my Honourable friend Mr. Jayakar would welcome such a sober and sound lawyer as Lord Sinha on the Judicial Committee. Sir, I support the amendment of my friend Mr. Neogy.

Honourable Members: I move that the question be now put.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I cannot on the present occasion complain that the House is empty when I rise to reply on this important Resolution which has been under consideration of the House for a considerable period. I have scarcely listened to a debate with greater interest. This is one of the occasions when the House has permitted itself to speak its mind—its various minds—and to express in a manner which I wish sometimes that it would do on other matters where prejudices prevent it from expressing its mind. (*Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar:* “Question.”) My Honourable friend says “question”. I propose to deal with him individually later on and I think he will not then say “question”. The House has approached this subject from many points of view. We have heard some remarkable speeches, speeches which I think will afford useful points for observation when we are dealing with other legislation. I have heard a very distinguished lawyer from Madras express his opinion, if I understand him aright, that multiplicity of courts is an evil. Sir, I should have thought that that was a point that hardly lies in the mouth of those who resist every motion from this side of the House to reduce appeals. I should have thought that it hardly lies in the mouth of one who, if I am correctly informed, has practised with the greatest honour and profit at the Bar. I should have thought that it hardly lay in the mouth of one who owes, as I understand, his success in life to the courts established by the Government. That is one observation which I shall permit myself to make on the speech of my Honourable friend opposite.

Then, Sir, this debate has developed with a subtlety which is really remarkable. When I see how subtle some of the arguments employed are, I am inclined to thank providence for the general method of a portion of this House which rather relies on prejudice than on argument because I am one of those stupid people who find it difficult to reply to arguments as subtle as those that have been employed. I have been told that because the appellate power of the Privy Council originates, as theoretically it undoubtedly does, in the prerogative right of the Crown, that is a ground and a sufficient ground for holding that no assistance should be given by this country in obtaining the services for which it does not pay at present. We have been told, moreover, that the Privy Council's influence on the law of India has on the whole been detrimental. That, Sir, is a statement that I do not believe can be maintained by any fair-minded man. I affirm, and I affirm with the greatest conviction, that the influence of the Privy Council is and continues to be most valuable in regard to the administration of law in this country; and I will go on to say that if this country continues in the future to have courts—I repeat it—if this country continues to have any courts established by any law and under any Government whatever, in those courts the dicta and the judgments of the Privy Council will continue to be respected and quoted, whatever the Government then existing may be. My Honourable friend referred to the gift of memory as one of the most valuable gifts that can be granted to a lawyer; and, Sir, when I peruse some of the documents that come before me I can well believe that this is regarded in some quarters as the greatest gift of the lawyer. I venture to differ from that and I venture to hold the view that it is the gift of selection that is the mark of a lawyer and that the gift of memory is the mark of a handicraftsman. It is just the fact that the Privy Council has brought into the law of this country

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the gift of selection that has made their judgments so valuable to the courts in this country and to the administration of law in this country.

Then, Sir, a very curious argument was used in reference to the detached minds of English Judges. What that exactly means I do not know. Is it suggested that those who go with Indian experience have not got detached minds, or is it suggested that lack of knowledge is in itself a recommendation? Sir, Mr. Jayakar made a very powerful speech which I listened to with the greatest interest. He referred to the Act of 1833 as the beginning of the corruption of the Privy Council. Now Mr. Jayakar is a lawyer and his speech was in many ways the most interesting speech made in the course of this debate. But has Mr. Jayakar ever heard the names of men like Peel, Colvin, Peacock, Wilson and Lord Hobhouse? And does he suggest that those minds have brought nothing to the great bulk of law that has derived its source in the Privy Council?

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: On a point of personal explanation, Sir. I say that these are not the class of men that your £4,000 a year would draw.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, they were the men who were appointed under the Act of 1833; they were the men who sat in virtue of that Act and they are the men who my Honourable friend suggests corrupted the Privy Council. They did nothing of the kind; they brought the greatest honour to that tribunal and they brought the greatest advantage to the people of India. Those, Sir, are the men and other men of that class were the men who have served for a honorarium of £400 a year, men who at any rate had a sense of civic duty and have shown the way which others might well copy who decline to serve in more lucrative posts in this country. I will tell this House here and now that one of our greatest difficulties in staffing the High Courts of this country is that men in big practice will not take High Court Judgeships; and why will they not take them? Because they cannot get enough money out of them, and that is the only reason. (*Cries of "No"*).

Mr. T. Prakasam: You must change the Charter Act.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Then, Sir, Mr. Jayakar referred to the enhancement of the emoluments of these Judges as likely to lead to jobbery. I do not understand what he means. I fail to understand that at all. Does he suggest that because the Lord Chancellor draws £10,000 a year and sits on the Privy Council, he is appointed in virtue of a job, while if we propose to pay men, who are to sit and hear Indian appeals, a reasonable salary, they are supposed to be appointed in pursuance of some form of jobbery? Is it jobbery to pay a Judge a reasonable fee for services performed? I do not understand the argument at all. Why does he think so poorly of his countrymen? Does he mean to suggest that no Indian Judges will go to England and perform their duties on a reasonable salary except the sort of men who are not fit for the post? Surely that is a grave reflection on his own nation, which I for one refuse to endorse.

Mr. M. R. Jayakar: The Honourable the Home Member completely misunderstands the point of my speech. What I said was that the right type of Indians will not be drawn away from this country at all as the Honourable the Home Member practically admitted. So, that class is

entirely out of the question. The right type of Englishmen will not be drawn for various other reasons which I have explained in my speech. The result is that the class of aspirants that will be drawn will be persons to whom the £4,000 a year are a greater attraction than the work of dispensing justice.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I am very glad my Honourable friend has made the point perfectly clear—which is that for this £4,000 a year you will get nobody but men who will take it up for the sake of money. That point I deny entirely and I hope the House will endorse my view. Because a man is paid a reasonable fee, is it to be supposed that he is doing something in the way of jobbery? Then another Honourable Member—I have not noted down his name here—referred to the fact that the Secretary of State's salary is now transferred to the English budget. It seems to me that I have never heard a more irrelevant argument brought in to oppose this Resolution. Now, Sir, I have spoken with some warmth on this subject, more warmth than I should have done. I do not desire to alienate the House by adopting that kind of attitude, but I do feel very strongly that the reflections that have been made on these men who for a miserable honorarium have performed duties of the very greatest benefit to India—reflections not only on their Lordships of the Privy Council but also on Judges of the High Courts—are quite unfounded and ought to be resented. (*Mr. K. Ahmed:* “Contempt of court.”)

Now, Sir, many Honourable Members have expressed their objection to a Supreme Court at the present moment. I tried in my opening speech to show that this Resolution of mine is not necessarily incompatible with the idea of a Supreme Court in the future. My Honourable friend Mr. Allison, whom I must congratulate on his speech, made it quite clear that responsible self-government would mean, if the country so wished, a Supreme Court and a Supreme Court given now will neither hinder nor advance the cause of self-government. Nor do I think that it affords any justification for the Honourable Members who cherish that wish to vote against my Resolution. They must know that it is a question of practical politics. Some years must elapse before such an institution could possibly be set up, even supposing that the opposition which was voiced in many quarters of this House to that institution was overcome. Therefore you have to provide for a considerable number of years for the hearing of these appeals and I suggest that my Resolution does provide a reasonable, practicable and fair way of doing it.

One Honourable Member observed that it was a miserable meanness for the Government of England to come to the Government of India and ask us to meet half the expenditure. I think myself that is an extremely reasonable position. The Government of England have borne this expenditure for nearly 100 years and they now propose to spend in the future ten times more than they spent in the past. They ask us to put up an equal amount. That is a very generous offer which the House would be very unwise to refuse. There is no Colony, no Dominion, no part of His Majesty's Dominions where the British Government make any special pension at all to provide for the hearing of their appeals except in the case of India. That, Sir, is a matter which the House should not lose sight of.

[Sir Alexander Muddiman.]

I now turn to the amendments. I believe I am correct in saying that my Honourable friend Mr. Aney has withdrawn, or wishes to withdraw with the permission of the House, to put it more correctly, his amendment in favour of the amendment in the name of my Honourable friend Mr. Neogy. I must confess that at first sight Mr. Neogy's amendment seemed to be a very reasonable amendment and one which I should have had very seriously to consider. With the principle of that amendment I have a good deal of sympathy. But if my Honourable friend will examine the actual effect of his amendment I think he will see that it is an impossible amendment. He proposes to substitute for clause (3) of the existing Resolution the following:

"That if either of them is a person with an Indian domicile, £2,000 per annum shall be paid from Indian revenues as allowance to him in addition to such salary as may be granted to him from the British Exchequer."

and he proposes to substitute in the last paragraph of the Resolution the word "allowance" for the word "salary". Now, Sir, let us examine the actual effect of this amendment. It must be perfectly clear to the House that the persons appointed under the powers which this Resolution asks will be of two classes. One class will be barristers either of Indian or other domicile. Now as regards barristers of either Indian or other domicile, the amendment is consistent enough, because the Indian domicile barrister would get £2,000 from Home revenues and he would get £2,000 from the Indian revenues. The English barrister would only get his £2,000 from the Home revenues. But how would it work in the case of a retired Judge? Take for example a case with which my Honourable friend will be familiar, the case of an ex-Chief Justice of Bengal with a pension of £1,800. If he was of Indian domicile the result of this would be that he would get £2,000 from English revenues and £2,000 from Indian revenues less his pension of £1,800. That is in all he will get £2,200. Now let us take the case of an ex-Chief Justice with a non-Indian domicile. He would get nothing from the Indian revenues. He would get £2,000 from the English revenues *plus* his Indian pension of £1,800, which will give him £3,800. Now, it is obvious that there must be something wrong in an amendment which would work out in that way and therefore on that ground alone I must oppose the amendment.

My Honourable friend Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan would like to have everything of the best in this best of all possible worlds. He would like to improve the Privy Council but would not like to pay for it. That is an attitude of mind which is very common but it is not possible in this world of sin to have your cake and eat it too. And my Honourable friend must either resign himself to an unimproved Privy Council or support my Resolution. I have no doubt he will take that course.

I would turn again to Mr. Jayakar whose speech I listened to with the greatest interest because I felt that it was a frank expression of opinion from a man who was speaking from his heart and was not mincing his words. Now, I ask Mr. Jayakar who I believe is a man open to conviction whether as a matter of fact when he comes to think it over he does desire to maintain the position which I suggest is an impossible position that these Judges appointed under the Act of 1833 have been a source of weakness to the court. I maintain on the contrary that they have been a source of strength. I ask Mr. Jayakar whether on a full reflection of

the case he does not believe that he will actually obtain the kind of men he and I both want to see in the Privy Council. If the House agrees to my Resolution, it will provide for a reasonable sum for doing work which ought to be reasonably remunerated. I appeal to the House to give that earnest consideration and I beg it not to be misled by the many red herrings that have been drawn across the trail. I ask the House not to turn down this Resolution, because if it does so, this is the end of all attempts to strengthen the Privy Council. And that of course would give supreme satisfaction to some of my Honourable friends who dislikes the Privy Council but would not give supreme satisfaction to the people of this country or, I trust, to this House.

Mr. President (addressing Mr. Aney): Does the Honourable Member wish to press his amendment?

Mr. M. S. Aney: No, Sir, I beg leave to withdraw it.

The amendment* was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. President: Does Mr. Neogy wish to press his amendment after the speech of the Home Member?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: In view of the observations made by the Honourable the Home Member I beg your permission, Sir, to drop clause (2).

Mr. President: I am afraid I cannot allow any amendment at this stage.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: In that case I beg leave to withdraw.

The amendment was, by leave of the Assembly, withdrawn.

Mr. President: The question is that the following Resolution be adopted, namely:

"This Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take steps to secure—

- (1) in the case of future appointments the enhancement of the salaries paid to the two members of His Majesty's Privy Council with Indian experience who sit on the Judicial Committee under the provisions of the Judicial Committee Act of 1833 to hear Indian appeals;
- (2) that they shall be persons possessed of recent knowledge of Indian law and practice;
- (3) that their salary shall be £4,000 per annum each, half of which shall be paid from Indian revenues; and
- (4) that during any period when this salary is enjoyed any pension payable to either of them from Indian revenues shall lapse."

*That in clause (2) after the word "persons" the words "who are *bona fide* residents of India and" be inserted.

†That for clause 3 of the Resolution, substitute the following:

- (3) That if either of them is a person with an Indian domicile £2,000 per annum shall be paid from Indian revenues as allowance to him in addition to such salary as may be granted to him from the British exchequer.

And there is a consequential amendment to clause (4), namely,

"In clause 4 for the word 'salary' substitute the word 'allowance'."

The Assembly divided:

AYES—50.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sabibzada.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
 Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhore, Mr. J. W.
 Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
 Costman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
 W. M. P.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.
 Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.

Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
 Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
 Nath.
 Mohammad Ismail Khan, Haji
 Chaudhury.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
 Roy, Mr. K. C.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Young, Mr. G. M.
 Zulfikar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

NOES—49.

Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Birla, Mr. Ghanshyam Das.
 Chaman Lall, Mr.
 Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
 Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Gavin-Jones, Mr. T.
 Goswami, Mr. T. C.
 Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Ivengar, Mr. S. Srinivasa.
 Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.

Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra
 Kanta.
 Lajpat Rai, Lala.
 Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Prakasam, Mr. T.
 Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
 Rahimtulla, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Sassoon, Sir Victor.
 Shafee, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
 Tok Kyi, U.
 Vishindas, Mr. Harchandrai.
 Yusuf Imam, Mr.

The motion was adopted.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS IN RESPECT OF RAILWAYS.

AUDIT.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons (Financial Commissioner, Railways): Sir, I move;

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 11,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Audit'."

I need not, I think, Sir, detain the House with the details which have led to this increased demand; they are given in full in the blue-book. It will be observed that though we expect Rs. 11,000 more to be brought to account under this head, it does not represent any increase, but rather a decrease, in the total amount to be spent on statutory audit in the course of the year, for Rs. 18,000 less will be spent under another head, under Demand No. 7. Sir, I move.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): Sir, I move the amendment which stands in my name:

"That the Supplementary Demand in respect of 'Audit' be reduced by Rs. 100."

My object in moving this is simply to draw the attention of the Railway Board and of the Railway Department to one specific grievance. It is in connection with certain claims that have been made by people for refund of money paid by way of surcharge-tax.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: On a point of order, Sir. I ask your ruling whether the Honourable Member can raise on this motion the question of the rejection of claims for refunds of surtax.

Mr. President: Why can he not?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Demand No. 3, Audit, provides purely for the salaries and allowances of the statutory audit staff, that is to say, of the officers and offices of the Accountant General, Railways, the Government Examiner of Accounts, the Chief Auditor of the East Indian Railway and the Clearing Office. Now none of these officers or offices has anything to do with the orders which have been issued by the Government instructing the railways as to the manner in which they should deal with these claims for refund. Indeed these audit officers are not even concerned with the manner in which any payments by way of refunds are made or brought to account, for that is done by officers whose salaries appear under another Demand, No. 4, General Administration. My submission, Sir, is that had this motion been moved on the original Demand, it would have been out of order for these reasons, and that therefore it cannot be moved on a Supplementary Demand.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I would like to know from the Honourable Mr. Parsons to what account the amounts collected by way of these surcharges were credited.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The amounts collected by this surcharge were collected by the railways and handed over to general revenues and do not appear in the Railway Budget at all. I am not certain under exactly what head of account in the General Budget they appear—No. 85, Miscellaneous, I think—but they do not appear in the Railway Budget at all. The railways merely acted in this matter as a collecting agency.

Mr. M. S. Aney: So this amount was lying with the railways for some years in deposit, or not?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No, Sir.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Never?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: It was handed over to general revenues.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Immediately, as you received them? Is that the position?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Yes.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Then why is it that applications for refunds are being received by railway companies and some of them are granting the applications and some rejecting the applications, and not sending them to the Finance Department or some other Department?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Because the railways were the collecting agency, and therefore the agency who know to whom refunds may be due. My objection to the motion, Sir, is not on the ground that railways did not deal with the collection of the surtax and the payment of refunds, but that these audit officers, who are not under the Railway Board but under the Auditor General, have nothing whatever to do either with the original collection of this tax or the payment of the refunds or with the orders under which the payment of refunds is authorised.

Mr. President: Unless the Honourable Member from Berar can show how this particular question which he wishes to raise is relevant to the motion before the House, I am afraid I cannot allow him.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I leave it to you to decide, Sir. I hold in my hand certain orders passed by the Agent of the North Western Railway as well as by other Agents on applications made by traders who have paid these surcharge taxes and orders have been passed and some claims have been rejected as time-barred.

Mr. President: That is a quite different matter altogether, for which an explanation has been given by Mr. Parsons. What does the Honourable Member say to that explanation?

Mr. M. S. Aney: My impression was that these amounts were lying for some time in deposit with the railways.

Mr. President: That impression is wrong.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Now that Mr. Parsons has definitely stated that it was never done, I am afraid I have nothing to urge on the point.

Mr. President: The question is

(At this stage Mr. Ranga Iyer rose to speak.)

I am afraid I cannot allow the Honourable Member to go back to his motion.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: Non-Muhamadan Rural): I am not moving my motion, Sir. I am making an observation. I am not going back, but I want to speak on the motion that the Supplementary Demand in respect of Audit be reduced by Rs. 100. It is printed on the agenda also.

Mr. President: It is printed on the agenda, but the Honourable Member was not in his place when the Demand was taken up, and therefore I had to call upon Mr. Aney to move.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: I was in my place. (*Honourable Members:* "Order, order.") I mean no disrespect but as Mr. Aney stood up and was called I could not disobey the Chair.

Mr. President: The paper is with the Honourable Member. He knows that his motion was put down first.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: Mr. Aney was standing

Mr. President: But if Honourable Members do not protect their interests, the Chair cannot help them. The Honourable Member may speak on the main question.

Mr. O. S. Ranga Iyer: I shall only place before you certain observations which I submit I am justified in making, but I will not go back and move my motion. I submit to your ruling; and I thank you for giving me this opportunity to make the observations.

In reply to some observations during the General Budget which I made, the Honourable the Commerce Member said that if I raised it during this debate, he would answer it. Here is an opportunity for Mr. Parsons, as the Honourable Member can really serve the ends of economy as well as the interests of large numbers of people by locating the Clearing House in Lucknow. Sir, before the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway was amalgamated with the East Indian Railway, the former had entered into a kind of agreement with all their employees, 4 F.M. and the agreement was that they would be confined during their period of employment to the United Provinces. Most of those gentlemen who had joined the service did so because the head office was in Lucknow and they belonged to Lucknow. Government could not, I admit, anticipate all that might happen in the future years. They could not anticipate, for instance, the amalgamation of the Oudh and Rohilkhand Railway with the East Indian Railway. I submit that the number of railway employees who have been transferred is not so low as the Honourable the Commerce Member put it the other day, but about eight or nine hundred. He said about 200 or 300 men were transferred to Calcutta from Lucknow, but really about 800 or 900 people have been transferred. Of course in the list of transfers I cannot include their suffering dependants; otherwise my figure of 5,000 becomes correct. However, for this Clearing House about 800 to 900 people are required. There is accommodation for these people in Lucknow. Some correspondence has passed between the Audit Office at Lucknow and the railway authorities here in regard to the available accommodation. It was found that the railway buildings at Lucknow could accommodate as many as 800 or 900. That is exactly the number of men on the Clearing House staff. They need not go in for special additional building if they have the office located in Lucknow. That will be one saving, saving of money so far as buildings are concerned and the other saving is saving in efficiency. So far as saving in efficiency is concerned I do not want to repeat what I said the other day, regarding the advantage of having the services of these trained and experienced clerks. I am sure it is economical and that my Honourable friend Mr. Parsons will agree that Lucknow is more centrally situated for all the railways in India, both for the railways on the Punjab side as for the rest of the railways on the Burma side and the Calcutta side, and also for railways on the Bombay side. For instance, Jhansi is nearer to Lucknow than to Calcutta or to Lahore. Sir, the last consideration for the location of the Clearing House in Lucknow is the doing of justice to the employees of

[Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer.]

Lucknow, who are to-day in Calcutta. The paltry allowance that has been given to them does not enable them to make both ends meet and then they are educating their children in Lucknow, thus keeping up two establishments, one in Calcutta and one in Lucknow, which they cannot afford. By locating the Clearing House in Lucknow these men will have an opportunity of coming back to their place from which they have been taken away against the terms of agreement and I do not think the Government could really keep them there. I am sure, Sir, the Honourable Mr. Parsons will make an endeavour to do justice to these clerks either by locating the Clearing House in Lucknow or by some other suitable means. I urge that the Clearing House should be located in Lucknow on the ground first of economy, secondly efficiency and thirdly because Lucknow has got a central situation. I do not want to make a long speech. I have presented the case of these gentlemen and the case for the location of the office in Lucknow in my conversations in the lobby to Mr. Parsons. Therefore I need not waste the time of the House by going into the matter in detail; as he fully understands the case of these poor employees, I am sure he will sympathise with them and that he will express what he really can do in this matter.

Lala Lajpat Rai (Jullundur Division: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, I want to make one observation on this question of the Clearing House. I understand that it is not a question between Lucknow and Calcutta only, but I understand it is a question between Lucknow and Calcutta and Lahore.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: And Delhi.

Lala Lajpat Rai: So far as Delhi is concerned, it is a different thing at the present moment. So far as my friend's plea against Calcutta is concerned, I join with him, but if several thousands of men from Lahore are going to be transferred to the Central Clearing House, it will be extremely unreasonable to transfer them to Lucknow. I suggest, however, that a more central place than Delhi cannot be found. Therefore if there should be a Central Clearing House, it will be better, more convenient, to people both in Lucknow and in Lahore if a Central Clearing House is to be situated at Delhi rather than at Lucknow. I wish the Honourable Member in charge would remember that point of view. In fact, a number of men from the Punjab will be affected in this matter. Three thousand is the number of clerks who are likely to be affected, whereas so far as Lucknow is concerned according to my friend's own statement some hundreds will be affected. So even in the matter of convenience and justice and efficiency, I think either they should be allowed to remain at Lahore or they should be brought to Delhi, but not transferred to Lucknow or Calcutta.

Mr. Chaman Lall (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadian): Sir, I do not want to take up the time of this House to any great extent but I would like to support the statement made by my Honourable friend Lala Lajpat Rai in connection with the desirability of having a Central Office at Delhi and not at Lucknow. The reasons given by my Honourable friend Mr. Ranga Iyer are cogent enough for a few people who have been transferred from Lucknow to Calcutta, but if the office is to be removed from Calcutta to either Lucknow or Delhi, I submit, Sir, that there are very cogent reasons why Delhi should be chosen in preference to Lucknow.

Honourable Members will remember that originally an experiment was made in this connection and the experiment was tried at Lahore and it was the Punjabi clerk who was really responsible for the success of the experiment when it was started in 1926. The four State Railways that are going to join this particular scheme are the East Indian Railway, the North Western Railway, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway and the Eastern Bengal Railway, and I understand, Sir, that the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway also intend to join the scheme. Now, for all these Railways Delhi seems to be the centre between the United Provinces and the Punjab, so that in either case either for the United Provinces or the Punjab there can be no hardship if Delhi is chosen, but there will be hardship, a definite hardship for the Punjab if Lucknow is chosen. Apart from that, if notice is taken of the distances covered, it will be seen that Delhi is really more convenient from the distance point of view. One point is that the Bombay, Baroda and Central India stations would be within easier reach of Delhi than Lucknow; all the stations on the North Western Railway would be within easier reach of Delhi than Lucknow. Another point is that Delhi is the headquarters of the Railway Board and it is the Railway Board that is in charge of the policy in connection with these matters, and it is more desirable therefore that the Clearing House should be situated in Delhi and should be in constant touch with the Railway Board at Delhi. Then, another point was raised by my Honourable friend when he talked about the Burma Railways, as really a point relevant to the consideration of choosing Lucknow rather than Delhi. I submit it is not at all relevant, because I understand it is not at all contemplated to have a Central Clearing Office for all Railways, and under this scheme the Railway Board will have more than one Clearing House. For Madras and for Burma I daresay there would be different Clearing Houses. It is certainly not a very good proposition to have one Clearing House for all of them. Another point that was mentioned by my Honourable friend was about the building. There was a reply given by my Honourable friend Mr. Parsons to the question put by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub in regard to the buildings. The building at Lucknow is already in the possession of the Divisional Headquarters staff and it is not relevant to say that the building is available.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: A portion of that building only.

Mr. Ohaman Lall: A portion of that building only, and the Honourable Member knows perfectly well that for this Clearing Office new machines have to be brought in which require a new sort of building to keep the dust away from the machines and that the existing building will not suffice. What you want is to set up a new building; in any case you have your office in occupation there at Lucknow, and in the circumstances, I submit that even that argument about the building is not a relevant argument. I have here in my hand a list prepared of various stations on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, showing the distances from Delhi and from Lucknow respectively and from this statement I find that the large majority of the stations on the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway are really nearer Delhi than Lucknow. In view of all these facts, I submit that the Punjab ought to have the first consideration as the Punjabi was the first in the field in making this experiment a success and secondly that a large number of Punjabi clerks would be affected and that their position would be much better if they were brought to Delhi than if they were shunted off to

Mr. Chaman Lal.]

Lucknow. Considering therefore that in any case a new building would have to be set up, and considering further that Delhi is the headquarters of the Railway Board, which has to deal with the policy connected with this matter, and finally that most of the stations that are on these railways are nearer Delhi than they are to Lucknow, I would submit, Sir, that the Railway Board should decide definitely to have the central office here in Delhi and not shift the office to Lucknow.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Sir, my task has been made much easier by my Honourable friends Mr. Chaman Lal and Mr. Lajpat Rai, and I think I can deal very briefly with the three points Mr. Ranga Iyer raised. He suggested that we should locate the new Clearing Office at Lucknow on the grounds of efficiency and of economy, and on the ground that we should then be able to avoid the hardship we have caused recently by having had to transfer certain accounts and audit clerks from Lucknow to Calcutta. Now with regard to efficiency, I have little to add to what Diwan Chaman Lal has said. The Railway Board have not yet definitely made up their mind where to locate the new Clearing Office. But I think it is almost certain that we shall locate it at Delhi because it will deal with the transactions of four railways, the North Western Railway, the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, probably the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, and the East Indian Railway, and what is necessary is that, wherever the Clearing House is situated, the spot should be one which the vouchers from stations on these railways will reach as quickly as possible. Now of the stations which are affected on these four Railways, about 2,500 are nearer to Delhi than to Lucknow and only 1,000 are nearer to Lucknow than Delhi; and probably that will be on the efficiency ground the deciding factor when we come to decide the question. On the economy ground it is easier still to reply. Part of the building in Lucknow is not at the moment occupied. The divisional office there does not occupy the whole building which is to be vacated

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: What part of it is occupied?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I am not sure.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: A very small portion of it.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: We have other proposals in Lucknow, but if we do not use it the question will arise whether we should not get rid of it. In Delhi we are hopeful of getting adequate accommodation in offices already built, not in New Delhi, but in old Delhi, for there are a good many houses and offices and, I think, clerks' quarters which have been vacated there. I think it will probably be possible to locate the new Clearing House in Delhi with practically no expenditure on accommodation except for alterations. In any case, before we come to a decision on the question, we shall of course look into the matter of the expenditure which will be involved. The final question relates to those clerks who have been recently. I think last January, transferred from Lucknow to Calcutta. Now I do not agree with Mr. Ranga Iyer that they were not liable to transfer under the terms of their contracts, but I have a good deal of sympathy for them because, though they might

be liable under the terms of their contracts, no doubt they did not foresee the amalgamation of the two Railways and did not expect to be transferred to Calcutta. And there is a considerable amount of hardship when a man is uprooted in that way. Now though I do not expect that we can relieve that hardship to any large extent by the creation of the Clearing Office either in Lucknow or elsewhere, we are doing our best to meet it in a number of ways. The Agent of the East Indian Railway and the Chief Accounts Officer, under whom these clerks are, have been instructed, wherever vacancies occur in divisional offices up-country, to give the first choice to men who have been transferred to Calcutta, provided of course that they are capable of performing the duties of the posts. In that way we have already, I think, transferred back up-country a considerable number of men. This morning for instance I had before me the question of extending the crew system and partly because of this difficulty over these clerks, we decided that the division to which the system should now be extended should be the Lucknow Division. We shall locate the headquarters of the crew there, and that should enable us to transfer further clerks back again from Calcutta, in this case actually to Lucknow. I propose to continue that practice and I think in a very short time, probably most at any rate of these clerks who have been transferred to Calcutta and do not like what is, after all, a very pleasant city, will get a chance of getting back nearer their homes. With this explanation, I hope my Honourable friend will be satisfied.

Mr. President: I am not sure how far the discussion that has so far proceeded is really permissible under the Supplementary Demand for a Grant, but as I have some doubt in the matter, I have allowed the discussion to go on. I hope Honourable Members will not treat this as a precedent.

The question is:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 11,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1927, in respect of 'Audit'."

The motion was adopted.

COMPANIES AND INDIAN STATES' SHARE OF SURPLUS PROFITS AND NET EARNINGS.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Sir, I move:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 10,30,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending 31st March, 1927, in respect of 'Companies and Indian States' share of surplus profits and net earnings'."

Here again, Sir, the reasons for this Supplementary Demand have been fully explained in the blue-book.

The motion was adopted.

APPROPRIATION FROM THE RESERVE FUND.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Sir, I move :

" That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 7,06,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1927, in respect of ' Appropriation from the Reserve Fund '."

This is merely a balancing entry.

The motion was adopted.

OPEN LINE WORKS.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Sir, I move :

" That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 1,07,81,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1927, in respect of ' Open Line Works '."

' The reasons for this extra grant are stated succinctly in the blue-book and were also explained at the time of the debate on the Railway Budget.

The motion was adopted.

STRATEGIC LINES.

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I move :

" That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 15,43,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges which will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st March, 1927, in respect of ' Strategic Lines '."

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN MINES (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra (Member for Industries and Labour): Sir, I beg for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Mines Act, 1923, for certain purposes.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

Sir, I move that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinions thereon.

I have given a fairly full explanation of the Bill in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and I do not propose therefore to discuss the Bill at length at this stage. When the present Indian Mines Act was under discussion in this House in 1923 some Members were strongly of opinion that a direct limitation should be placed on the daily hours of work of miners. The Bill now before the House, if it becomes law, will secure that object for it will prevent the employment of persons in mines for more than 12 hours daily. But if this were the only object which the Bill would secure it might be argued with some force that the Bill was unnecessary, for although miners in some cases remain in the mines for

comparatively long periods the miner who works for more than 12 hours a day must be extremely rare. I have myself visited a number of mines but I did not come across any miner so industrious as to work for more than 12 hours. Most of them actually work for much smaller periods.

The main object of the Bill is to secure greater regularity in the hours of work in mines. If it comes on our Statute-book in due course, the mine-owner who wishes to keep his mine open for more than 12 hours a day will be compelled to divide his workers into shifts and to fix the hours of their entry into and exit from the mine. In place of the haphazard system at present in operation in many mines, by which the miner enters as he pleases and remains in the mine for indefinite periods, there will then be substituted a system by which miners will enter the mines at specified hours and will leave the mines at the end of regular periods. I do not propose, Sir, to waste further the time of the House, for if I made a longer speech I might provoke my Honourable friend Mr. Joshi into making a still longer one and that might let loose the flood of eloquence on this House. I move my motion, Sir.

Mr. President: The question I have to put is that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinions thereon.

(Mr. Chaman Lal rose in his place.)

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to speak at this stage of the Bill?

Mr. Chaman Lal (West Punjab: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, in spite of the fact that the Member in charge of the Bill was afraid of provoking a flood of eloquence I will, with your permission, make a few humble observations in my own uneloquent humble manner; because I notice, Sir, that the very first point of the Bill is that the Honourable Member does not intend that the Bill should come into operation before the year 1930. Now I for one see no reason why if, in the opinion of the Honourable Member, certain legislation has to be taken in hand for the betterment of the miner's condition and the regulation of his hours, that legislation should wait for another three years. There may be technical difficulties. Well, let us hear of those technical difficulties; but on humanitarian grounds, if it is right and just that the provisions of this amendment should be brought into force in 1930, why should they not be brought into force at the earliest moment possible? Besides, I do not know what the Honourable Member's intention is in wanting to elicit public opinion in regard to this Bill. Does the Honourable Member intend to take three years in obtaining this opinion, or does he intend to introduce this Bill at the earliest possible moment when he has obtained public opinion, say in the September Session at Simla. I submit, Sir, that the question dealt with in the provisions of this amendment of the Indian Mines Act, is a very important one, and I consider that instead of submitting a Bill of this kind for the purpose of eliciting opinion the Honourable Member would have done very much better if he had brought the measure into line with civilised legislation in other civilised countries and then submitted his proposed legislation to the public for an expression of the public's opinion. As it is, what the Honourable Member proposes is this, that there shall be shifts, shifts of

[Mr. Chaman Lall.]

12 hours each, that is, in the year 1927—I beg your pardon, in the year 1930; after 3 more years of civilisation which we shall have, we shall be compelling Indian miners to go into the mines and work 12 hours a day no doubt for a limited number of days per week, but 12 hours at a stretch in the coal mines. Now I do not know of any civilised country in the world where such a state of things is permitted. I understand that the average British miner does not work more than 6 to 7 hours. (*An Honourable Member*: “What about Russia?”) There was a tremendous strike in Great Britain because they wanted to increase the hours to 8. And the same is true about other civilised countries. (*An Honourable Member*: “What about Russia?”) My Honourable friend knows more about Russia than I do perhaps and he can get into touch with Russia and find out for himself. If he does not know anything, I will hand him the Soviet Russian Year Book. I consider the conditions in Russia to be very much better than they probably are anywhere else in the world, but whether they are or not, I am not asking the Honourable Member to follow the example of Russia. I am asking the Honourable Member to follow the example of Great Britain in this respect: If labour in the mines is arduous, if labour in the mines is dangerous, if labour in the mines is of such a nature that it undermines the health of the worker working in the mines, then it is up to the Honourable Member to bring in legislation to make it impossible for any coal-owner to make his worker go into the mine and work for 12 hours at a stretch. Legislation should be brought in to enable no employer to make his worker work for more than 6 or at the outside 7 hours in the coal mines. That is one point. I do not want this Bill to be circulated without recording my opinion or the opinion of those who support me in this matter, because we consider that to put in provisions of this nature and demand public opinion on them would be to give a wrong lead to the public. The right lead would be to bring in a measure in line with civilised legislation in all civilised countries and then ask public opinion in regard to it.

There is another small point here about notices being put up. Now, the Honourable Member was once responsible for taking me and my friend Mr. Joshi to the coal mines in Jheria, and I was really surprised when I heard the Honourable Member say that there was no worker in the coal mines working more than 12 hours a day; I submit, Sir, the present system in the coal mines is such that it is not possible to prevent sweating of coal miners by their employers and there is no check whatsoever, no effective check, upon the number of hours that these men and women, these girls and boys are allowed to work inside the coal mines. I have myself known of cases of young girls of 17 and 18 working longer than 12 hours in coal mines at a stretch. There are rules to the effect that no children are allowed to go into the coal mines: but I have seen with my own eyes little babies, two or three months old, taken right down into the coal mines, into the bowels of the earth and kept there in the darkness of the mines. This is all due to the fact that the control exercised by the Inspectors is very lax, that it is not really effective control at all; that even under the provisions of the law there is ample scope for the employer to go outside the law and make his workers work longer hours and go behind the regulations and flout the regulations. Therefore it is much more necessary that regulations should be such and so effective and incorporated in the

body of the Bill that they will not enable the employer to do lightly what he is doing at present in the coal mines. Now, the point that I would like to deal with is, that there is a provision here about notices being put up in the coal mines regarding the number of hours that a shift can work. I would like some sort of provision, a more effective provision, namely, the announcing of those hours and shifts, and I would make such provisions as will enable every worker in the coal mines to know what his rights are under the Act. I do not want the Honourable Member to run away with the idea that I am not in full sympathy with his desire to better the condition of miners in coal mines. I do not want him to run away with that idea. I congratulate him for all that he is doing. My complaint against him is that he is not doing as much as he should do; and I hope that as a result of this discussion the Honourable Member will take the first opportunity to see that opinions collected are collected soon and placed before this House in the September Session in order that we may be able to enact a measure this year and not wait till the year 1930 in order to do justice to the miners of Bihar and Bengal.

Mr. B. Das: What about the introduction of compulsory elementary education for the miners and their children?

Mr. Chaman Lall: My Honourable friend, who is as usual irrelevant, wants me to talk about compulsory education for miners under this Bill. The Honourable Member has not read the provisions of the Bill and therefore he does not know that there is no provision in the body of this Bill regarding compulsory education. I am in full sympathy with that desire of the Honourable Member. I am in full sympathy with lots of other things that I want to be done for the miners; and that is the sole reason why I wish to impress upon the Honourable Member the necessity of getting opinions at the earliest possible moment and placing them before us at the September Session, so that we can get along with the Bill this year and not wait till 1930.

(Mr. N. M. Joshi rose to speak.)

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to speak on the motion for circulation? The Honourable Member had no intention to do so before Diwan Chaman Lall spoke.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I wish only to make one remark.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra wish to say anything?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: If Mr. Joshi wants to speak, I am willing to give way.

Mr. President: Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Sir, I was a little amused and very much grieved at the speech to which I have just listened from my Honourable friend, Diwan Chaman Lall. I have on several occasions mentioned in this House that his speeches are made more in a vein of levity than of seriousness which subjects of this importance demand. He was one of the members of my Advisory Committee who went down with me to the coal mining area of Dhanbad and there we examined the position on the spot. I can say this on the floor of the House that not a single case was forthcoming where it was proved that a miner was working 12 hours a day; nor did I come across a single

Mr. Chaman Lall: On a point of personal explanation, Sir

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: There is no question of a personal explanation. I am giving the facts as we saw them. My Honourable friend may have gone there on some previous occasion. I know precisely what happened on the particular occasion on which he went with me; we did not come across a single case of an infant in arms taken down the mines; we examined

Mr. Chaman Lall: Sir, I must ask your protection against the imputation

Mr. President: The Honourable Member may stand afterwards, after the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra has finished his speech. The Honourable Member might note down the point on which he wishes to offer a personal explanation.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: Now, Sir, after we examined matters on the spot, we drafted the provisions included in this Bill and they were again shown to the Advisory Committee of the Legislature attached to my Department. There may have been slight differences of opinion; but on the whole the provisions of this Bill were accepted by my Advisory Committee. My friend, Diwan Chaman Lall, wants us to introduce in India what he calls the more progressive labour legislation of civilised countries. I have already told the House on a previous occasion that we must go slow in this matter, that we must have our labour legislation conform more to the conditions in this country than to the conditions in England or Russia or whatever other countries may have been quoted by my Honourable friend. I take a more practical view of the matter, and it is for that reason that I have produced this Bill in this particular form. I have also got to give a certain amount of consideration to the industry itself. That is the reason why the date on which the Bill will come into force has been put down as the 1st day of April 1930. There is no use our trying to kill the industry, a result of which will be that there will be no work for the miners. I do not propose at this stage to deal further with my Honourable friend, and I have no intention at present of accepting any of his suggestions.

Mr. N. M. Joshi (Nominated: Labour Interests): May I say one word now by way of personal explanation?

Mr. President: There is no case for personal explanation.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: I am not going to make a speech. The Honourable Member in charge of the Department has made a statement that the members of the Standing Advisory Committee for the Department have approved of this Bill. Sir, my attitude towards the Bill is that I approve of this Bill because it is

Mr. President: The Honourable Member cannot explain away the speech of the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra by a speech of his own which he has no right to make at this stage. The Member for industries has made no charge against this Honourable Member personally.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: That is exactly my point.

Mr. President: What is the point?

Mr. N. M. Joshi: The point is the Honourable Member said that the Advisory Committee has approved of this Bill

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: On the whole.

Mr. N. M. Joshi: On the whole; now the only thing that I wanted to explain was that as the Bill is a progressive one we may approve of it, but we are not satisfied with it

Mr. President: That is no case for personal explanation.

Mr. Chaman Lall: On a point of order, Sir. There are two charges that have been made against me by the Honourable Member and I ask your protection to enable me to make a reply to them.

Mr. President: There is nothing in the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra's speech to justify the Honourable Member in rising to offer any personal explanation.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I explain my position, Sir? The Honourable Member made certain charges

Mr. President: The Honourable Member will have ample opportunities when this Bill comes up again.

Mr. Chaman Lall: On a point of order, may I just explain, Sir, why I rise to speak?

Mr. President: The Chair is not satisfied that there is any case for personal explanation.

Mr. Chaman Lall: He almost called me a liar, for having made the statement which I did; and it is due to me that I should be allowed to explain and to justify what I said.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has not used that word at all. He is not justified in imputing a statement to the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra which he did not make.

Mr. Chaman Lall: I made a statement to the House that I had seen a certain thing with my own eyes and the Honourable Member says that the statement is untrue. Is that not tantamount to calling me a liar?

Mr. President: Will the Honourable Member resume his seat? The Honourable Member narrates his own version just as the Honourable Member did his own. Both Honourable Members are entitled to hold their own views.

Mr. Chaman Lall: When I said that I had actually seen babies taken down into mines, the Honourable Member said that what I said was untrue. I must ask the Honourable Member to withdraw that statement.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is very persistent.

Mr. Chaman Lall: The Honourable Member is grossly unfair to me.

Mr. President: The Chair has already ruled that there is nothing in the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra's speech which requires any explanation from the Honourable Member.

Mr. Chaman Lall: (*Cries of: "Order, order."*) You must hear me before you can give a ruling on the point.

Mr. President: I have heard the Honourable Member enough.

The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Indian Mines Act, 1923, for certain purposes, be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinions thereon."

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN LIGHTHOUSE BILL.

MOTION FOR REFERENCE TO A JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes (Member for Commerce and Railways): I move:

"That this Assembly do agree to the recommendation of the Council of State that the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the provision, maintenance and control of lighthouses by the Government in British India be referred to a Joint Committee of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly and that the Joint Committee do consist of 12 members."

The objects of this Bill are explained fully in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. It is a very important Bill in a way because it attempts to put on a proper basis our lighthouse administration throughout India, which has grown up in rather a haphazard fashion and which we now propose to put on a much more satisfactory footing than at present. The Bill is in no way a controversial Bill. It has been the subject of very careful consideration and consultation with local Governments and the business community. The principle I think has been generally accepted and all that remains now is to settle certain details. Sir, I move.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I move that the following Members of the Legislative Assembly be nominated to serve on the Joint Committee to consider and report on the Bill to consolidate and amend the law relating to the provision, maintenance and control of lighthouses by the Government in British India, namely:

Sir Walter Willson, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Mr. S. N. Haji, Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. K. C. Neogy and Mr. W. S. Lamb.

The motion was adopted.

MESSAGES FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Secretary of the Assembly: Sir, three messages have been received from the Secretary of the Council of State. The first is as follows:

"I am directed to inform you that the Council of State have, at their meeting held to-day, agreed without any amendments to the Bill further to amend the Indian Coinage Act, 1906, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, for certain purposes, and to lay upon the Governor General in Council certain obligations in regard to the purchase of gold and the sale of gold or sterling, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly on the 22nd March, 1927."

(Honourable Members on the Swarajist Benches: "Shame, shame.")

Mr. President: It is difficult to understand Honourable Members. They cry "Shame" when the Council of State differs from this House and

they cry "Shame" also when the Council of State agrees with it. (Laughter).

Secretary of the Assembly: The second message runs as follows:

"I am directed to inform you that the Message from the Legislative Assembly to the Council of State desiring their concurrence in a motion to the effect that the Bill to establish a gold standard currency for British India and to constitute a Reserve Bank of India be referred to a Joint Committee of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly, and that the Joint Committee do consist of 28 members, was considered by the Council of State at their meeting to-day, and that the motion was concurred in by the Council."

The third message runs as follows:

"I am directed to inform you that the Message from the Legislative Assembly to the Council of State desiring their concurrence in a motion to the effect that the Bill further to amend the Imperial Bank of India Act, 1920, for certain purposes, be referred to a Joint Committee of the Council of State and of the Legislative Assembly and that the Joint Committee do consist of 28 members, was considered by the Council of State at their meeting to-day and that the motion was concurred in by the Council."

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Saturday, the 26th March, 1927.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Saturday, 26th March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

REVISED SCALE OF PAY OF THE SUBORDINATE ACCOUNTS SERVICE, CIVIL AND POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH AUDIT OFFICES UNDER THE AUDITOR GENERAL.

1198. ***Mr. Chaman Lall**: 1. Is it a fact that:

(a) the scale of pay of the Subordinate Accounts Service, Civil and Postal and Telegraph Audit Offices under the Auditor General was revised in 1925 and that the pay of present incumbents in the revised scale was fixed under Fundamental Rules 22 and 23?

(b) the pay of those who were in Rs. 150, 170, and 190 stages (old scale) was fixed at Rs. 200 (revised scale), i.e., men having put in one year, two years and three years' service in the Subordinate Accounts Service were brought on the same level and thus those getting Rs. 190 got a meagre increase of Rs. 10 only?

2. (a) Is it a fact that by fixation of pay under Fundamental Rules 22 and 23, the present incumbents would reach the maximum in the 18th year of service while the new entrants would attain it in the 16th year?

(b) If so, do Government desire to remove the difference now when the pay of the Subordinate Accounts Service members attached to the Controller of Currency and offices subordinate to him was fixed according to length of service?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: 1 and 2. (a) I presume that the Honourable Member refers to offices to which the scale of Rs. 200—20—500 applies, in which case the reply is in the affirmative.

2. (b) There are no such appointments in the Currency Department. The corresponding appointments in that Department are those of Superintendents, whose pay on the new scale was also fixed under Fundamental Rules 22 and 23 and not according to length of service.

OFFICE HOURS OF MUSLIMS IN THE OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS, DELHI, DURING THE RAMZAN.

1199. ***Mr. Chaman Lall**: Is it a fact that the Muslims in the office of the Deputy Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, Delhi, attend

office during the Ramzan from 8 A.M. to 1 P.M. daily even though the Ramzan may fall during summer or winter? If so, why is this concession by a Muslim Deputy Accountant General allowed to the Muslims in that particular office while the Muslims in all other Government offices attend office at usual hours?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The answer is in the affirmative. The present Deputy Accountant General is not responsible for the practice which was started in 1921. The practice has not been authorised by the Accountant General who has taken steps to stop it.

ACTION TAKEN ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE INDIAN AUXILIARY AND TERRITORIAL FORCES COMMITTEE.

1200. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** Has any action been taken on the recommendations of the Shea Committee appointed by the Government to inquire into the working of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces?

Mr. G. M. Young: Action is being taken to give effect, as far as possible, to the recommendations mentioned in paragraphs 25(V) (b) and 26(h) of the Auxiliary and Territorial Forces Committee's Report. Action on the remaining recommendations depends on the sanction of the Secretary of State which is awaited.

SELECTION OF CANDIDATES FOR APPOINTMENT IN THE SECOND GRADE, SUPERIOR TRAFFIC BRANCH, TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.

1201. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** (a) Is it a fact that the colour question is allowed to count much in selecting candidates for appointment in the second grade, Superior Traffic Branch of the Telegraph Department?

(b) If the answer to the above question is in the negative, will the Government please state the number of such appointments sanctioned and as it stood on the 1st April, 1925, quoting the number of appointments held by Indians and non-Indians assigning cause for minority of Indian element in the above branch?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) No.

(b) The number of appointments sanctioned on 1st April, 1925, was 35. Of these one was held by a European and 34 by Indians (including Anglo-Indians who are Indians by Statute). Out of these 34, only 2 are Indians of unmixed descent, and 32 are Anglo-Indians. The reason why the number of the former is relatively so low is the existing preponderance of Anglo-Indians in the ranks from which recruitment to the superior Traffic Branch is made. As due regard must be paid to seniority when making selections for this Branch it follows that Anglo-Indians mostly have been selected.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know, Sir, if any steps have been taken to prevent this kind of undue preference occurring in the future?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I think, Sir, I have on several occasions in recent months informed the House that the whole question of the future recruitment of departmental telegraphists is now engaging my consideration.

ARTICLE IN ~~THE~~ *MUSLIM OUTLOOK* REGARDING THE FORMATION OF A
WHITE LEAGUE IN NEW ZEALAND.

1202. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Has the article entitled "Formation of a White League in New Zealand" published in the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore, dated 30th October, 1926, been brought to the notice of the Government?

(b) Are Government aware that there is a fairly large number of Indian settlers in New Zealand?

(c) Are Government prepared to use their good offices with the Government of New Zealand to curb the propaganda of this League so that the interests of the Indian settlers may not suffer?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given by me on the 23rd March to Raja Ghanzanfar Ali Khan's question No. 1146 on the same subject.

ARTICLES IN THE *MUSLIM OUTLOOK* REGARDING THE PITIABLE CONDI-
TION OF MR. SALAMAN, A NATIVE OF AMRITSAR, NOW RESIDENT
IN AUCKLAND, NEW ZEALAND.

1203. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Has the attention of Government been drawn to two articles published in the *Muslim Outlook* of Lahore in its issues dated 12th and 13th February 1927, wherein the pitiable condition of one Mr. Salaman a native of Amritsar and now resident in Auckland is vividly described?

(b) If so, do Government propose to take any action in the matter to alleviate the sufferings of Mr. Salaman at a very early date?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given by me on the 23rd March, 1927, to Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan's question No. 1147 on the same subject.

LARGER USE OF BRITISH TYPEWRITERS IN GOVERNMENT OFFICES.

1204. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** 1. Have Government seen the recent report in the press of an increase of 400 per cent. in orders for British typewriters in England as a result of the King's comment last year regarding the use of foreign typewriters in that country in preference to British machines?

2. Will they be pleased to state the number of (a) British, and (b) American typewriters, in use in Government offices in India?

3. Have Government taken any action favourable to the larger use of British typewriters in their services and departments?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: 1. Yes.

2. Particulars are not available of all the typewriters used in Government offices throughout India. The collection of the information will involve an amount of expenditure of time and money wholly incompatible with the advantage to be derived from the special census.

3. The answer is in the negative.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ATTACHED AND SUBORDINATE OFFICES OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1205. ***Mr. Chaman Lal:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) the names of the attached and subordinate offices of the Government of India?
- (b) the difference between the attached and subordinate offices of the Government of India? and
- (c) the status of the Army Headquarters and Railway Board offices?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) A list is being laid on the table.

(b) The Honourable Member is referred to the reply given to starred question No. 621 on the 26th February last.

(c) The status of the Army Headquarters is very fully described in Chapters 4, 5 and 22 of the book entitled "The Army in India and its Evolution", a copy of which will be found in the Library. The Railway Board is a Department of the Government of India.

Statement prepared in 1925 showing Attached and Subordinate Offices of the Government of India.

1	2	3	4	5
Local Clearing Office.	Director, Botanical Survey.	Office of Auditor Genl.		
Mily. Adv.-in-Chief, Indian States forces.	Director, Zoological Survey.	Office of Examiner, Government Press Accounts, Calcutta.	Office of the Dy. A. G. (Telegraph Branch).	Calcutta Mint.
A. G., Railways.	Keeper of Records.	Office of Examiner of Customs Accounts.	Telegraphs, Check, Office.	Bombay Mint.
G. S. Branch.	Librarian, Imperial Library.	Office of Director of Army Audit and offices Subdte. to it.	Office of A. G., Railway Office.	Assay Office, Bombay.
A. G.'s Branch.	Trustees' Office, Indian Museum.	Office of A. G., Bengal.	Chief Auditor, N. W. Railway.	C. O., Calcutta.
Q. M. G.'s Branch.	Curator, Indian War Memorial.	Office of the A. G., Calcutta Revenue.	Chief Auditor, E. B. Railway.	C. O., Bombay.
Master Genl. of Supply Branch (late Ordnance Br.)	Mily. A. G.	Office of the A. G., B. & O.	Chief Auditor, G. I. P. Railway.	C. O., Karachi.
Mily. Secy.'s Br.	D., P. I.	Office of the A. G., U. P.	Government Examiner, Assam Bengal Railway.	C. O., Cawnpore.
Engineer-in-Chief's Br.	M. S. V.'s Office	Office of the A. G., C. P.	Government Examiner, E. I. & B. N. Railways.	C. O., Lahore.
Medical Directorate.	P. S. V.'s Office	Office of Comptroller, Assam.	Central Indian Coal-field Railway Construction.	C. O., Madras.
Judge Advocate Genl.'s Branch.	P. S. V.'s Press.	Office of the A. G., Madras.	Government Examiner, M. & S. Mah-ratta Railway.	C. O. Rangoon.
Assit. Mily. Secy. (Personal).	D., I. B.	Office of the A. G., Punjab.	Government Examiner, S. I. Railway.	Military Accts. Offices.

Statement prepared in 1925 showing Attached and Subordinate Offices of the Government of India—contd;

1	2	3	4	5
Royal Air Force.	Chief Controller of Stores, I. S. D.	Office of the A. G., Burma.	Government Examiner, Rohilkund and Kumaon Railway.	
Commercial Intelligence.	Chief Inspector of Mines in India.	Office of the A. G., Bombay.	Government Examiner, B. & C. I. Railway.	
Tariff Board.	Controller of Patents and Designs.	Audit Office, Bombay Development Scheme.	Government Examiner, G. I. P. Railway.	
Office of Metropolitan's Chaplain, Calcutta.	Chief Inspector of Explosives.	Audit Office, Lloyed Barrage and Canal Construction.	Khyber Railway Construction.	
Office of Presy. Senior Chaplain, Ch. of Scotland, Calcutta.	Director Genl. of Observatories	Audit Officer, Indian Stores Department.	Government Examiner, Burma Railways.	
Registrar of Diocese, Calcutta.	Controller of P., S. & Stamps (C. P. O.).	Office of the A. G., P. & T.	Government Examiner, B. and N. Western Railway.	
D. G., I. M. S.	Supdtg. Engineer Impl. Circle, Simla.	Office of the D. A. G., P. & T., Delhi.	Chief Auditor, E. I. Railway.	
Agr. Adviser.	D. G., P. & T.	Office of the D. A. G., P. & T., Nagpur.	Controller of Currency.	
Dir. Genl. of Archaeology.	Geological Survey of India.	Office of the D. A. G., P. & T., Madras.	Dy. C. C., Bombay.	
Surveyor Genl. of India.	Central Board of Revenue.	Office of the Dy. A. G., P. & T. (Postal Branch).	Dy. C. C., Northern India.	

REFUND OF A SUM OF MONEY RECOVERED FROM MR. K. V. RAMIAH, A POSTAL CLERK IN THE NILGIRI DIVISION.

1206. *Mr. Ohaman Lall: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that under instructions from the Madras Audit office, a sum of Rs. 97-9-0 was recovered from Mr. K. V. Ramiah, a postal clerk in the Nilgiri Division, on the ground that the period of a break from the 15th December 1906 to 31st January 1907 in his officiating service was wrongly condoned and allowed to count for increments in the time-scale?

(b) Did Mr. K. V. Ramiah subsequently produce evidence to show that during the period of that break he was on authorised leave of absence; and was not that evidence admitted by the Director-General of Posts and Telegraphs and the pay of the official refixed again counting the period of that break towards increments?

(c) Did Mr. K. V. Ramiah apply to the Director-General on the 26th December 1924 for the refund of Rs. 97-9-0 recovered from him and was his request refused? If so, on what grounds?

(d) Are Government now prepared to direct the refund of the amount to the official? If not, why?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes.

(b) Yes.

(c) The refund was refused because the orders sanctioning the concession of allowing authorised leave without pay to count for increments did not authorise the drawal of a higher rate of pay in respect of any period of service prior to the 1st April 1922—the date of those orders.

(d) As Mr. Ramiah has not submitted any representation to Government against the final decision of the Director-General which was communicated to him more than two years ago Government do not propose to take any action in the matter.

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST MR. GOVINDAN NAIR, ACTING HEAD CLERK OF THE NILGIRI POSTAL DIVISION.

1207. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that Mr. M. Govindan Nair, the present acting Head Clerk of the Nilgiri Postal Division, was reverted in 1923 from the amalgamated cadre of Inspectors and Superintendents' Head Clerks and that one of the causes of his reversion was that he submitted a false diary for July 1923 when he was acting as Inspector of Post Offices, Coimbatore Sub-Division, by not noting his journey to Erode, a place beyond his jurisdiction in it?

(b) Is it a fact Mr. Govindan Nair was again taken as Superintendent' Head Clerk in 1926? If so, what was the reason?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) and (b). The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the reply given to Mr. M. K. Acharya's question No. 734 on the 7th March 1927.

TIME-TEST OF THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

1208. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Is it a fact that the Deputation of the All-India (including Burma) Postal and Railway Mail Service Union pointed out to the Honourable Member in March 1925 that the time-test for the Railway Mail Service was defective and mentioned some of the items of work that were not included in the time-test?

(b) Was this matter discussed at one of the annual conferences of the Heads of Circles held at Calcutta?

(c) Is it a fact that they recommended that some items not found in the then existing time-test should be included in the time-test for the Railway Mail Service?

(d) Is it a fact that the above recommendation was accepted by the Government and increased staff sanctioned in certain offices and sections; and that the Director General afterwards issued orders not to include the new items in the time-test?

(e) What is the reason for refusing to include in the time-test the items of work not covered by it?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) Yes.

(b), (c), (d) and (e). The facts are as stated in the reply given by me to Mr. N. M. Joshi's unstarred question No. 96 on the 16th February 1927.

**PROVISION OF ELECTRIC FANS IN THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE OFFICE
IN MADRAS, ETC.**

1209. *Mr. Ohaman Lall: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state (1) the area of the space provided for sorting work in the Madras Railway Mail Service and (2) the number of men including inferior service engaged to work there?

(b) Is it a fact that fans are not provided in the Madras Railway Mail Service office?

(c) Was any representation made so far back as 1924 for the installation of fans; and if the reply be in the affirmative, what action was taken?

(d) Is there a Post Office named "Park Town Sub-Office" in the same building where the Madras Railway Mail Service is located?

(e) How many men including postmen and inferior servants are employed in the Post Office there?

(f) Is it a fact that fans have not been provided in the Post Office?

(g) Is it not a fact that there is electric installation for providing lights? If the reply be in the affirmative, will the Government please state why fans could not be provided?

(h) Do Government propose to consider the question of providing fans before the next summer season commences?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a). (1) 5625 square feet, (2) 149.

(b) Yes.

(c) Yes. The question of providing electric fans was taken up, but had later to be held in abeyance in connection with the larger question of making additions and alterations to the building in order to afford more accommodation for the office, as it was undesirable to put up an electric fan installation at considerable expense which might not fit in with the final arrangements for the distribution of accommodation.

(d) Yes.

(e) 60.

(f) Yes.

(g) Information is not readily available why fans were not provided when the electric lights were installed many years ago.

(h) I am already dealing with this matter.

**AMOUNT OF CONVEYANCE ALLOWANCE PAID TO INSPECTORS OF POST
OFFICES IN MADRAS, BOMBAY AND CALCUTTA.**

1210. *Mr. Ohaman Lall: (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the amount of conveyance allowance paid to the Inspectors of Post Offices in Madras City and to similar class of employees in Bombay and Calcutta?

(b) Are the Government aware that the conveyance charges at Madras are not less than those at Bombay and Calcutta?

(c) Is the price of bicycles lower at Madras than at Calcutta and Bombay, and if not, what is the reason for granting a lower conveyance allowance at Madras?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) The Town Inspectors of Post Offices in Madras City are granted a conveyance allowance of Rs. 20 each a month; those in the cities of Bombay and Calcutta a conveyance allowance of Rs. 30 each a month.

(b) No.

(c) I have no information, but the question of conveyance allowance in Madras City will be re-examined.

REMOVAL OF THE FLOWER BAZAR POST OFFICE IN MADRAS TO
A MORE SUITABLE BUILDING.

1211. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the dimension (length, breadth and height) of the hall in which the Flower Bazar Post Office in the Madras City is located?

(b) How many officials including inferior servants are working in the office?

(c) What is the space occupied by tables, chairs and almirahs?

(d) In what year was the building first occupied for the Post Office and what was the strength of the staff of that office at that time?

(e) Has there been any increase of accommodation for Post Office work?

(f) Are Government aware that the present building is unsuitable for a Post Office owing to (1) congestion, and (2) unhealthy condition?

(g) Is it under contemplation to remove the Post Office to a more suitable building? If so, do Government propose to expedite the matter?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Length 30 feet.

Breadth 16 feet.

Height 10 feet.

(b) 15, of whom 13 work at one time.

(c) 211 square feet.

(d) On the 4th October 1908. The strength of the office staff at the time was 5.

(e) No.

(f) Yes.

(g) Yes; to a departmental building under construction which will be ready for occupation in 1927-28.

INCREASE OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE DEPARTMENT
OF THE MADRAS GENERAL POST OFFICE.

1212. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Have the Government received any proposal to increase the establishment of the Correspondence Department of the Madras General Post Office?

(b) Is it a fact that the sanctioned establishment of the Correspondence Department is 28 clerks?

(c) Is it a fact that reserve clerks are attached to the Correspondence Department for the correspondence work in addition to the permanent staff?

(d) Is it a fact that as a rule 35 men are engaged in correspondence work?

(e) Is it a fact that in leave vacancies reserve clerks from other departments are brought to the Correspondence Department to make up the strength of 35 working men?

(f) Are Government prepared to consider the question of increasing the number of clerks in the Correspondence Department of the Madras General Post Office?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) No.

(b) The sanctioned clerical staff is 29, including the head clerk.

(c) The services of any reserve clerk available after leave vacancies have been filled are utilised for work in the Correspondence Department as in other departments.

(d) No.

(e) No.

(f) There appears to be no reason to do so.

NUMBER OF SELECTION GRADE APPOINTMENTS IN THE CORRESPONDENCE
DEPARTMENT OF THE CALCUTTA, BOMBAY AND MADRAS GENERAL
POST OFFICES.

1213. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of officials with the number of selection grade appointments in the Correspondence Department of (1) the Calcutta General Post Office, (2) Bombay General Post Office, and (3) Madras General Post Office?

(b) Is not the Correspondence Department divided into groups?

(c) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of such groups in each of the above offices and the number of clerks attached to each group?

(d) Have Government considered the question of sanctioning selection grade appointments for the clerks in charge of groups with five or more clerks?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) :

	Selection grade appointments.	Time scale clerical appointments.	Total.
(1) Calcutta G. P. O.	4	100	104
(2) Bombay „	8	109	117
(3) Madras „	1	28	29

(b) Yes.

(c) A statement furnishing the desired information will be sent to the Honourable Member.

(d) The question is under consideration.

ARTICLE UNDER THE CAPTION "SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT" IN THE
SEPTEMBER ISSUE OF THE GENERAL LETTER OF THE
MADRAS CIRCLE POSTAL UNION.

1214. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the editorial article under the caption "Savings Bank Department" published in the September issue of the General Letter of the Madras Circle Postal Union?

(b) Are the items of work described in the said article not included in the time-test and not actually taken into account in calculating the staff necessary for Savings Bank work?

(c) If the reply be in the affirmative, do Government propose to include them in the time-test? If the answer is in the negative, will the Government please state how the aforesaid work is done?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) Yes.

(b) and (c). Some of the items are covered by the time allowances for items included in the time test and the performances of the work involved by them is thus provided for. A number of items do not appear to be so covered. The matter will be examined.

SANCTION OF ADDITIONAL STAFF FOR THE SAVINGS BANK DEPARTMENT
OF THE MADRAS GENERAL POST OFFICE.

1215 ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state (1) the number of active Savings Bank accounts in the Madras General Post Office on 1st April, 1904 and 1st April, 1926, (2) the daily average number of Savings Bank deposits and withdrawals on 1st April, 1904 and 1st April, 1926, and (3) the strength of the clerical staff in that department on 1st April, 1904 and 1st April, 1926?

(b) Was the staff augmented in proportion to the increase of work? If not, why?

(c) Is it not a fact that the staff was overworked all these years?

(d) Was any proposal for increase of staff received by the Postmaster General, Madras; and if so, what action was taken thereon?

(e) Do Government propose to instruct the sanctioning authority to expedite sanction of additional staff?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a). (1) 24,470 and 88,917.

(2) Deposits 152 and 240 and withdrawals 109 and 168.

(3) 9 and 9.

(b) The Postmaster-General has reported that the strength in 1904 was fixed apparently on a wrong basis, with the result that the Savings Bank Department was over-staffed. The number of clerks was reduced to eight in January 1925 and again increased to nine with effect from the 1st April 1926, the number in each case being that found to be justified on statistics of work.

(c) No.

(d) A proposal has been received by the Postmaster-General and is under examination by him.

(e) The Postmaster-General will be requested to expedite his examination of the matter. On receipt of his report, the question whether any additional staff is required will be decided.

NUMBER OF CLERKS EMPLOYED IN EACH DEPARTMENT OF THE CALCUTTA, BOMBAY AND MADRAS GENERAL POST OFFICES, ETC.

1216 ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing (1) the number of clerks employed in each department of the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras General Post Offices, (2) the number and the scale of selection grade appointments in each department of the Calcutta, Bombay and Madras General Post Offices, (3) the number and the scales of selection grade appointments and the number of clerks employed in each of the selection grade Town Sub-offices in the cities of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.

Sir Ganen Roy: Statements furnishing the desired information will be sent to the Honourable Member.

NUMBER OF TOWN SUB-OFFICES IN MADRAS CITY WHICH JUSTIFY SELECTION GRADE APPOINTMENTS.

1217 ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state the number of town sub-offices in the Madras City which according to the principle laid down by the Postal Enquiry Committee of 1920 justify selection grade appointments, but which are at present in charge of officials on the time-scale of pay?

(b) Will the Government be pleased to state why those offices have not been raised to the status of selection grade offices?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) I am not aware that there is any such office in Madras City.

(b) Does not arise.

INADEQUACY OF THE NUMBER OF SELECTION GRADE APPOINTMENTS IN THE MADRAS GENERAL POST OFFICE GROUP.

1218. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** (a) Will the Government be pleased to state if it is a fact that in many of the important town sub-offices and departments of the General Post Office in Madras, there is only one appointment in the selection grade, and that the Deputy Sub-Postmasters and the Joint Head Clerks are placed on the ordinary time-scale of pay?

(b) Is it a fact that the Deputy Sub-Postmasters and Joint Head Clerks do similar work to that performed by the Sub-Postmasters and Head Clerks and are in charge of offices and departments when the latter are off duty? If so, what is the reason for not placing the Deputy Sub-Postmasters and Joint Head Clerks in the selection grades?

(c) Was not the inadequacy of the number of selection grade appointments in the Madras General Post Office group placed before Sir Geoffrey Clarke and Sir Ganen Roy by the deputation of the All-India Postal and Railway Mail Service union, Madras Circle and did not they reply that the appointments would be increased?

(d) Will the Government be pleased to state whether effect will be given to their assurances? If so, when, and if not, why?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) to (c). The facts are being ascertained and a reply will be sent to the Honourable Member as soon as possible.

(d) The question of inadequacy or otherwise of the number of selection grade appointments in Madras City has been examined ever since the introduction of the time-scale of pay in September 1920 with the result that the number has in the interval been increased from 18 to 29. The question of further additions to selection grade posts will receive due consideration from time to time.

**PUNISHMENTS INFLICTED BY LIEUTENANT SHUJUT ALI, SUPERINTENDENT,
RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE, "T" DIVISION.**

1219. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** Will the Government be pleased to lay on the table a statement showing the various punishments inflicted by Lieutenant Shujut Ali, Superintendent, Railway Mail Service, "T" Division, from the date he assumed charge of that division to the 31st January, 1927 and the various punishments inflicted by his predecessors during the corresponding period on the officials of that division with the names of the officials and the nature of the offence committed by each?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The answer is in the negative. The compilation of the statement will require an expenditure of labour and money which is not justified by the public advantage to be gained from such compilation.

**PROVISION OF ELECTRIC FANS IN THE POST OFFICES IN MADRAS
CITY.**

1220. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** Will the Government be pleased to state if electric fans will be fitted in the Post Offices in the Madras City, where they have not been provided for the use of the clerical and postmen staff? If so, when, and if not, why?

Sir Ganen Roy: Electric fans or punkhas are either already provided or will be provided for shortly in 19 offices. The necessity for punkhas in other offices is being considered.

**MAXIMUM SALARY OF THE HEAD CLERK TO THE ASSISTANT COLLECTOR
OF INCOME-TAX IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.**

1221. ***Sardar Gulab Singh:** Is it a fact that the maximum salary drawn by the Head Clerk to the Assistant Commissioner, Income-tax, in the United Provinces, is much less than the maximum salary drawn by the Head Clerks to the Assistant Commissioner in the Provinces of Bengal, Bombay and Punjab? If the answer be in the affirmative, will the Government be pleased to state the maximum salary drawn by the Head Clerks in the United Provinces and other provinces and state the reason for this difference in the scale of pay?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The answer is in the negative. Except in Calcutta and in Bombay city the maximum pay of such clerks is lower in Bengal and Bombay than in the United Provinces. In the Punjab the maximum pay of two such posts is higher than in the United Provinces, and the maximum pay of one post lower.

TRAVELLING ALLOWANCE OF CLERKS DRAWING SALARIES OF Rs. 150 TO Rs. 200 IN THE INCOME-TAX OFFICES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES.

1222. *Sardar Gulab Singh: Is it a fact that the clerks in the Income-tax Offices, United Provinces, drawing a salary of Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 are treated as third class officers for the purpose of travelling while the other clerks drawing the same amount of pay in the same province serving the Local Government are entitled to second class travelling allowance?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Clerks in the Income-tax Offices, United Provinces, drawing a salary of Rs. 150 to Rs. 200 are treated as third class officers for the purpose of travelling.

PROMOTION OF HEAD CLERKS OF INCOME-TAX OFFICES IN THE UNITED PROVINCES TO THE POST OF ASSISTANT INCOME-TAX OFFICERS.

1223. *Sardar Gulab Singh: Is it a fact that the Head Clerks of Income-tax Offices in the Provinces of Bombay, Bengal and Punjab have a chance of being promoted to the post of Assistant Income-tax Officers? If the answer be in the affirmative, is the same practice permissible in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It is open to a Commissioner of Income-tax to appoint any suitable person as a permanent Assistant Income-tax Officer with the powers of an Income-tax Officer, (if such posts exist in his Province), subject to the approval of the Local Government in each case.

PLACING OF ORDERS FOR RAILS WITH FIRMS OTHER THAN THE TATA IRON AND STEEL COMPANY.

1224. *Sir Walter Willson: 1. Are Government aware that other steel-making interests in India are seriously concerned at the prospect of being unable to get any Government orders for rails within the next seven years owing to Government acceptance of the Tariff Board's recommendation that all the Railway Board's requirements of rails should be bought from the Tata Iron and Steel Company over the next 7 years?

2. With reference to the statement of the Honourable Sir Charles Innes in the Steel Industry Protection Bill Debates that Government hoped to "get new firms and new capital to engage in that industry", will Government please state whether there will be any opportunity, and if so, to what extent, for other firms to make and sell rails to Government within—say the last 2 years of that period?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: (1) I have had one representation to this effect from a firm which is not making steel nor even iron.

(2) The answer to this question depends of course to some extent on the probable requirements of Indian Railways for rails in 1932-33, and 1933-34. I think, however, that it may be taken that during the 7-year period the great bulk of Indian requirements of rails will be met by the Tata Iron and Steel Company and that new firms in the first year or two after they have begun production will have to concentrate on other products.

MEMORIAL TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY FROM MR. SATYENDRA
CHANDRA MITRA, A POLITICAL DETENU.

1225. *Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: (a) Is it a fact that the following memorial, dated Mandalay, the 20th October, 1926, was received by the Government from Mr. Satyendra Chandra Mitra:

"TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA, IN
COUNCIL, DELHI.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

I have the honour to state that I have been elected a Member of the Indian Legislative Assembly, but I am a detenu confined in Mandalay Jail, Burma, under section 11 of the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925. I take the earliest opportunity to bring to Your Excellency's notice the fact that I am anxious to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown as contemplated by section 24 of the Legislative Assembly Electoral Rules, and also to attend the Assembly meetings, and to take part in its deliberations as a Member.

It would not be altogether out of place to mention here that detenus under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1925, are allowed occasional leave of absence from Jail to conduct their civil suits, to appear for University Examinations, to attend *Stradh* or marriage ceremonies, to attend on their sick relations, or to look after their family affairs. I was also allowed when I was detained in a Calcutta Jail, to consult my eye surgeon in his private residence.

I therefore pray that Your Excellency may be pleased to grant me the most fundamental and legitimate right of a subject to swear allegiance to his Sovereign, and that I may be allowed to attend the inaugural meeting of the freshly elected Indian Legislative Assembly to be held for the first time in the newly built Imperial City, which will be a unique event in the history of India. I am taking this liberty of approaching Your Excellency as the highest authority in the land at least so far as matters of internal administration are concerned."

(b) Has any petition from Mr. S. C. Mitra's election agent been received for the refund of his deposit money; and if so, has the money been refunded?

Mr. L. Graham: (a) A memorial to that effect was received by the Government of India.

(b) An application for the refund of the deposit was made to the returning officer and was rejected.

Mr. Chaman Lal: May I ask the Honourable Member why no favourable action was taken in regard to this memorial?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The memorial in question was sent to the Bengal Government, under whose orders the person in question has been detained.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know whether this memorial was actually placed before His Excellency the Viceroy before being forwarded?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The method of disposal of business in the Government of India is a confidential matter which, my Honourable friend may rest assured, I shall not disclose under any circumstances whatsoever.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: With regard to the answer to part (b) of the question, is it a fact that under exactly similar circumstances the Government of Bengal in 1925 refunded the deposit money of Mr. S. C. Mitra though he was not given an opportunity then to take his oath?

Mr. L. Graham: The Government of India have no information on the subject; and I cannot understand under what rule they did it, if they did.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Mr. S. C. Mitra has written to me to that effect.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is it intended that the deposit money should be forfeited in this instance?

Mr. L. Graham: No orders have been made for forfeiting; and though that might be done by the Governor General, he has not done so.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May we know whether the Governor General has this matter under consideration?

Mr. L. Graham: The making of an order of forfeiture?

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Making an order of forfeiture or refusing the refund—whichever way you put it?

Mr. L. Graham: It is not a question of refusing a refund because that does not arise under the rules. It is possible to leave the matter open till the gentleman in question has had an opportunity of attending this House.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Having regard to the statement recently made by the Honourable the Home Member, may I know whether the question of his attending the House is going to be reconsidered by the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: That, Sir, is a matter which rests with the Bengal Government.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I want to know whether the question of Mr. S. C. Mitra being able to attend the Legislative Assembly Sessions here is a matter which does not concern the Government of India, or whether the Government of India are incompetent to deal with the matter?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The Government of India are perfectly competent to deal with all matters which are in their discretion, and the question of the attendance of the Honourable gentleman will automatically arise if the Government of Bengal withdraw the order they have made against him.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know whether having regard to the policy which was declared by the Honourable the Home Member the other day in this House in regard to these detenus, the question of Mr. Mitra's being permitted to attend the Assembly under similar conditions in pursuance of the same policy, is going to be examined?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The Honourable Member does not remember what I said. I said that as regards Regulation III prisoners the Governor General in Council was the authority responsible. I also said as regards the general policy followed in the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act the Governor General was also directly responsible. But I made it perfectly clear that the case of individual persons under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act is a matter for the Bengal Government.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I have again to ask, Sir, whether the Honourable the Home Member does not consider that the question of Mr. Mitra's attending the Legislative Assembly is a matter which concerns the Government of India and as such whether the Government of India should not move in the matter, even if necessary by asking the Government of Bengal to take the necessary action?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I dare say that will be perfectly open to the Governor General in Council if he so desires. I am not prepared to make any statement on the matter, however.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know whether the Government of India are prepared to consider it?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: We are always considering the question of the release of these persons wherever possible in the interests of public safety.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Do Government consider that it is an honest and proper course to stop Mr. Mitra from taking the oath of allegiance and then to forfeit his deposit money?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: As regards the forfeiture of the deposit money, I understand from my Honourable friend that there is no question of the forfeiture of the deposit.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is it a fact that Mr. Mitra was under detention under Regulation III before, and that an order under the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act has since been substituted for it?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I think that is right; speaking from memory, I believe that that is so.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: What was the object in allowing the order under Regulation III to be substituted by an order under the Criminal Law Amendment Act?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: In order, Sir, that, if the conduct of the person was of such a character, he might be detained under a less severe form of detention. I made it clear the other day.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Is it a fact that one of the objects of Government in allowing this substitution to be made was to avoid the trouble of answering questions on the floor of this House with regard to this question?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, Sir. Had that been the object of the Government, we would have transferred all Regulation III prisoners to the Bengal Criminal Law Amendment Act.

Mr. K. Ahmed: Has the Government of India any knowledge that the new Governor, His Excellency Colonel Jackson, who is arriving in Bengal on Monday next the 28th March, will consider the matter as soon as he reaches Calcutta?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: That is a question which I cannot answer.

Mr. Ram Narayan Singh: Is it not a fact that the Government wanted some sort of assurances from these detenus as a condition of their release?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I explained the position very clearly in the statement I made in the House not so long ago, and I think if the Honourable Member will refer to that statement he will see exactly what I said and how far assurances would be of any avail.

PURCHASE OF RAW HIDES FOR THE CAWNPORE HARNESS AND SADDLERY FACTORY.

1226. ***Mr. T. A. K. Shervani:** (a) Is it a fact that in previous years the raw hides for the Cawnpore Harness and Saddlery Factory (Army Department) were supplied by means of lowest tenders on lime weight rates?

(b) Is it a fact that that system has been abolished from the last year and the raw hides are now bought on commission basis?

(c) If the answer to (b) is in the affirmative, is it a fact that the Government have entered into an agreement with British India Corporation, Limited, to buy hides through one Mr. Corbett on a commission basis?

(d) Is it a fact that the new system does not guarantee quality and weight and compliance with the schedule?

(e) Is it a fact that under the new system the supply is made at the risk of the aforesaid Harness Factory and the new system involves all the risks of lime rejection and market fluctuations?

(f) Are the Government aware that under the old system of lowest tender the European firms had to compete with the Indian firms and in the majority of cases the lowest tenders were those of Indian firms?

(g) Was any Indian firm invited to supply under the new system of supply on commission?

(h) If the answer to (g) is in the negative, will the Government be pleased to lay on the table all the papers and reports concerning the matter to enable the House to know whether the new system is more advantageous and better?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) The tender system was employed but the lowest tender was not necessarily accepted.

(b) Yes. Commission is paid only on hides accepted after liming for which Government pay the actual purchase price plus commission.

(c) The agreement into which Government have entered with Cooper Allen and Co. is to obtain their hides jointly through a common buyer on commission. The common buyer is a Mr. Corbett.

(d) No, Sir. Acceptances are subject to weight and quality guarantee and adherence to a given schedule of deliveries.

(e) No. On the contrary the new system abolishes the risk of lime rejections, and greatly diminishes the risk of loss from market fluctuations.

(f) Yes.

(g) No firm was asked to supply.

(h) No, Sir. The new system is an experiment. It is about to be examined in detail and reported on by an officer of the Auditor General's Department. Government will review the whole question again on receipt of his report. If the Honourable Member desires any further information on the subject and will communicate with me, I will readily give him what information I can.

REORGANISATION OF THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES.

1227. ***Mr. M. S. Aney:** (1) Is it a fact that the office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, is at present under reorganisation? If so, when was the special staff for reorganisation first entertained? What are the sections into which the office is divided? Which of these have yet

been fully reorganised? How much longer is the reorganisation work likely to last? Is it expected that all the sections will be fully reorganised by that date?

(2) What has been the strength of the reorganisation staff from time to time? What has been the cost of the reorganisation work up to the end of February, 1927? How much more is the work likely to cost?

(3) Is it a fact that a special officer with a special staff was employed to reorganise the office in July, 1925, and that he worked for over three months in the office examining in detail every section of the office, and making definite recommendations for the improvement of the working of each? Is it a fact that an honorarium was granted to the officer and that some members of his staff were specially promoted? If so, what was the necessity for employing the present reorganisation staff? If their work was not done completely and thoroughly why was the honorarium paid to them and their services specially recognised?

REORGANISATION OF THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES.

1228. ***Mr. M. S. Aney:** (1) Is it a fact that the Auditor General has a permanent staff of two Deputy Auditors General to examine on his behalf the working of all Audit and Accounts offices in India and Burma? Is it a fact that except in the particular instance mentioned in the previous question the Deputy Auditor General has been considered fully competent to find out the defects of all Audit and Accounts offices and has actually done so in the past? When was the office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, last inspected by a Deputy Auditor General? Did that inspection disclose any serious or uncommon defects in the working of the office? When was the next inspection due? What was the reason for employing in supersession of the regular inspection of a Deputy Auditor General a special machinery to find out the defects of the office?

(2) When did the present Accountant General, Central Revenues, take over charge of the office? Was he at any time before connected with this particular office? How long after taking over charge did he discover the necessity for special measures of reorganisation and apply for the special officer and staff mentioned in part (3) of the previous question? Did he discover this necessity as the result of any detailed examination of the working of the various sections of his office? If not, how was he convinced of the necessity of reorganisation?

ALLEGATIONS AGAINST THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES.

1229. ***Mr. M. S. Aney:** (a) Has the attention of the Government been drawn to the complaints against the present administration of the office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, which have appeared from time to time in the Press? Has any enquiry been instituted into the complaints and, if so, with what result? Is it a fact that a clerk of the office who was bitten by a rabid dog and was actually under treatment at Kasauli was dismissed for absence in spite of a certificate from the officer in charge of the Kasauli Institute that his continued attendance at the Institute was necessary for a complete recovery? Is it a fact that the clerk had to be reinstated at the instance of a very high official after his appeals to the Accountant General and Auditor General had failed?

(b) Is it a fact that clerks who fell ill and even produced medical certificates, were nevertheless granted leave without pay for the period of their absence?

(c) Is it a fact that the present Accountant General, Central Revenues, considers a large proportion of his existing Subordinate Accounts Service and clerical staff inefficient? If the answer is in the affirmative, is it a fact that he nevertheless stands in the way of any of these men obtaining a transfer to other offices?

(d) Is it a fact that the present Accountant General, Central Revenues, travelled from Delhi to Nagpur and to Bombay to recruit men from the local Audit and Accounts offices for the reorganisation of his own office? How many men were actually recruited by this means from each of these places? What was the amount of travelling allowance actually drawn by the Accountant General, Central Revenues, for these journeys? Is there any precedent of the head of an Accounts Office having made a similar journey for a like purpose in the past? Could not the recruitment be effected by means of correspondence? Are Government aware that just at the time when the present Accountant General, Central Revenues made his journey to Bombay at public expense, his son was sailing to Europe from Bombay? Is it contemplated as a matter of policy to allow Accountants General to perform such long journeys at public expense for the purpose of recruiting men for their offices?

(e) Has the attention of Government been drawn to advertisements in several daily papers to the effect that matriculates of the Punjab, Delhi and the United Provinces Universities are allowed to sit for the annual recruitment examination for clerical appointments in the office while young men who have studied elsewhere are excluded?

(f) If the answer to (e) is in the affirmative, what is the reason for such differential treatment to young men of different provinces in the matter of employment in an office under the Central Government? Are there similar restrictions in any other office under the Central Government in Delhi? If not, what are the special circumstances which would justify restrictions in the case of this one office?

(g) Is it a fact that the immediate result of the above restrictions has been such a dearth of good and eligible candidates that an intensive campaign of advertisement had to be instituted before the last few recruitment examinations?

(h) How many recruitment examinations have been held during the period that the office has been under the present Accountant General? What has been the expenditure on advertisements in connection with each of these examinations?

(i) Are Government aware that the entire staff is thoroughly discontented with the present administration of the office? Is it a fact that the present Accountant General was not wanted even by the Local Governments where he served as Accountant General, *e.g.*, Punjab, Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I propose to reply to questions Nos. 1227 to 1229 together.

The collection of the complete information asked for would involve considerable time and trouble and I trust that the Honourable Member will recognise that the results are unlikely to be commensurate with the labour

involved. He will, however, find some information regarding the reorganisation of the office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, in the proceedings of the meetings of the Standing Finance Committee for 21st January, 1926, and 4th February, 1927. I would also invite his attention to the reply I gave yesterday to Mr. K. C. Neogy's question No. 1188. With regard to part (a) of question No. 1229 I may explain that the clerk in question was reinstated by the order of the Auditor General.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: May I assume, Sir, that the statements made in this question have been examined by the Honourable Member in charge?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: No, Sir.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does he propose to examine them?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I certainly do not think that it is the duty of the Finance Member to attempt to answer in this House questions of this nature or to go into enormous details of this sort about particular individuals on the orders passed by the Auditor General.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Does the Honourable Member realise that some of the statements made are rather serious?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: It depends upon the quarter from which they come.

Mr. K. C. Roy: Is the Honourable the Finance Member aware that a considerable amount of dissatisfaction exists in connection with the administration of the office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Yes, Sir; I am aware of it. I do not wish the House to understand that I have not and do not intend to pay special attention to this question. It is a matter which has been under my consideration.

Mr. K. Ahmed: With regard to question No. 1229 (a), do Government propose to reconsider the case of a clerk of the office who was bitten by a rabid dog and was actually under treatment at Kasauli, and who was dismissed for absence in spite of the certificate from the officer in charge of the Kasauli Institute that his continued attendance at the institute was necessary for a complete recovery? In view of that fact, Sir, do Government propose to revise their orders passed in the case of this clerk or make an inquiry, and come to a favourable decision in the matter if he has not yet been reinstated?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have already said in my reply that the clerk has been reinstated by the Auditor General.

EXAMINERS FOR THE IMPERIAL SECRETARIAT EXAMINATION.

1230. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** 1. Will the Government be pleased to state the names of the examiners appointed for examining the papers set by the Public Service Commission at the examination held for the recruitment of the staff of the Imperial Secretariat?

2. Is it a fact that officers of the Government of India were selected as examiners of the papers set by the Public Service Commission at the last examination? If so, what are the names and qualifications of those examiners? Why was this method of examining papers by the officers adopted instead of the papers being examined by independent educationists? Do Government propose to do away with this principle of examination of men of the Departments by their own officers?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (1) It would be contrary to all accepted practice to make public the names of examiners.

(2) In the matter of appointing examiners the Public Service Commission took over the arrangements already made by the Staff Selection Board before the Commission met. The Staff Selection Board appointed educationists to examine in English Essay and General Knowledge, but for the technical subjects of precis-writing and drafting they preferred to appoint officers of the Government of India possessing technical knowledge which an educationist could not be expected to possess

ALLOWANCE PAID TO THE SECRETARY OF THE LATE STAFF SELECTION BOARD.

1231. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Is it a fact that the Assistant Secretary of the Home Department used to be paid an allowance as Secretary of the late Staff Selection Board? If so, on the appointment of the Public Service Commission has that allowance been stopped or is it continued in the name of some special work? If the latter, in what capacity is that allowance being continued to be paid to the late Secretary of the Staff Selection Board?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. The allowance ceased on the transfer of Staff Selection Board work to the Public Service Commission.

PERIOD OF THE STAY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA IN DELHI.

1232. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Will Government be pleased to state if it was laid down in the despatches leading to the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to Delhi that the stay of the Government of India in Delhi will be for 7 months in the year? If so, from what year do Government propose to act up to that decision?

Will Government state if weather conditions in Simla and Delhi at the time of each of the moves are taken into consideration when the dates of moves are fixed.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (a) The question was discussed in the despatches† referred to by the Honourable Member, but no decision was taken. The Honourable Member is referred to the answer given to Mr. Kelkar's unstarred question No. 151.

(b) The answer is in the negative

PERCENTAGE OF HINDUS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

1233. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Will Government be pleased to lay on the table of the House a statement showing the percentages of the increase or decrease of Hindus in the staff of the Secretariat Department during the last five years?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The figures for the last five years which the Honourable Member asks for are not immediately available, but I give such figures as are in my possession. In 1911 the percentage of Hindus in the staff of the Secretariat Departments of the Government of India was 47·5; in 1925 it was 59·2; and in 1926 61·3. I may mention that that was due to increase in Indianisation.

†These despatches have been published.

RESIDENT CLERKS ATTACHED TO DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

1284. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Are there resident clerks attached to some of the Departments of the Government of India? If so, will Government kindly name those Departments and state in which of them has an Indian as distinguished from an Anglo-Indian been so far appointed to any of these posts? If not, why not? What is the extra remuneration paid to these resident clerks? Do Government propose to do away with any racial distinction? If not, will they be pleased to state the reasons?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Resident clerks are employed in the Home, Foreign and Political and Army Departments.

One of the two resident clerks employed in the Army Department while that office is at New Delhi is an Indian. In the Simla season the night duty in that Department is performed by five or six men who take turns. The clerks employed on this duty in the Simla season are, with one exception all Indians.

The extra remuneration paid to these clerks is Rs. 5 per night.

The remainder of the Honourable Member's question does not arise.

POSITION OF AN UPPER TIME-SCALE ASSISTANT UNFIT FOR PROMOTION TO A SUPERINTENDENTSHIP.

1285. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Will Government state what action it takes when an assistant on the upper time-scale has reached his maximum but before getting a Superintendship becomes unfit for such promotion? Is he allowed to stay in his place and block the way of other people coming into the upper time-scale or is he removed to the ordinary time-scale on the maximum of his pay and some one else afforded a chance of showing his fitness for the upper time-scale and Superintendship?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Cases of the nature quoted by the Honourable Member would be exceptional and would be dealt with on their merits. I am not aware of any rule on the subject.

COUNTING OF SERVICE FOR INCREMENTS IN THE TIME-SCALE OF PAY OF ASSISTANTS AND CLERKS IN THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

1286. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Have any uniform rules been laid down for the counting of service for increments in the time-scale at the time of confirmation in the case of assistants and clerks in the Secretariat? If not, why not?

Are Government aware that there are cases where a man entering the Secretariat in a previous year has been confirmed on a lower pay than another with the same qualification entering the Secretariat later? If not, do Government propose to enquire into such cases and rectify the anomalies? If not, what are the reasons of Government in not ameliorating such cases of hardship?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The general rule contained in Government of India, Home Department, Resolution No. 1062, dated the 27th May 1920, is that the regular minima of the various divisions

can be drawn only on confirmation, and temporary and officiating service prior to that event therefore does not count for increments.

Certain exceptions to this general rule were allowed on account of the special conditions prevailing during the War and it is possible that these gave rise to discontent in individual cases. Where anomalies have been brought to light they have been examined.

PAY OF THE STAFF OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA SECRETARIAT.

1237. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) Are the Government aware that there is a large number of men who are not satisfied with the pay which has been fixed for them since the introduction of the time-scale of pay in the Secretariat? Are Government prepared to go into their cases?

(b) Is it a fact that each department has got a Standing Committee attached to it? If so, do Government propose to lay the representations re pay or other hardships of the men of the department before the Standing Committee of the department concerned? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Government have received a representation on the subject, and it is under examination.

Standing Committees are attached to some of the Departments; but cases of this nature will not come within the purview of such committees.

ASSESSMENT OF RENT FOR OFFICERS' BUNGALOWS AND CLERKS' QUARTERS IN NEW DELHI.

1238. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** Will Government be pleased to state whether the system of assessing rent of bungalows in New Delhi for officers is different from the system applicable to the case of quarters for clerks? Is the means of assessing rents for officers' bungalows cheaper than the one for the clerks' quarters. If so, do Government propose to adopt the same means of assessment for both classes of Government servants? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The system of assessing rent in the case of the clerks' quarters is practically identical with the system for officers' bungalows, the only difference being the method of pooling the cost. The gazetted officers' bungalows and clerks' quarters are divided into 4 classes each, and for the purposes of calculating rents the cost of the former is pooled as a whole while that of the latter is pooled by classes. The reason for this differentiation is that the gazetted officers' bungalows of each class, though providing for practically the same area of accommodation, vary considerably in design, whereas in the case of clerks' quarters the type of each class is practically uniform.

ARCHITECT FOR THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1239. ***Mr. Bhabendra Chandra Roy:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether the post of a qualified architect advertised by the authorities of the North-Western Railway last year has been filled up? If so, will Government be pleased to state whether the gentleman selected for the post is a qualified Indian architect?

(b) Will Government be pleased to state whether the vacancy was advertised in England? If so, in what month and whether before or after the publication in India?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether the vacancy was advertised in any paper published in Bombay or Calcutta? If not, why not?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Honourable Member is presumably referring to an advertisement issued by the Railway Board inviting applications for the post of Architect for the North-Western Railway. No one has been selected so far.

The vacancy was not advertised in England.

The advertisement appeared in three newspapers in Calcutta and two newspapers in Bombay.

REFERENCE DUTIES IN CIVIL ACCOUNTS OFFICES, ETC.

1240. ***Mr. V. V. Joglah:** Is it a fact that the reference duties in the Civil Accounts Offices and in the Telegraph (Engineering) Audit office under the Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, are paid at the rate of Rs. 60 to Rs. 230? If so, why are reference duties in the other Accounts offices under the same Accountant General, Posts and Telegraphs, not paid at the same rate?

TIME-SCALE OF PAY OF LOWER DIVISION MEN IN ACCOUNTS OFFICES.

1241. ***Mr. V. V. Joglah:** Is it a fact that the Auditor General in his letter No. 91-E. K. W.-1228-21, dated 15th January 1923, assured the lower division memorialists that "he will see to this at the time of revision", against their prayer (b) for the sanction of a time-scale of pay Rs. 60—6—210, in case the classification of the upper and the lower divisions be maintained? If so, why has the scale of pay Rs. 60—6—210 not yet been sanctioned for them? Do Government now propose to consider the desirability of granting the said scale? If not, why not?

REVISION OF THE PAY OF LOWER DIVISION CLERKS EMPLOYED UNDER THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

1242. ***Mr. V. V. Joglah:** Will the Government be pleased to state whether the grievances regarding the pay and prospects of the lower division clerks in India under the Accountant-General, Posts and Telegraphs, have not yet been redressed, and whether the sufferers submitted various memorials to the Viceroy and the All-India Civil and Postal Accounts Offices Conference passed in all its sessions, resolutions urging on the authorities for the immediate revision of the scale? If still unredressed what do Government propose to do to redress those grievances?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The information required by the Honourable Member is being collected and will be furnished to him as soon as possible.

This reply covers Questions Nos. 1241 and 1242 as well as 1240.

(1) NEW PENSION RULES.

(2) SUBSTITUTION OF A PROVIDENT FUND FOR THE SYSTEM OF PENSIONS.

1243. ***Mr. V. V. Jogiah:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

- (a) when the revised pension rules for the Government servants will be published?
- (b) whether the scheme of the provident fund system in lieu of the pension system is under the consideration of the Government?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) I would refer the Honourable Member to my reply to question No. 152 by Mr. N. C. Kelkar on the 1st instant. It is not possible to say when the revised pension rules for All-India services and for other services under the control of the Central Government will be introduced.

(b) The answer to the second part is in the affirmative.

MEDICAL CERTIFICATES OF EMPLOYEES OF THE CALCUTTA POSTAL AUDIT OFFICE, CALCUTTA TELEGRAPH (ENGINEERING) OFFICE AND CALCUTTA TELEGRAPH CHECK OFFICE.

1244. ***Mr. V. V. Jogiah:** (a) Is it a fact that the medical certificates from registered practitioners submitted for leave on medical grounds by the applicants engaged in the Calcutta Postal Audit Office, Calcutta Telegraph (Engineering) Audit Office and Calcutta Telegraph Check Office, are not forwarded to the Civil Surgeons for counter-signature, if necessary, as per Supplementary Rule 228?

(b) If so, what are the reasons?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Under Supplementary Rule 228 the authority competent to grant leave has discretion to accept a certificate from the applicant's medical attendant without countersignature by the Civil Surgeon or the Chief Medical Officer, as the case may be.

UNSTARRED QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

MUSLIM CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE AUDITOR GENERAL.

226. **Mr. Abdul Haya:** What is the total number of clerks in the office of the Auditor General and how many of them are Muslims?

MUSLIM CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, CENTRAL REVENUES.

227. **Mr. Abdul Haya:** What is the total number of clerks, both permanent and temporary, in the office of the Accountant General, Central Revenues, and how many of them are Muslims?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I propose to reply to questions Nos. 226, 227 and 230 together.

I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given by the Honourable Sir Charles Innes on the 27th January, 1927, to Maulvi Muhammad Yakub's unstarred question No. 3. That reply holds good in the case of the offices referred to in these questions.

MUSLIM CLERKS IN THE OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL, POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

228. Mr. Abdul Haye: What is the total number of clerks, permanent and temporary, in the office of Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, and how many of them are Muslims?

Sir Ganen Roy: 233, of whom 20 are Muslims.

PAUCITY OF MUSLIMS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE DIRECTOR GENERAL OF POSTS AND TELEGRAPHS.

229. Mr. Abdul Haye: (a) Is it a fact that the Anjuman Islamia, Simla, in September, 1926, brought to the notice of the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs the paucity of Muslims in his Department?

(b) What action, if any, did the Director General, Posts and Telegraphs, take to ensure proper representation of Muslims in his Department since his letter No. A. M.—65/26, dated 25th September 1926, to the address of the Anjuman Islamia, Simla?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: (a) The Honourable Member evidently refers to a letter No. 128, dated the 12th August 1926, from the Anjuman-i-Islamia, Simla, to the address of the Director-General, Posts and Telegraphs.

(b) The matter is under consideration along with rules for the future recruitment of postal subordinates.

NUMBER OF MUSLIM CLERKS AND ACCOUNTANTS IN THE OFFICE OF THE ACCOUNTANT GENERAL, RAILWAYS.

†230. Mr. Abdul Haye: (a) What is the total number of clerks, temporary and permanent, in the office of the Accountant General, Railways, and how many of them are Muslims?

(b) Is it a fact that there are one hundred accountants in the Railway Accounts Department, and only two of them are Muslims?

(c) If the answer to (b) above is in the negative, will the Government please state the exact number of Muslims and non-Muslims accountants in the Railway Accounts Department?

(d) What action, if any, has the Accountant General, Railways, taken to give the Muslims their due share in his Department since he was addressed on the subject by the Anjuman Islamia, Simla, in November 1925 and December 1926?

MUSLIMS IN THE MILITARY ACCOUNTS DEPARTMENT.

231. Mr. Abdul Haye: (a) Will the Government please lay on table a statement showing the number of Muslim and non-Muslim accountants and clerks separately in the offices of the Financial Adviser, Military Finance, Military Accountant General and each of the offices of Controllers of Military Accounts of the various Districts?

(b) What action, if any, did the Financial Adviser, Military Finance, and Military Accountant General take to increase the number of Muslims in the Military Accounts Department since they were addressed on the subject by the Anjuman Islamia, Simla, in July 1926?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) There is no accountants' grade in the office of the Financial Adviser, Military Finance. A statement showing the number of Muslim and Non-Muslim assistants, accountants and clerks (including temporary establishments) employed in the office of the Financial Adviser, Military Finance and in the several offices of the Military Accounts Department on the 31st December 1926 is placed on the table.

(b) The Military Accounts Department has still a very large number of temporary clerks over and above the permanent sanctioned strength and until these men are absorbed or discharged it will not be possible for that Department to make any fresh recruitment in its clerical service. The point, however, will be borne in mind when fresh recruitment is opened.

Statement showing the number of Muslim and Non-Muslim Assistants, Accountants and clerks (including temporary establishments) employed in the office of the Financial Adviser, Military Finance and the Military Accounts Offices in India on the 31st December 1926.

Offices.	Muslims.	Non-Muslims.	Total.
Financial Adviser, Military Finance	10	82	92
Military Accountant General	3	97	100
Controllers of Military Accounts—			
Northern Command and Rawalpindi and Kohat Districts	73	418	491
Peshawar District	35	212	247
Lahore District	43	317	360
Waziristan District	39	220	259
Sind-Rajputana District	9	136	145
Western Command and Baluchistan District	26	230	256
Southern Command and Poona and Bombay Districts	6	384	390
Madras District	1	172	173
Central Provinces District	5	194	199
Eastern Command and United Provinces District	32	349	381
Allahabad Independent Brigade Area	6	100	106
Presidency and Assam District	9	217	226
Burma District	6	120	126
Controller of Army Factory Accounts	21	420	441
Field Controller of Military Accounts, Poona	1	29	30
Controller of Marine Accounts	2	71	73
Controller of Royal Air Force Accounts	12	70	82
Total	339	3,838	4,177

CASE OF MR. F. M. IZZAT BEG OF THE INDIAN CORPS OF CLERKS.

232. **Mr. Abdul Haya:** 1. Is it a fact that F. M. Izzat Beg, who belonged to the Indian Corps of Clerks and was working in the Station Staff Office, Solan, was transferred to Ferozepore in June 1926 and was

ordered to report on 25th June 1925 for duty at Headquarters, Ferozepore Brigade Area?

2. Is it a fact that the said F. M. Izzat Beg, in the last week of June 1925 applied for sick leave on medical certificate and the same was granted to him.

3. Is it a fact that on 6th July 1925 he submitted another application for extension of leave, which was supported by a medical certificate granted by Major A. H. Heslop, R.A.M.C., Civil Surgeon, Kasauli, and countersigned by Major C. L. Franklin, R.A.M.C., British Station Hospital, Solan?

4. Is it a fact that on 15th July 1925, a telegram was despatched to F. M. Izzat Beg from the Ferozepore Brigade Area asking him to join Headquarters forthwith?

5. Is it a fact that in reply thereto F. M. Izzat Beg wired saying that he had submitted a medical certificate and that he would join on 23rd July 1925 when his leave expired?

6. Is it a fact that this extension of leave was in the first instance granted to F. M. Izzat Beg?

7. Is it a fact that F. M. Izzat Beg joined the Headquarters Ferozepore Brigade Area on 23rd July 1925, when he was, at once, placed under suspension and the very next day he was discharged from service under section 16 and item (XX) of the table annexed to rule 13 of the Indian Army Act, on the ground that he was unlikely to become an efficient soldier?

8. Will the Government please state what occasions the Brigade Major had of forming an opinion about the capacity of F. M. Izzat Beg to become an efficient soldier beyond this that he appeared before him for the first time on 23rd July 1925 when he was immediately placed under suspension?

9. Is it a fact that the Brigade Major in fact suspected that F. M. Izzat Beg was not really ill and had submitted an application containing a false excuse? If so, was any enquiry made into this matter?

10. If the answer to No. 9 is in the negative, will the Government please state for what other reasons the Brigade Major came to the conclusion that F. M. Izzat Beg was not likely to become an efficient soldier?

11. Is a clerk who is neither an attested person nor a recruit liable to discharge on the ground specified by the Brigade Major?

12. Are Government prepared to reconsider this case or at least to institute an enquiry into the allegations against F. M. Izzat Beg?

Mr. G. M. Young: 1. Mr. F. M. Izzat Beg, then a clerk in the Station Staff Office, Solan, on the 31st March 1925, arranged mutually for a transfer to the Ferozepore Brigade Area in June 1925. The transfer was sanctioned and he was ordered to report at Ferozepore on the 25th June 1925.

2. On this date, Mr. Izzat Beg wired from Jullundur, to which place he had proceeded on 8 days' joining leave, that he had fallen sick and on the 27th June wrote in confirmation enclosing a medical certificate from a local doctor. He subsequently returned to Solan and endeavoured to obtain a medical certificate from the Sub-Assistant Surgeon of the British Station Hospital on the ground that he was sick and in need of

sick leave. This request was refused whereupon he endeavoured to obtain a certificate from the Officer Commanding British Station Hospital, who informed him that if he was sick he should report at the British Station Hospital in the usual way.

8. Instead of doing so, Mr. Izzat Beg proceeded to Kassuli and returned with a certificate from the Civil Surgeon of that place, dated the 5th July, 1925, to the effect that he was suffering from bill diarrhoea, and recommending him for the grant of a fortnight's leave.

4 to 6. This leave, it appears was not formally granted, but Mr. Izzat Beg was allowed to remain at Solan until the 15th July, 1925, when he received orders from the Headquarters of the Ferozepore Brigade Area to proceed, and, if necessary, report sick, there. He refused to do so, and stated that he would join on the 23rd July. He reported for duty at Ferozepore on the 23rd July, 1925.

7 to 10. Owing to his unsatisfactory conduct in the matter he was discharged under item (xx) of the Table annexed to rule 13 of the Indian Army Act Rules.

11. Mr. Izzat Beg was enrolled under the Indian Army Act and, subject to the provisions of that Act for the purposes of discipline and discharge. Government are advised that his discharge under this item was, therefore, legal.

12. Petitions from this man have already been considered and rejected both by the Government of India and by the military authorities at Army Headquarters on six occasions and Government do not propose to reconsider their decision.

CASE OF MR. MOHAMAD USMAN, LATE AN INSPECTOR OF WORKS AT PANIPAT, EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

238. Mr. Abdul Haye: 1. Are Government aware of the fact that the services of Mr. Mohamad Usman, an Inspector of Works drawing Rs. 240 per mensem at Panipat during the years 1921—25, were dispensed with at the time of the transfer of the D. U. K. section of the East Indian Railway to the North Western Railway?

2. Is it a fact that this Mohamad Usman had already put in about 8 years' service in the East Indian Railway at Allahabad during the years 1904—12?

3. Is it a fact that Mohamad Usman was taken on the permanent cadre of the East Indian Railway from 1st April 1924?

4. Is it a fact that the name of Mohamad Usman was shown as permanent Inspector of Works in the East Indian Railway Classified Printed List of January, 1925?

5. Is it a fact that paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Railway Board's memorandum received with the Agent, East Indian Railway's letter No. 25456, dated 25th August, 1924, clearly mentioned that permanent staff and not temporary of the East Indian Railway was to be transferred to the North Western Railway?

6. Is it a fact that the name of Mohamad Usman was included in the list of permanent staff handed over to the North Western Railway at the time of the transfer of the D. U. K. Railway to the North Western Railway?

7. Is it a fact that the Chief Engineer, East Indian Railway, asked the Divisional Superintendent, North Western Railway, Delhi, to serve Mohamad Usman with a notice of discharge simply on the ground that he (Mohamad Usman) was a temporary hand?

8. Is it a fact that after dispensing with the services of Mohamad Usman his post was filled by the appointment of one Surveyor (B. Ganpat Rai) who had never worked before as Inspector of Works and later by one Dilbag Rai, a Sub-Inspector of Works, a man much junior to Mohamad Usman, and drawing only Rs. 190 per mensem?

9. Is it a fact that His Excellency the Viceroy was pleased to say in his speech that "at the transfer of the company line to the Government of India the railway staff will not be affected"?

10. Is it a fact that after his discharge, Mohamad Usman represented his case to the Agent, East Indian Railway, the President, Railway Board, and His Excellency the Viceroy?

11. Do Government propose to see their way to reinstate Mohamad Usman in his original post of Inspector of Works or offer him a similar post on the North Western Railway?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Without going into all the detail covered by the Honourable Member's question, I may say that Mr. Mohamad Usman did appeal against his discharge, but the Government of India did not see sufficient reason to interfere. I am afraid that I cannot give the assurance asked for by the Honourable Member.

CANTONMENT FUND NET RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR 1925-26 IN RESPECT OF CANTONMENTS WITHOUT ELECTED OR NOMINATED BOARDS.

234. **Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah:** (a) Will Government be pleased to furnish a statement showing Cantonment Fund net receipts and expenditure on "general administration" and "collection of revenue" for the year 1925-26 with respect to such Cantonments as have no elected or nominated Boards?

(b) Are Government prepared to take steps to reduce the expenditure in this connection if it is shown that any of these cantonments has to spend nearly one-third of its total net fund receipts on general administration and collection of revenue?

ANNUAL EXPENDITURE ON CANTONMENT FUND OFFICE ESTABLISHMENT IN THIRD CLASS CANTONMENTS.

235. **Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state:

i. What was the annual expenditure on Cantonment Fund office establishment in the case of third class Cantonments before the separation of judicial and executive work in 1924?

ii. And what is the present expenditure on the same?

(b) In cases where an increase is reported, are Government prepared to take the necessary steps to curtail this expenditure in proportion to the work to be done?

Mr. G. M. Young: With your permission, Sir, I will answer questions Nos. 234 and 235 together.

• The statement and comparative figures are not readily available, but I will endeavour to obtain them, and communicate the result to the Honourable Member.

QUALIFICATIONS OF PERSONS ENTRUSTED WITH THE PREPARATION OF ASSESSMENT LISTS IN CANTONMENTS.

236. Rao Bahadur M. G. Rajah: Are Government aware that even a member of any Cantonment Board is not deemed eligible to be a member of the Assessment Committee under section 68, sub-section (4), and that whenever any new house or building is erected its valuation and assessment are made by an Assessment Committee and not by any single individual?

Do Government propose to lay down the qualifications necessary for assessors to ensure that untrained men may not be entrusted with the work of preparing the assessment lists?

Mr. G. M. Young: Sub-section (4) of section 68 of the Cantonments Act lays down that the Assessment Committee shall consist of not less than three persons, and where there is a Board, it shall not be necessary to appoint to the Assessment Committee any member thereof. From this it is clear that members of Cantonment Boards are eligible to serve on Assessment Committees.

The assessment of new houses and buildings is not made by the Assessment Committee, but by the Cantonment Authority itself.

Government do not propose to prescribe any such qualifications. In their opinion section 66 of the Act provides all that is necessary for an efficient preparation of the list.

THE INDIAN MERCHANT SHIPPING (AMENDMENT) BILL.

PRESENTATION OF THE REPORT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

Mr. J. W. Bhore (Secretary, Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I beg to present the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill further to amend the Indian Merchant Shipping Act, 1923.

THE GOLD STANDARD AND RESERVE BANK OF INDIA BILL.

NOMINATION OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO SERVE ON THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

“That the following Members of the Legislative Assembly be nominated to serve on the Joint Committee to consider and report on the Bill to establish a gold standard currency for British India and constitute a reserve Bank of India, namely:

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham Chetty, Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar, Mr. N. C. Kelkar, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, Mr. Fazal Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Yakub C. Ariff, Mr. H. G. Cocke, Sir Victor Sassoon, Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar, and the Mover.”

The motion was adopted.

THE IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA (AMENDMENT) BILL.

NOMINATION OF MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY TO SERVE ON THE JOINT COMMITTEE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

"That the following Members of the Legislative Assembly be nominated to serve on the Joint Committee to consider and report on the Bill further to amend the Imperial Bank of India Act, 1920, for certain purposes."

Sir, the names are the same as before, and with your permission, I will not read them out.

The motion was adopted.

Sir Walter Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, may I ask when this Committee is intended to sit and when we are likely to receive the Report?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, if I may be allowed, the intention of the Government is, if possible, that the Select Committee should complete its labours before the Simla Session. I should like to say that I shall be very glad myself to have an opportunity of meeting the members of this Committee some time to-day or Monday with a view to considering the preliminary question of our convenience as to dates of sitting.

Mr. K. O. Roy (Bengal: Nominated Non-Official): Sir, shall I be in order in saying one word at this stage?

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to give any information on this point?

Mr. K. O. Roy: May I ask the Honourable the Finance Member whether he has taken anybody from Bengal?

Mr. President: Order, order. That stage is past. The Honourable Member was at liberty to move amendments.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, it is desirable that we should know whether we meet on Monday or not, because Monday is probably the last day of the Session, I see there is a general desire that the Committee should have a preliminary meeting before we leave; and I think the Honourable the Finance Member would do well to tell us whether he has definitely fixed Monday.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: My difficulty is that the members have not yet been appointed by the Council of State and I am not quite sure when they will be, but perhaps independently of that, it would be well if we were definitely to arrange to meet at, say 10-30 on Monday morning, in one of the Committee rooms, just to have a preliminary discussion.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: With the Members of the Council of State or alone?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: With whatever is possible.

THE MADRAS SALT (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Aiyangar (Finance Department: Nominated Official): Sir, I rise to move that the Bill further to amend the Madras Salt Act, 1889, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration.

This is a very simple Bill and does not require a long explanation. Under the Madras Salt Act, section 43B, private manufacturers of salt are required to pay a certain percentage of the cost of the preventive establishment, which is represented by the difference between the cost of the establishment and 5 per cent. of the duty collected. Its object, Sir, was two-fold, first, to make the Government bear in normal circumstances the normal cost of a normal factory working with normal economies; second, Sir, it was to ensure the opening of factories at places which were suitable and making salt manufacturers exercise due diligence and care in manufacture.

This percentage worked satisfactorily when the salt duty stood at Rs. 2-8, but that duty has since been changed, and the cost of establishment has increased. The result has been, first, that private manufacturers and through them the consumers are made to bear a portion of the cost of establishment which should ordinarily be borne by Government; and secondly, it has had an unfortunate result for the Madras agriculturists who find a hot weather occupation in those small salt factories which are located in various parts of Madras. The present 5 per cent. limit throws a burden on the manufacturers of salt and threatens the extinction of these small factories. In order to avoid these two difficulties, it is proposed to give power to the Central Board of Revenue to fix a proper percentage which will represent the proper cost to be borne by Government and which would ordinarily be fixed with reference to the rate of salt duty.

Sir, I move.

Mr. President: Motion moved:

"That the Bill further to amend the Madras Salt Act, 1889, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration."

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhamadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move the amendment that stands in my name.

Mr. President: Order, order. The Honourable Member has been long enough in the House to know that this is the consideration stage.

The question is:

"That the Bill further to amend the Madras Salt Act, 1889, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That clause 2 do stand part of the Bill."

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Sir, I beg to move:

"That for clause 2 of the Bill the following be substituted:

'2. Sub-clause (4) of clause B of section 45 of the Madras Salt Act, 1889, shall be omitted'."

Sir, the purpose of my amendment is exactly the same as that which the Government profess. Only the amendment which I move will in effect carry out what they profess to do, whereas the amendment of the Madras Salt Act put down by the Government leaves it still in the discretion of the Government to carry out or not the intention which they profess. Sir, so far as this is concerned, I take it that the Government do definitely accept the principle—accepted by all modern systems of finance—that the cost of collection of any tax should necessarily be a charge on the tax collector and should not be levied from those who by some unfortunate stress

[Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar.]

of circumstances are placed at the mercy of the Government. Sir, this Madras Salt Act, under which this cess has been levied on the salt manufacturers in my province, is a very antiquated legislation and it cannot be said that it conforms to any modern principles of financial administration. These salt manufacturers have been repeatedly petitioning the Government that the various hardships, that the various difficulties and burdens that have been imposed upon them, should be removed so that they might really take steps to improve the manufacture of salt and they may make an honest penny in a trade which they say has been very much depressed by reason of these exactions of the Government. Sir, what is it that the Government want these salt manufacturers to do? They want them to pay and to submit themselves to a variety of impositions. Under section 48 of the Madras Salt Act, these salt manufacturers are bound to pay not merely the salt duty but also:

"(1) the rent or assessment of the land occupied by the factory and of the land or buildings on or in which the salt was stored . . .

(2) interest at 5 per cent. per annum on the capital cost of the works constructed at the expense of Government within the factory of any of the descriptions or for any of the purposes mentioned in section 31,

(3) the cost of any works executed under section 32 and not recovered thereunder," and then the last clause is the one which is now being amended:

"(4) so much of the annual expenditure incurred by the Government on the establishments maintained at the factory or place of storage for the purposes of guarding the salt and of realizing the revenue thereon as may exceed 5 per centum on the duty levied on the salt therein sold in preceding official years and as has not been recovered by Government."

In other words, Sir, the Government want these manufacturers to pay a percentage of the cost of collection of the tax, a percentage of the expenditure which the Government have to incur necessarily to protect the salt monopoly which they possess. Sir, the salt duty is in itself a most iniquitous impost on this country. So far as that duty is concerned, I do not think any civilised Government will rely upon it as a normal source of taxation. On the other hand, I can well understand any modern system of Government going to levy a duty on salt in emergencies. Any sound system of finance should rely on the salt duty as an emergency resource at their hands and should not seek to tap a source which is an impost on the necessities of life of the poor Indians. Therefore, Sir, everything that adds to the difficulties of the salt tax is necessarily an infliction on the poor of the country apart from the loss inflicted on the salt manufacturers, for, after all, it finally falls on the consumers of salt. Sir, these salt manufacturers, as my Honourable friend Mr. Aravamudha Ayengar pointed out, bore a proportion of this expenditure which when the salt duty was higher was certainly smaller in dimension. But as the salt duty was lowered, the percentage on that increased to such an extent in accordance with the terms of the Statute that they themselves find it iniquitous and wait to remedy it. But instead of proceeding the right way of remedying it, they still take power to levy this extra cess on the salt duty on the ground that though they agree to the principle that in all normal factories they will see that the expenditure on establishments is not imposed on the contractors, they want to take power in abnormal conditions or in abnormal factories to levy an extra cess upon the manufacturers. I am told, Sir, that the object of that is not even to meet expenditure out of that imposition but to prevent salt factories being established at places where they may

prove unremunerative, to discourage the continuance of factories in places where the cost of manufacture is so great that the extra cess will deter him from continuing the manufacture of salt. Sir, if all that is correct, the proper way to do that is not to amend the law so as still to retain in their hands the power to levy this impost, but to abolish this impost altogether as out of date, unscientific and unjust and to prevent directly the formation of new factories or to take steps for closing factories which have proved unremunerative. That is the fair and right way of dealing with it and this round-about way is very wrong. Sir, I have in my hand a memorial which has been submitted by the lessees and licensees of salt pans and salt factories in my constituency and they very properly point out that apart from the increase in the expenditure of the establishments of the Government which thereby imposes on them an additional charge, the Government are not only collecting this tax for the purpose of maintaining this staff but they also call upon these people to execute necessary repairs to irrigation works, channels and various other things which are needed for the manufacture of salt on those lands. Sir, where people own lands on which crops are grown, and on which there is a system of irrigation, where water is conducted for various purposes of cultivation, the Government have acknowledged their duty and have been discharging the duty of carrying out repairs of these irrigation works, of these channels and other works, which are appurtenant to the system of culture of the land in question. Where it is a land upon which salt is manufactured, salt is cultured, the Government say that every expenditure that has to be incurred should be borne by the manufacturers or licensees and that they should also pay an interest upon such works as the Government have executed. We must not forget, Sir, that the Government is claiming a monopoly and is claiming a right to protect that monopoly and therefore, where the Government wants to retain this monopoly, it is the duty of the Government to maintain these works, to maintain these establishments for preventive as well as for other purposes, and if their monopoly is to be protected, it is not the licensee that should be called upon to pay for it. There are various other hardships which these people are put to, but they do not necessarily arise on this occasion. I am pointing them out only for the purpose of showing that it adds to the burdens of these people. Sir, I have put in a motion, if this is not passed, for a larger limit of exemption for them than is provided in the present Act, so that, at least they may be sure that beyond a certain percentage they will not be taxed. But having regard to the fact that this House has accepted a further reduction in the salt duty from Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 0-10-0 a maund, I do not think that that amendment will now work and I consider that on the whole, the logical, the just and the fair way of dealing with it is to abolish this impost altogether. The Government say that they want to do it; only they want to keep the power for abnormal circumstances. Considering that abnormal circumstances must be dealt with on their own merits in each case as it arises and that it should not be provided for by Statute, I move that this clause be omitted.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I also have given notice of a similar motion and therefore I entirely adopt all the arguments put forward so eloquently and so lucidly by my Honourable friend Mr. A. Rengaswami Iyengar. Sir, it has been rightly said by him that the salt duty is in itself iniquitous. That Madras salt should be specially penalised is still more iniquitous and to select a Madras gentleman for putting forward this

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

sort of proposal is the most iniquitous of all and I am extremely sorry that Madras has to say to Mr. Aravamudha Ayangar "*Et tu Brute.*" Sir, I am further sorry that my friend Mr. Aravamudha Ayangar, young as he is and early in his public life, has become a greater bureaucrat than the confirmed bureaucrats in his *suaviter in modo, fortiter in re* policy. He has been exhibiting a good deal of sympathy for the Madras agriculturists, for unemployment and for so many other things and has made suggestions about opening further factories, all for the purpose of what? Further penalising the present salt. Sir, I consider that this salt duty, this additional cess upon the salt is another form of protective duty for imported salt. The imported salt of Calcutta has to bear only Rs. 1-4-0 or Rs. 0-10-0, whatever that may be, whereas the indigenous salt has not only to bear the salt duty but also excess charge which means so much of protection to the imported salt which does not bear this excess duty. Therefore, Sir, it is highly inequitable that you should select the indigenous salt and particularly Madras salt, for the purpose of protecting the imported salt and penalising the consumers by levying additional charges upon them. We find, Sir, from the Statistical Abstract that year after year there is always an amount of about 5 annas or 3 annas in excess of the ordinary duty that is levied upon salt and from a footnote on page 158 of the Statistical Abstract of India I find that there were also other rates varying with the quality and age of salt and with reference to auction sales. The prices ranged from 2 as 6 pies to Rs. 1-10-0 per maund in 1916-17 and to Rs. 2-8-0 in 1917-18. This is in addition to the salt duty that is levied and is called the selling price of it. Sir, it is highly unjust that such a selling price should be added to the ordinary duty which is considered as a great hardship. It is stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons that this 5 per cent. was fixed at a time when the salt duty was Rs. 2-8-0 and now that it has been reduced to Rs. 1-4-0 it is but proper to raise it still further, and in order to avoid all contingencies they want to leave the section as vague as possible. This rate of Rs. 2-8-0 was introduced in 1888, that is at the time when this Salt Act was passed—the Madras Salt Act was passed in 1889. It continued up to only 1902 and from 1902 to 1922-23 it continued to be only at Rs. 1-4-0 and sometimes even at one rupee, and this idea of altering the section had not been taken up all along. But now it is stated that this clause B (4) of section 43 of the Madras Salt Act was passed at a time when the salt duty was Rs. 2-8-0 and it is time enough for changing that section. Why did not this idea occur between 1902 and 1922-23 and why should it occur now? The reason is also a little plain from the Statement of Objects and Reasons. They have increased enormously the cost of establishments, they have made extravagant additions to their establishments, and in order to make that up you want to make the consumer of salt pay all the charges. What is the justification for maintaining an extravagant establishment for the so-called detective or preventive duties and levying all the charges upon the consumer? For instance, in the case of income-tax if you employ a large number of officers, do you levy all that charge on the assesses? This is part of the collection expenditure and it is no justification for throwing the preventive expenditure, the detective expenditure upon the consumer. I think that there is absolutely no justification for the step that is now being taken by the Government in amending this Act. Therefore, if there is any real *bona fide* in the expression that is made in the Statement of Objects and Reasons, that "it is the intention of the Government that

normally the cost of preventive establishment should be borne by themselves, not by the licensees"—if there is any good faith in that, I ask them to consent to the deletion of this clause altogether. If "normally" there means an exception, abnormality being the ordinary rule of this Government, Sir, there is absolutely no protection even if you say that the Statement of Objects and Reasons is an article of good faith, but in practice you use all your sword and weapon to enhance the duty and make it a hardship upon the consumer. I have now to communicate to you a message—a message which is ordinarily conveyed to the House through Mr. Gupta—it is this. The Council of State has reversed the decision of this Assembly in the matter of the salt tax by 27 votes to 9. (*An Honourable Member*: "Shame.") I suppose the other side will receive it with applause when Mr. Gupta reads out that Message to us, but we will have enough of it on Monday. But for the present I will advise my Honourable friend, Mr. Aravamudha Aiyangar not to be a party to throw a sword upon his own mother province, the province of Madras.

Sir Walter Willson (*Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official*): I do not wish to take part in this debate at any length but I should like to correct a mistake, a bad mistake, which My Honourable friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar has made. He said that in Bengal salt has to pay nothing except the duty. I should like to tell him that the salt there has to pay charrandars' fees, has to pay fees for the scales which are used for weighing out the salt to see how much the Government ought to collect as duty, has to pay for the hire of the scales, overtime fees, and all the landing charges in addition. Furthermore, he will hardly believe it, the owner of the salt in Calcutta has to pay for the tape and the ceiling wax which seals the salt in bond down.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I will only ask my Honourable friend to look at page 158 where he will find Bengal Rs. 1-4-0 and Madras and other provinces where salt is manufactured, an additional sale price, and I believe that the expenses which my Honourable friend mentioned apply to other provinces as well.

Sir Walter Willson: My knowledge is superior to the book.

Pandit Nilakantha Das (*Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan*): Whenever salt comes up for discussion in this House it is always with a heavy heart that I rise to speak on it. I am interested in the salt manufacture on the Orissa coast and I know, as my Honourable friend over there knows, for a long time our Orissa salt was under the Madras Salt Department, and it is contiguous to the Madras salt area. It is this additional charge over the 5 per cent. for guarding the salt and collecting revenue thereon that has been responsible for the abolition of so many factories. During the last three or four years no less than 8 factories have been abolished. Excepting one, the land of which was required for the Vizagapatam Harbour all the 7 factories were abolished probably owing to this charge. When the year before last on my motion for reviving Orissa Salt a pious suggestion was thrown out that any one in Orissa will be allowed to manufacture salt, if he so desires and applies for it, I was told in private conversation that it is this charge which made it impossible for Orissa salt to be revived again. This charge originally—I do not probably understand the twisted significance of it—was for "guarding the salt" and "collecting

[Pandit Nilakantha Das.]

the revenue". It has come to mean "guarding the entire monopoly" and "collecting all kinds of charges". Thus probably the two items contemplated in sub-clause (4) have been widened in meaning and application. As I now understand the thing, and probably it is the fact, all the preventive charges, that is, the prevention of smuggling, the prevention of illicit manufacture and any other act of commission calculated to be detrimental to the monopoly of salt in that area and all other kinds of far-fetched charges called preventive, are calculated for this purpose. Are not many of these charges borne by Government in areas having no salt manufacture? Suppose there is no salt manufactured in the Orissa coast—there is another big factory in Ganjam in the Oriya country, I mean Surla, which has been abolished and I have seen the pans there lying open and people looking at them with tearful eyes. They have no occupation now. You call it a subsidiary occupation on the authority of experts, but my experience is that on the seacoast in my part of the country it is practically the main occupation for many people. And when there is no salt manufactured in these areas, as I was going to say, there must be permanent preventive measures adopted in these places; there is every natural facility for manufacturing salt, there must of necessity be a preventive establishment who bears the cost of prevention in these cases? But if in these areas there is salt manufacture, is there any deduction of the charges on account of the ordinary and otherwise permanent preventive establishment which there must necessarily be even if there be no salt manufacture in the area at all? But I presume all these preventive charges are added to this charge now under discussion.

Whether it is equitable or inequitable, I am not going to discuss here. I know that salt is one of the principal ingredients of human blood, blood of all animals, and specially of human blood. And when we tax salt we put a tax on the very blood or life of man. Properly understood this is the emblem, the visible symbol, as my Honourable friend behind me put it the other day, of alien or foreign exploitation of our very lifeblood. I do not therefore like to say anything on the propriety or the equitability of this tax or any other tax or charge which it may please Government to add to those already existing there and thereby create a monopoly to crush Indian manufacture and to promote perhaps foreign imports.

In the Statement of Objects and Reasons there is expressed a very pious solicitude, so to say, that Government will have the discretion to relieve the people in normal years. Government realises, it is said, that because the salt duty has been reduced to 1s. 4d., this 5 per cent. is not enough. Government is going to apply its discretion so that no more factories will be established and perhaps more small factories will be started. We have seen Government discretion exercised year after year, so far as the import duty is concerned. The import duty is the main thing which handicaps the Indian salt manufacture and year after year any discussion of that question in the House has been practically avoided under the subterfuge of a sentence in the Tariff Act. It has been said there that whereas in all other cases the duty is fixed in amount in weight or say, so much per maund or 20 or some other per cent., *ad valorem*, in the case of imported salt it is just as much as the excise duty on the salt of Indian manufacture of the place into which the salt is imported. This practically precludes the House from considering the question and therefore

Government have never thought of putting forward any discretionary measure for the protection of salt of Indian manufacture. By this time they might have saved not only the factories but they might have started many other small factories and might have come to the rescue of those unfortunate men, who, as I told the House the other day, are in the grip of famine and who live on grass. The House will now realise the significance of discretion. Without saying anything more now—I have got another amendment to move; perhaps when it comes I shall have to speak more on the subject—I support my Honourable friend Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar's amendment.

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar: Sir, I am afraid there has been a good deal of misunderstanding regarding the scope of the present Bill. I can assure the House it is for the benefit of the Madras agriculturist and for the benefit of the Madras consumer that I have taken this pleasant task of moving this Bill to-day.

In the first place I can assure the Honourable Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar again that the intention of Government is to increase the percentage to be borne by Government from 5 to 7½ per cent., so that hardly any factory in Madras will have to pay any portion of the cost of establishment.

Secondly, Sir, my Honourable friend Pandit Nilakantha Das referred to the general question of salt manufacture and also put forward the case of Orissa. I would refer him to the assurance given by the Honourable the Finance Member in connection with the discussions on the Salt Demand when he said:

“The Government of India are perfectly prepared to consider any proposal for the protection of the manufacture of salt in Orissa which is economic.”

I think, Sir, I cannot go beyond the terms of that assurance.

My friend Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar himself has admitted that in regard to the factories which are not worked on an economic basis it is necessary that Government should have powers . . .

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: No, no; that they will close them down.

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar: Let me tell him that if clause (4) of section 48 (B) is omitted, Government would still have power.

Pandit Nilakantha Das: Do your economies include all these charges?

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar: I am afraid I do not understand the Honourable Member. There is a certain portion of the cost of the preventive establishment which has to be borne by the manufacturer which it is now proposed that Government should bear.

I was referring to Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar who thought that by omitting clause (4) of section 48(B) he would be improving the position. I am afraid that Mr. Iyengar is, next to the Finance Member, the most hardworked man in the Assembly and that he has not taken the trouble to go into the other parts of the Salt Act. Licences have to be given by Commissioners on certain conditions. As a matter of fact in Bombay in cases where the cost of the establishment is recovered, the recovery is made under the section which provides. . . .

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I think it is an abuse of the section. They have no business to put conditions of this onerous character under the plea of granting licences.

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar: At any rate it has not been objected to so far and it is a separate question which should be taken by itself. I think the Central Board of Revenue will study the discussions on this Bill and consider the question very carefully. I therefore ask the Honourable Member not to press this amendment,

Mr. President: The question is:

“ That for clause 2 of the Bill the following be substituted :

‘ 2. Sub-clause (4) of clause B of section 43 of the Madras Salt Act, 1889, shall be omitted’.”

The motion was negatived.

Mr. President: Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar does not move his alternative amendment?

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: No, Sir, I am not moving it.

Mr. President: Does Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar wish to move his alternative amendment?

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: No, Sir.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and Preamble were added to the Bill.

Mr. V. K. Aravamudha Ayangar: Sir, I move that the Bill, as passed by the Council of State, be passed.

The motion was adopted.

THE PROVIDENT FUNDS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

Mr. J. W. Bore (Secretary, Education, Health and Lands): Sir, I move that the Bill further to amend the Provident Funds Act, 1925, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration.

This is a very small amending Bill intended to modify the rigidity of the definition of “ Government Provident Fund ” in clause (d) of section 2 of the Provident Funds Act, 1925. It was brought to our notice by the Madras Government that the provisions of the Act at present exclude from its benefits such low-salaried staff as clerks employed under District Educational Councils and clerks and librarians in educational institutions, and they suggested that the Act should be modified and that this anomaly should be removed. Agreeing with that view, Sir, we have brought in this small amending Bill, the object of which is to make the definition in clause (d) of section 2 sufficiently elastic to include grades other than teachers employed on educational work or in connection with it. Sir, I beg to move.

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2 was added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and Preamble were added to the Bill.

Mr. J. W. Bhore: Sir, I move that the Bill, as passed by the Council of State, be passed.

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN FOREST BILL.

Sir Hari Singh Gour (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I beg to move that the Bill to consolidate the law relating to forests, the transit of forest-produce and the duty leviable on timber and other forest-produce, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration.

Sir, in moving this motion I wish very briefly to recapitulate the facts why I happen to be the mover of this motion. The Statute Law Revision Committee, which was constituted some time in 1921, set to work with a view to revising the statute law of the country.

[At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which was occupied by Mr. Deputy President.]

It found that the Statute-book was overloaded with a very large number of supplementary amending and explanatory Acts and the first thing that the Committee decided was that the Statute-book should be purged of all these supplementary and amending pieces of legislation with a view to ensure compactness and convenience for the sake of reference. As such, a very large number of Acts were consolidated and went into one cover of the Indian Succession Act, which was passed by this House two years ago. Another piece of legislation which was also consolidated is the Merchant Shipping Act and Honourable Members will find from the Schedule appended to this Forest Act that no less than eight amending Acts have been consolidated in this one Act.

Now, I find on the agenda a very large number of amendments suggesting improvements and amendments on the merits of the various sections. I wish to point out, Sir, that the primary object of a consolidating Statute is to consolidate and not to amend. If any amendment is necessary that must be taken up as a separate matter. The object of consolidation, I submit, is to bring together within the compass of one Act what is found scattered over perhaps a very large number of pages of the Statute-book. Therefore, so far as the principle underlying the motion which I beg to move goes, it is that we really desire consolidation and consolidation only. So far as the question of consolidation is concerned, Local Governments were consulted and verbal changes—and they are no more than verbal changes, I have gone through the whole Act from first to last—have been made for the purpose of bringing out the real meaning of the various provisions of the Act and they are in substance and in form merely drafting changes. I submit, therefore, that the House must deal with this question as one of consolidation, pure and simple, and agree with the Council of State in passing this piece of legislation. Sir, I move it.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I have given notice of an amendment that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinions thereon. I have heard patiently the achievements of Sir Hari Singh Gour on the

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Statute Law Revision Committee and the number of Bills which he has consolidated into whole Acts

Sir Hari Singh Gour: On a point of personal explanation, I have said nothing about having consolidated any Bills at all. I was all along referring to the work of the Statute Law Revision Committee.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I meant no offence to Sir Hari Singh Gour—I meant only a compliment.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: It is an undeserved compliment, Sir.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I do not know why my Honourable friend, Dr. Gour feels shy of any amendment being made or any improvements being made upon the Bill he has presented to the Assembly on this occasion. Sir, there is nothing to prevent this House, under the rules or standing orders or the Act, from taking cognisance of a Bill

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): On a point of order, Sir. If I understood the Honourable Member who is moving that the Bill be circulated—that is a motion that cannot be made on a Bill which has been passed by the other Chamber. The rule is quite clear—rule 29 of the Indian Legislative Rules: “He may move as an amendment that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee, and if such motion is carried the Bill shall be referred to a Select Committee.” I submit, Sir, that rule is exhaustive and therefore my Honourable friend’s motion is out of order.

Mr. Deputy President: Has Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar anything to say on the point of order?

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: I submit to your ruling.

Mr. Deputy President: I think the rule is quite clear and this amendment cannot be moved. There is also another amendment in the name of Mr. Aney to the same effect, and under the rule just quoted this amendment also falls to the ground. There is then an amendment of Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar; I would like to know if he wants to move it.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Yes, Sir. I move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee and I may consolidate in the amendment the names given by my Honourable friend Mr. Aney in his motion, to form the Select Committee. Sir, I submit that when a Bill is placed before us for consideration it is the duty of the Assembly to see that, even if it be a consolidating Bill, it is a Bill good in form and beneficial to the country. It is not a sufficient ground to say that the object of the present Bill is only to consolidate all the various pieces into one and the object is not to improve it or make useful to the public. If it is possible for this House to amend the enactment in such a manner as to make it beneficial to the public interests, then I think it is the duty of this House to enter into that question without shirking it. Thereby, Sir, I will be doing a double honour to the gentleman who is responsible for this consolidation, by making it not only a consolidating Act but also a consolidating and good Act.

Sir, the troubles which the people undergo, particularly the agricultural class, in the matter of the forest rules and the provisions of the Forest Act, are so enormous that every Member of this House who has come in contact with the agricultural population must be well aware how that forms the greatest grievance of the people of this country. The forest reservations, the forest areas, the troubles undergone by the

agricultural population, particularly those living in villages, the prosecutions they have to go through, all these are a sad tale to relate at present. It is absolutely necessary that the Forest Act should be so worked that the people will receive more of benefit from the forests than of hardship and trouble. The very fact that there are 862 amendments to the various provisions of this Bill that has been placed before this House will go to show that considerable hardship is being felt under the present system. Personally, so far as the Madras Presidency is concerned, this Act does not directly relate to it. But I am anxious that the principle of a proper and useful method of working the Act should be established in the central legislature, so that the Madras Forest Act also may receive the benefit of it and be worked accordingly and such changes introduced in it as this House sets the example on this Bill. Therefore, Sir, I am anxious that this Bill should be referred to a Select Committee and nothing will be lost by the short time that will be taken by the Select Committee if by doing so this House will be rendering an immense public service and I therefore, Sir, commend to this House the acceptance of the motion to refer this Bill to a Select Committee.

Mr. M. S. Aney (Berar Representative): Sir, I rise to support the amendment moved by my friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. It is unfortunate, Sir, that his first amendment to circulate the Bill for public opinion was found to be out of order. If that amendment was not ruled out of order, this House would probably have had the benefit of ascertaining the views of those who are being most affected by the working of the present Act. One of the claims which my friend Dr. Gour has made, and to a certain extent rightly made, about this Bill, was that it was a straightforward consolidation measure. To a large extent that claim is true. But those who have gone through the present Bill and have compared it with the three or four Acts it seeks to consolidate, will find that it is not a completely consolidation measure in the strict sense of the term

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Give us an instance

Mr. M. S. Aney: I will; you please wait. If I had not enough material in my pocket, I would not have urged this point at all. In fact, if my Honourable friend had gone through the debate which took place on this measure in the other House and the speech which the Honourable Sayyed Raza Ali made in introducing it last year, he himself would have found without my giving any instances that in this Act of 1878 there are certain sections which do not find a place in the present Bill and there are amendments made to the Act which are to some extent, in my opinion, of a substantial nature. First, I will draw the attention of my friend to a passage in the speech of the Honourable Mr. Raza Ali, from which he will see that there are omissions and alterations—whether they are of drafting nature or not is a different question altogether—and on that point I shall speak later. There are at least two alterations which, in my opinion, cannot be said to simply make the sections more lucid or more unambiguous in the present measure. In the first place, to satisfy my friend I should like to read out one passage, and the House will see that section 34 of the old Act has been omitted. It does not find a place here at all. In fact, the whole of Chapter V is omitted. That Chapter has no corresponding Chapter in this Bill, and the reason given is that on investigation it was found that that section was spent and it could no longer be of any use.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Obsolete.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I am going to argue that also. It cannot be spent; it is not spent. That is my position. That might be the view of the learned members who sat on the Statute Revision Committee, but those who happen to read that law in a different spirit will find that the section cannot be spent; in fact, it only indicates that the members of the Statute Revision Committee had possibly not got with them full information about the working of this Act in different provinces. It shows nothing more than that. But I think my Honourable friend will be satisfied when I read out to him one passage from the speech of his colleague, and it is this, that "on investigation it was found that section 34 was spent and it was no longer possible to make use of it". So my friend will admit it is not a consolidation measure in the strict sense of the term. Now I shall read out to the House section 34 of the old Act, and then this House will, I am sure, be perfectly satisfied that it is not a section which could be construed as one that is now spent. It is still operative if that section is properly understood. The section reads thus:—

"Within twelve months from the date on which this Act comes into force in the territories administered by any Local Government, such Government shall, after consideration of the rights of the Government and private persons in all forest-lands or waste lands then under its executive control for purposes of forest conservancy, determine which of such lands (if any) can, according to justice, equity and good conscience, be classed as reserved forests or protected forests under this Act, and declare by notification in the local official gazette, any lands so classed to be reserved or protected forests, as the case may be;

Provided that such declaration shall not affect any rights of the Government or private persons to or over any land or forest produce in any such forest, which have, previous to the date of such declaration, been inquired into, settled and recorded in a manner which the Local Government thinks sufficient:

Provided also that if any such rights have not on such date been so inquired into, settled and recorded, the Local Government shall direct that the same shall be inquired into, settled and recorded in the manner provided by this Act for reserved or protected forests, as the case may be; and, until such inquiry, settlement and record have been completed, no such declaration shall abridge or affect such rights."

Of course, this is rather a long section, like the supplementary questions which my friend Mr. Kabeerud-Din Ahmed sometimes puts in this House, and I am afraid sometimes the very length of it makes it impossible for a man to follow the sense of it. So Honourable Members might have found it somewhat difficult to catch the particular point that I have in view in reading out this whole section, but it was necessary that I should read out the whole of this section. This section, Sir, first of all makes it incumbent upon the Local Government immediately after the Act is applied to any particular tract

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Which Act?

Mr. M. S. Aney: The Act of 1878. I am reading section 34 from the Act of 1878, and not of your Bill. The Consolidation Bill ceases to be a consolidation Bill according to me on account of the omission of this section. That is my point and charge also. So under section 34 of the Act of 1878 it has been made incumbent upon the Local Government to classify the lands within 12 months as reserved forests or protected forests under the provisions of that Act. That classification has to be made within a period of 12 months.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Was to have been made within 12 months in 1878.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Within 12 months from the date on which this Act comes into force

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Then it must be 1878.

Mr. M. S. Aney: You are entirely mistaken. The Act is applied to certain provinces as late as 1911, and as this section remains there, the period of 12 months should be counted only after 1911.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Then it is 1912.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Why are you so impatient? Before you hear me fully, you cannot by adding one more year to the year which I have mentioned gain your point. I say that all the learning of the learned doctor has failed in enabling him to analyse and to understand the proper meaning of this section. That is my point, and it is a pity that so many learned doctors and so many eminent lawyers sitting on the Statutes Revision Committee should have overlooked this important point. That is my charge. The point is this, that the classification has to be made within a period of 12 months, and what the section further lays down is that before that declaration is made, the Local Government has to inquire into the private rights of other persons in accordance with equity, justice and good conscience over the waste land which is to be classed as reserve or protected forests. If such rights had already been inquired into and settled or recorded before, then those rights would be respected under the first proviso, and they would not be in any way affected. But the second proviso definitely lays down if no such inquiry was held, then the rights, which private persons already enjoy over the land, shall remain unaffected or un-abridged till that inquiry is made and the rights are duly recorded. Now, Sir, the position will become clear if I take a concrete instance. In Berar this law was applied in the year 1911, and in the notification by which this law was made applicable it was declared that all the land classed as State forests under the Berar Forest Act should be treated under this law as reserve forests. But as far as I know no such inquiry as is contemplated by section 34 was ever made with regard to the private rights of individuals in the lands classed as State forests and therefore the rights which the people had over them subsist to-day in spite of that declaration of the Government under proviso 2 of this section. That is the position. Certain valuable rights of village communities and private individuals over lands which are Reserve forest under this section subsist because the Local Government did not make any inquiries into the rights of those individuals or make any record thereof as required. That is the position as it stands to-day. But if you take away section 34 altogether with these salutary provisos, hundreds of persons will find their rights altogether annihilated and that will cause a serious difficulty. I do not mean to say that the Government have not got the right to hold an inquiry hereafter if they like, but so far as the protection of the existing rights are concerned, it was done under section 34 and Government could not take steps against those persons for using those rights under any one of the other sections of the Act of 1878. But if this whole Chapter is omitted and if these protective clauses are dropped, any use of those rights by them may become unlawful because it is a use of reserve forests without permission from the Government. Perhaps it may be possible to argue in a different and opposite way also. I do not deny the possibility. What I am trying to drive at is that the omission of this clause in the Bill is not merely alteration of a formal nature. "On investigation" it is stated "it was found that

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this section was spent." I maintain that the true position is like this. I do not want to dispute the fact that the members of the Statute Law Revision Committee had made an investigation but probably the fact is that they did not or could not find out whether this Act had come into force in all the provinces on one and the same date; and further whether in every province where it was made applicable such inquiries as are contemplated under section 34 were invariably made by the local Government. But if they had not made any inquiries in any such province or tract I am sure that certain rights which the people are in possession of, are yet unaffected. But I am afraid that by the omission of this section in this Bill we are practically destroying those rights to-day. This is the position created by the omission of section 34.

I would draw my learned friend's attention to another thing. Take section 31. I will read out, Sir, only the first part of this section which is relevant for the purpose of my argument.

"The Local Government may from time to time subject to the control of the Governor General in Council make rules to regulate the following matter."

Now, if we look to the corresponding section in this consolidating Bill, the House will find that the words "subject to the control of the Governor General in Council" are omitted. Whatever the reasons for this omission may be, I am not going to inquire into them now. But if it becomes possible for me to move my amendments later on I would give very cogent reasons to show why these words should be omitted and some important new words substituted for them. The omitted words meant that the rule-making power of the Local Government under this section was restrained to some extent and controlled to some extent by the Governor General in Council, and the reason for such control was very sound. The Provincial Governments were called upon to execute and administer an Imperial Act and it was necessary therefore that the Governor General in Council should see that the rules framed under that Act were such as were in no way inconsistent with the spirit of the Act. It was for this reason that those words were there: "subject to the control of the Governor General in Council." I think my Honourable friend is satisfied that these words do not exist in the present Bill.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: What is the section the Honourable Member is referring to?

Mr. M. S. Aney: I am referring to section 31 of the old Act.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Section 32.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Let us take section 39 of the old Act. This important clause calculated to restrain the rule-making power of the Local Government in these two sections is omitted in this Bill. To my mind it seems that the powers of the Local Government to make rules under this Act have therefore to that extent been extended and widened by the present Bill.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, to save my Honourable friend taking the time of the House I may explain to him that section 39 does not contain the words "with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council". My Honourable friend is reading from an old Act words which have been struck out by the Devolution Act. Those words have been struck out from section 39.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I have only tried to show that section 39 of the old Act contained those words.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: But that Act was amended in 1920 by the Devolution Act.

Mr. M. S. Aney: So there are these two things. And the third point (*An Honourable Member:* "The second point.") is that there is some slight change in the wording of section 42 of this Act. The wording of the present Bill differs. Paragraph 2 of section 42 in the Bill is differently worded from paragraph 2 of the old Act of 1878. That is perfectly clear. Now what I submit is this. What was probably left under the old law as a matter for the discretion of the Court has now been definitely provided for as a matter to be ruled by the Provincial Government in its rules. That is the clear meaning of the change. A double penalty to be inflicted was under the old Act a matter for the discretion of the Court under certain circumstances. But now it has been provided for by the rules themselves. That was not the position under that Act. To sum up what I mean is this. There are certain changes made in the Bill and changes which to my mind are not altogether of a drafting nature. I think that I have cleared this position. It has been pointed out to us that this is a consolidating measure, therefore it must not be scrutinised very closely for the purpose of amending the existing law. But I have shown that it is not a consolidating measure in the strict sense. Even if it be, my point is that if this is a law which is likely to affect the interests of the people in various ways, then the mere fact that it is a consolidating law ought not to deter us from giving such consideration to it as it deserves.

There is one more reason, Sir, which I would like to urge in connection with this motion. This Act has been passed in the year 1878. Subsequent Acts have been passed later on to amend it. But for so many years it has practically remained there on the Statute-book unaltered, and the Act has been working for a very long time like that. It is now coming up in this compact form of a consolidating Bill before us for consideration. I think, Sir, it is the proper time for this House to urge such reforms as they choose to make in the existing Act with a view to bringing it into line with the requirements of the people. Because, if that is not done now and if it be left to a private Bill I do not think any changes are possible. I think it is not necessary for me to tell the Honourable Members of this House how difficult it would be to get any reform carried out, if the question be overlooked now. That is another reason why I wish that this Bill should be referred to Select Committee. If we look at the various principles underlying this Act we find that those principles are entirely out of conformity with the requirements of the day. This Act is based upon certain ideas which no longer hold good at the present time. The framework of this Act will show that an attempt was made to vest the Forest Officer with as much power as it was possible and to limit the powers of the courts or even of the Revenue Officers to a great degree. That is the basic principle running through the whole of this Act. In fact, this Act and the subsequent amendments made to this Act mark a triumph of the forest experts over the Revenue Officers who here carrying on a struggle to safeguard the interests of the people against the encroachment of the Forest Department. That is the position under this Act. The fundamental idea is not any respect for the rights which were in existence from times immemorial and which the people have been in enjoyment for generations together, but

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to see how it would be possible for the Forest Department to claim such lands or privileges as they think proper to be included or enjoyed within the boundaries of the forest and to make use of the Indian forests with a view to exploit them for the sake of larger and larger revenues. It is in that spirit that the law was framed and rules also were made under the Act. That is a matter about which there is a good deal of heart-burning and grievance. I believe that it cannot be denied by anybody,—even the Administration Reports of every province will amply show—that there has been serious complaint on behalf of the people on this matter. The authors of the official reports have very often mentioned those complaints. As the matter has now come before the House it is up to this House to see whether the framework of this law cannot be so amended as to create a reasonable hope for the redress of those grievances and to leave a certain margin for the people to get their grievances redressed; as well as at the same time, to take precautions that no material harm is done to the objects which the Forest Department has in view and with which it is carrying on its work. Whether a sort of compromise, some reconciliation, between the interests of the people and the interests of the Forest Department could be brought about or not it is up to this House to find out and I believe that it can be done only by taking this Bill to a Select Committee and considering there the various amendments in the light of the legitimate grievances of the people and examining these provisions with a view to giving proper relief to the people. Government are not going to lose anything by accepting a motion of this nature. The reason is this. This Bill is after all nothing more than all the other laws which are now in operation put together. That being the position Government are not going to lose anything. But at the same time, if the measure is sent to a Select Committee, the Government will be giving a very good opportunity to the representatives of the people to put forward their case and to make suggestions for finding out whether a reasonable compromise between the interests of the Forest Department and the interests of the people which are adversely affected cannot be made. There is no reason why the Government should be reluctant to give such an opportunity by accepting the motion which has been moved by my friend Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar. What would it mean? I know it will be unfair to propose all the amendments of which I have given notice and ask the Honourable Members to consider them on the floor of the House. It would be unfair on my part to do so. I see that position. But at the same time if, as my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar has mentioned, the Bill makes it necessary for so many amendments to crop up it is because there are so many sections which according to the people require to be amended and so many grievances awaiting their day of redress. Why should the Government, when they are trying to revise this law from the consolidation point of view, not also think of revising it to make it more equitable, more just and profitable both to the Department and to the people? Why should the Government not do it? Where is the harm for the Government in doing that I cannot understand. (Laughter on Government Benches.) I am sorry I have missed what my Honourable friend said.

Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas (Indian Merchants' Chamber: Indian Commerce): He said nothing. He did something.

Mr. M. S. Aney: Already the position is this, that so far as the present motion to refer the Bill to a Select Committee is concerned, there is no

material harm which will be done to the interests of the Government if it is accepted. That is one thing. Secondly, Sir, I really think that at the present day we are in what may be called the reform period and it is well known that this is already a transferred subject in certain provinces. The Committee of which my Honourable friend the Honourable the Home Member was Chairman has also recommended this as one of the subjects which could be immediately transferred in every province. It means that the Honourable the Home Member also thinks that this is a matter which is eminently fit for the consideration of the people as such, and if the people take charge of this Department and administer the whole of this law, it is not likely to cause any disadvantage to the parties concerned. That is the position taken by the very fact that a recommendation to that effect is made in that Committee's Report. If that is so, why then, when this law is brought before the representatives of the people here, should the Government be reluctant to give them an opportunity to think over the whole matter and to place before this House their considered view? I do not understand why the Government should be so reluctant on that point. If the matter were not brought before this House that would be a different question altogether. As my Honourable friend the Home Member knows, I am generally opposed to the taking up in this House of any piece of legislation which is really a subject for the Provincial Governments under the Reforms to deal. Such a matter should not be brought forward here, but if it is brought, then I claim that the representatives of the people should have the same right over that Bill as they would have if it were brought in the provincial Legislatures. It cannot be denied that the people have got a number of grievances about the operation of the Forest Act. I do not want to detail them here. Once I begin to throw myself into those details I do not know where and when I shall end. I will leave that question aside for the present. I only want this House to accept the general fact that the present administration of the Forest Department in certain matters has become practically harassing. That is the position, and the intensity of the grievance is such that it led to disturbances in certain parts and this matter must be known to the official Members. In my own province it happened in 1918 and 1917. So I mention the fact with emphasis that people are dissatisfied there and still those grievances remain unredressed. When we actually know that a particular Statute has given rise to intense dissatisfaction amongst the people then it is proper that when the Government comes for the revision of that Statute for any purpose, that dissatisfaction also should be taken into consideration. They should consider the popular aspect and concede to the wishes of the people so that their grievances are minimised as far as possible. I believe that my learned friend Sir Hari Singh Gour, who comes from the same province as I do, (Hear, hear) as well as the Honourable the Home Member and the official Members will look at it from that point of view. Most of them are administrators in the districts. I believe that some of them at least have got experience as District Officers and I am sure they know that there are genuine grievances of the people in regard to forest administration. I hope they will also take a sympathetic view of the motion which is placed before this House. I do not want to speak at length and I do not want to detain the House any further. I support the amendment.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I do beg of the House to be cautious in this matter. I am addressing a few words to the House because I was President of the Statute Law Revision Committee and I rather think that Dr. Gour and myself did some of the work on this Bill

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before I left that post. If the House takes the view that whenever a consolidation Bill is brought before us the whole of the substance is open to discussion, then it is quite clear that a consolidation Bill can never be brought before this House. My Honourable friend Mr. Aney and his supporter suffer from the delusion which was so common in the House of Commons and which has been repressed with difficulty by the Speaker of that House. It is that whenever a consolidation Bill is brought up every Member of Parliament who has got a grievance against any clause in the Act is enabled to bring it forward. That has done more harm to the course of legal reform than anything I know of. It prevented for many years the consolidation of the company law. I think that this House very wisely has taken the line quite definitely that on a consolidation Bill motions regarding substance cannot be made. We saw the Assembly do that on a very important Bill which I was connected with also, the Merchant Shipping law. If the House had not taken that sensible point of view, it is quite impossible for any consolidation to have been done at all. It did take that view and I think afterwards the Government were enabled very largely from the fact that the law was thus brought up to date to bring in an amending Bill. I think that the Honourable Member in charge of the Department will agree that that consolidation Bill enabled future reform. That is a point of great importance. This Bill in its Preamble states quite clearly that it is a Bill to consolidate the law on the subject.

My Honourable friend took two lines. As regards the first line, he said that it was not a consolidation Bill, but apparently later on in his speech the truth came out as it will even in an affidavit, and he told us the Bill was putting all the law together. I ought to say that I quite agree with him that in the debate on a consolidation Bill he is entitled to point out any changes in the existing law or to show that there have been any slips in the consolidation and if he can do that I am sure the House will be grateful to him. It does rather appear from his own arguments that he has not supplied himself with an up-to-date copy of the Act. That is a precaution which the draftsman usually takes and one which a critic of drafting might well take. He has not observed the fact that certain small amendments were made by the Devolution Act of 1920. That disposes of two of his points. As to the third point, the question of section 34 of the Forest Act, he appears to be under a delusion that whatever this House does will affect the law in Berar. This House has no power to affect the law in Berar, and if he has any grievance, which as a matter of fact he has not, as regards Berar there is nothing which this House can do to remedy it. Moreover, section 34 is a section which allows extension within 12 months from the date it comes into force in any particular province. Will my Honourable friend tell me of any province in British India in which this Act has not been in force more than 12 months? Will he name any province in British India? If he cannot name any province, then it is perfectly clear that section 34 is spent and it is part of the duty of the Statute Law Revision Committee not merely to put the law together but to amputate, to cut off those dead parts of the law which are no longer in force. My Honourable friend will find that a consolidation Bill very generally contains the omission of certain clauses which are spent. His contention that the clause is not spent has been disposed of and the justification for its omission is complete if it is admitted that it has been spent.

I have disposed, as far as I can, of the suggestion that the draftsmen have not carried out their work properly. My Honourable friend, Sir

Hari Singh Gour will no doubt be able, if it is necessary, to further explode any difficulties that may remain. But I come to the main point, which I wish to bring before the House, and, if it was not an important general proposition, I should not have troubled the House with a speech. It is this that, if this House insists that on a consolidation measure it can go into the substance of the law, then the Statute Law Revision Committee had better dissolve and we had better abandon all hope of going on with statute law revision. I do hope that the House will not take that view and that they will not obstruct these Bills which are of very great value. We see that they are of great value because we have an instance of it here. Here is my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney, asking the House to deal with a point of law on which he has been led into an error from the fact that he has an unamended copy, whereas if you have a consolidated Act you will have all your law together. It is a singular instance of the great advantage of consolidation. I am making no suggestions against Mr. Aney. I myself in another capacity, who am supposed to be supplied with a correct copy of the Acts, have occasionally been very badly trapped by the fact that some small amending Bill had not been noted on my copy. I sympathise with my Honourable friend but his misfortune should make him a strong supporter of the Bill which I hope the House will now pass without further criticism. If the House should not do so and should try to amend the Bill, I should be forced to oppose it on behalf of the Government.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: After the very lucid speech of the Honourable the Home Member to whom I feel grateful, I should like to reply categorically to the motion moved by my Honourable friend, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, and supported by my Honourable friend, Mr. Aney. Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar says that he is impelled by a desire to do a little service to me by taking this Bill to the Select Committee. The best service Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar can do to me is to withdraw his motion, because if he is really sincere in serving me in the way he has professed it will prolong the discussion and we shall be compelled to withdraw the Bill and leave the eight Acts of the Indian Legislature to do the service which they have been indifferently doing and would be doing for a long time to come but for this consolidation. May I ask Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, who was a Member of the last Assembly, this question? Do you object to finding your law in one place or would you prefer to find it scattered over a dozen or more Acts? We consolidated the Indian Succession Act. That Act was passed as long ago as 1865. It had been subsequently amended by no less than 14 Acts, and as stated at the time when introducing that Bill, we were indebted to the labours of the Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman who put these 14 Acts together. The result has been that we now see one consolidated Indian Succession Act instead of having to roam over 14 Acts of the Indian Legislature to find out what our law of succession is. The Merchant Shipping Act is another instance of the same kind. Instead of going into a very large number of Acts for finding out how the law stands, the Statute Law Revision Committee have put into one Act all the various amending and repealing Acts and given the living law as it obtains in the country. That is the sole object of a consolidating statute. So far as the present Act is concerned, I have already pointed out in my opening speech that all that we desire is to ask you to read into one Act what is contained in 8 different Acts, and it does not mean only 8 amendments for if you turn to the statement of

[Sir Hari Singh Gour.]

amendments and repeals you will find that there are no less than 81 amendments and repeals which modify the law as it was enacted in 1878.

I therefore submit that so far as the principle of consolidation is concerned this House must give its decision whether it does not approve of the purging of the Statute-book of a large number of small Acts which modify and amend one main Statute and whether they would not like to find their law within the compass of one Act instead of having to find it in 10, 12 and sometimes 20 different Acts of the Legislature. That is the sole question. Now, Sir, the Honourable the Home Member very rightly pointed out that the Statute Law Revision Committee stands committed to the policy of shortening the Indian Statute-book by purging therefrom all these repealing and amending Acts for the sake of convenience. It is not its duty, nor, indeed, as now constituted, would it be its legitimate function to revise or amend the Indian Statutes, and I therefore submit that if this House is of the same view as myself, that we should purge the Indian Statute-book of this large number of confusing amendments and repeals, then I submit this measure must be passed and the motion of the Honourable Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar resisted.

Now Mr. Aney has taken a different line of attack. I am perfectly certain when my Honourable friend hears me he will find, I think, that he has been under some misapprehension of the facts. He says that this Bill does revise and amend the existing law. He refers to section 34. Now, Sir, what is the meaning of section 34? Many Acts of the Indian Legislature contain certain transitory provisions and this Act contained one such provision that within 12 months certain enquiries should be made. The Honourable Mr. Aney is perfectly aware of that fact, but he says in Berar the Act was only extended in 1911. To that I have two answers to give. The Act was never extended by the force of the Indian Legislature. It was done by a notification in the Foreign Department. Honourable Members will remember that Berar is technically not a part of British India and whatever British laws are extended to Berar are extended by force of notification in the Foreign Department of the Government of India. Consequently, so far as section 34 is concerned it has no operation as such in Berar. But I go further and say that even if Berar were a part of British India the Forest Act, according to Mr. Aney, was extended to Berar in 1911. Consequently within one year of that date section 34 became spent. Now if, on the other hand—and that is a question I put to Mr. Aney—supposing the Statute Law Revision Committee had re-enacted section 34. Look at the absurdity it would lead us into. It would start a fresh enquiry into a right which should have been made and completed as far back as 1879, within 12 months of the first enactment of the Indian Forest Act, and it would unsettle titles which have been hushed and settled as far back as 1879. Could any Legislature tolerate a position of this character? That would be the effect of re-inserting section 34 of the old Act of 1878 into the enactment which is under reference here. That is the *reductio ad absurdum* to which the re-enactment of section 34 of the Forest Act of 1878 would lead.

Then he referred to section 81. The Honourable the Home Member has already pointed out that in the old section of 1878 the power was vested in the Governor General in Council but with the advent of the Reforms the Devolution Rules altered those powers conferring them on the Local Government, and the amending Act of 1920 transferred these powers

to the Local Government. Consequently when the consolidating draftsman was presented with the existing law the power of the Governor General had ceased to exist and ceased to exist for a long number of years.

Then he referred to section 42. Now, Sir, he said you have made a very serious inroad on the powers of the civil court. Now Honourable Members may rest content that if there had been any inroad at all, much less a serious inroad, I certainly would not have been here to ask this House to support my motion. When I read section 42 of the Indian Forest Act and I have the copy which Mr. Aney has used in supporting his argument, where is the power of the court? The old section says: "The Local Government may by such rules prescribe penalties." This Mr. Aney reads to mean that under the old Act the penalties are to be prescribed by the Court.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I am very sorry to interrupt but I was reading the second paragraph.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Now, so far as the first paragraph of section 42 is concerned the penalties are not to be prescribed by the Court at all. My Honourable friend has drawn my attention to paragraph 2. I shall not omit to answer him. I am dealing with paragraph 1 first. So far, therefore, as the first paragraph is concerned, it is definitive of the authority which can prescribe the penalties; and paragraph 2 of section 42, which, with due respect to Mr. Aney, he has misread, simply lays down the quantum of penalty. The penalising authority is mentioned in the first clause; the quantum of penalty is given in the second clause and that is reproduced in the corresponding section of the present Bill. There has not been deviation by one hair's breadth from the principle of the old section 42 of the Indian Forest Act; and if my Honourable friend will do me the honour of reading the section once more and comparing it with the corresponding section of the Bill he will, I think, find that he was somehow or other misled into making those observations.

Mr. M. S. Aney: I was misled by the Mover's speech in the Council of State.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: My Honourable friend says that his mistake was due to the mistake of another Member in another place. Well, Sir, I am not here concerned with that question; I am glad that my Honourable friend now finds that he has made a mistake.

Now comes the last point—that is the policy of consolidation. My Honourable friend has made a perfervid and passionate appeal to this House that the forest rights must be reinstated, the whole question re-agitated and a Select Committee must go into the whole question. Sir, the Honourable the Home Member has pointed out that if you were to re-enact and put into it such amendments as you wish to suggest and bring your Statute up to date, not only as to the wording of your Statute but also as to its subject matter, consolidation will become a practical impossibility. Is it consistent with the underlying principle of consolidation that a Statute should be looked into for the sake of its merits and improved upon and amended wherever necessary? That, as the Honourable the Home Member has pointed out, is a different question altogether and I submit, Sir, we are not concerned with that question at present. The Honourable the Home Member has pointed out that if this House gives sanction to the revision of the Act upon its merits he will be constrained and I shall be constrained to withdraw the Bill. And what will be the result?

[Sir Hari Singh Gour.]

The result will be as you were in 1878, supplemented and amended by the various Acts that have been passed from that date down to 1921. It will keep your confusion in the state in which it has been on account of the multiplicity of these amending Acts. I have not the slightest doubt that my Honourable friends will see the wisdom of withdrawing their motions which will lead to no good result, and let this motion for concurrence with the motion of the other House go through.

Mr. Deputy President: The original question was :

"That the Bill to consolidate the law relating to forests, the transit of forest-produce and the duty leviable on timber and other forest-produce, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration."

Since which the following amendment has been moved :

"That the Bill be referred to a Select Committee."

Mr. M. S. Aney: May I point out, Sir, that in this amendment the Honourable Mover is incorporating the names of the gentlemen mentioned in my motion?

Mr. Deputy President: If this amendment falls to the ground, your amendment also will fall.

Mr. M. S. Aney: My point is this, Sir, that in putting this amendment, the names of Members included in my amendment were adopted by the Mover of this amendment and they may be put.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: That can be moved afterwards.

Mr. Deputy President: If this motion is passed, then I think we will take the other motion. The question is that the amendment be made.

The Assembly divided :

(During the division Mr. Deputy President vacated the Chair, which was resumed by Mr. President.)

AYES—51.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Birla, Mr. Ghanshyam Das.
Chaman Lall, Mr.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
Das, Mr. B.
Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Ismail Khan, Mr.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Karfar Singh, Sardar.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirday Nath.

Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
Sayyid.
Naidu, Mr. B. P.
Natique, Maulvi A. H.
Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Prakasam, Mr. T.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Rang Behari Lal, Lala.
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
Roy, Rai Bahadur Tarit Bhusan.
Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
Bahadur.
Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Sinha, Kumar Ganganand.
Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.
Yusuf Imam, Mr.
Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

NOES—46.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sabibzada.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Allison, Mr. F. W.
 Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
 Nawabzada Sayid.
 Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
 Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
 Gopalaswami.
 Bhore, Mr. J. W.
 Coatman, Mr. J.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
 Donovan, Mr. J. T.
 Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Pakhan, Mr.
 W. M. P.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Gour, Sir Hari Singh.
 Graham, Mr. L.
 Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
 Haigh, Mr. P. B.
 Hezlett, Mr. J.

Howell, Mr. E. B.
 Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.
 Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
 and Honorary Captain.
 Keane, Mr. M.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Macphail, The Rev. Dr. E. M.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
 Alexander.
 Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
 Paddison, Sir George.
 Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
 Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
 Rajan Bakhs Shah, Khan Bahadur
 Makhdum Syed.
 Roy, Sir Ganen.
 Ruthnaswamy, Mr. M.
 Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
 Sykes, Mr. F. F.
 Tonkinson, Mr. H.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Yakub Maulvi Muhammad.
 Young, Mr. G. M.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Sir, I move that the Select Committee do consist of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. Sessa Ayyangar, Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Mukhtar Singh, Mr. Jinnah, Mr. G. Sarvotham Rao, the Revd. Dr. Macphail, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, the Honourable the Home Member

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I decline to serve on the Committee.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has not got the consent of the Home Member. (*An Honourable Member:* "Drop him.")

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Then I leave him, Sir; Mr. Greenfield, and Mr. M. S. Aney.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): May I move, Sir, that the name of Mr. Ram Narayan Singh be substituted for the name of the Honourable the Home Member?

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the Select Committee do consist of Mr. Jamnadas Mehta, Mr. M. S. Sessa Ayyangar, Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Mukhtar Singh, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. G. Sarvotham Rao, the Revd. Dr. Macphail, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, Mr. Greenfield, Mr. Ram Narayan Singh and Mr. M. S. Aney, and that the number of members whose presence

Sir Walter Willson (Associated Chambers of Commerce: Nominated Non-Official): I move, Sir, that the name of Mr. Skyes be substituted for that of Dr. Macphail who will not at that time be a Member of the Assembly.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the name of Mr. Skyes be substituted for that of Dr. Macphail."

The motion was adopted.

An Honourable Member: I move, Sir, that the name of Dr. Gour be added to the list.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the name of Dr. Gour be added to the list."

The motion was adopted.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, I have been told by my friends that the object of this motion is merely to examine the Bill as regards consolidation. I therefore wish to move, Sir, that the following clause be added.

Mr. President: Order, order. This is merely a motion to approve the names of the members of the Select Committee and nothing else.

The question is:

"That the Select Committee do consist of Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta, Mr. M. S. Sesha Ayyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar, Mr. K. C. Neogy, Dr. Moonje, Mr. Mukhtar Singh, Mr. M. A. Jinnah, Mr. G. Sarvotham Rao, Mr. Sykes, Mr. Vidya Sagar Pandya, Mr. Greenfield, Mr. M. S. Aney, Sir Hari Singh Gour and Mr. Ram Narayan Singh, and that the number of members whose presence shall be necessary to constitute a meeting shall be 7."

Sir Hari Singh Gour: May I beg to point out, Sir,

Mr. President: Order, order.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: There was a defect in this, and I want to point out

(Mr. President again repeated the question.)

The Assembly divided:

AYES—37.

Abdul Latif Sahib Farookhi, Mr.
Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
Aney, Mr. M. S.
Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami
Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
Birla, Mr. Ghanshyam Das.
Chaman Lal, Mr.
Chetty, Mr. R. K. Shanmukham.
Das, Mr. .
Das Pandit Nilakantha.
Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
Dutta, Mr. Brish Chandra.
Gulab Singh, Sardar.
Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
Jayakar, Mr. M. R.
Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
Joshi, Mr. N. M.
Kartar Singh, Sardar.
Kelkar, Mr. N. C.

Kidwal, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.
Kunzru, Pandit Hirdav Nath
Lahiri Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra
Kanta
Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M
Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
Moonje, Dr. B. S.
Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
Sayyid.
Naidu, Mr. B. P.
Neogy, Mr. K. C.
Purshotamdas Thakurdas, Sir.
Rang Behari Lal, Lal.
Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
Rov. Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
Sarda, Rai Sahib Harbilas.
Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
Sinha, Kumar Gangasund.

NOES—24.

Abdul Matin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Abdul Qaiyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
 Acharya, Mr. M. K.
 Ahmed, Mr. K.
 Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
 A. M. M.
 Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
 Cocke, Mr. H. G.
 Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
 Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
 W. M. P.
 Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
 Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
 Ismail Khan, Mr.

Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
 Sardar.
 Khin Maung, U.
 Lamb, Mr. W. S.
 Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M.
 Moore, Mr. Arthur.
 Natique, Maulvi A. H.
 Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
 Makhdum Syed.
 Sykes, Mr. E. F.
 Willson, Sir Walter.
 Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
 Yusuf Imam, Mr.
 Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: I may inform the House that this Bill which has just been referred to a Select Committee is a consolidating Bill and therefore its scope is very limited. It will be the duty of the Chairman of the Committee, under the circumstances, to see that the Committee restricts itself to the scope and does not travel outside it. Amendments of substance cannot be made in the Bill.

The House stands adjourned till Monday morning at eleven o'clock. On that day the first business on the agenda will be the consideration of amendments that the other House might make in the Finance Bill, if any; and then the remaining items of to-day's agenda will be taken up.

The Assembly then adjourned till Eleven of the Clock on Monday, the 28th March, 1927.

LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

Monday, 28th March, 1927.

The Assembly met in the Assembly Chamber of the Council House at Eleven of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS.

RECOMMENDATION OF THE LEE COMMISSION REGARDING PROMOTION OF MEN IN THE PROVINCIAL SERVICES TO THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

1245. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Will Government be pleased to state what steps have been taken to give effect to the recommendation of the Lee Commission that 20 per cent. of the superior posts in the Indian Civil Service should be filled by promotion from the Provincial Services in the various provinces?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I would refer the Honourable Member to part (a) of the answer that I gave to Mr. K. C. Neogy's question on the 24th March 1926. Since 1st April 1924, 119 fresh posts have been listed

LISTED POSTS IN THE PROVINCIAL CADRES OF THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

1246. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Will Government be pleased to state:

- (1) the total number of superior executive and superior judicial posts sanctioned for each province;
- (2) the number of superior executive and superior judicial posts thrown open up-to-date to members of the Provincial Services in each province;
- (3) the number of superior executive and superior judicial posts still remaining to be thrown open to members of the Provincial Services in each province;
- (4) the number of Provincial Service officers holding under Local Governments the posts of (a) Secretary to Government, (b) Member of Board of Revenue, (c) Commissioner of Division, and (d) Judge of the High Court; and
- (5) the number and names of officers being holders of "listed" posts in the Indian Civil Service who have held or are holding the posts of Secretary or Deputy Secretary to the Government of India?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (1), (2) and (8). A statement is laid on the table.

(4) and (5). I am making enquiries and will furnish the Honourable Member with the information in due course.

Statement showing the number of superior posts and the number of listed posts in the provincial cadres of the Indian Civil Service on the 1st January 1927; also the number of posts remaining to be listed to reach the full 20 per cent. recommended by the Lee Commission.

Province	Number of superior posts.		Number of listed posts on 1st January 1927.		Number of posts to be listed.
	Ex.	Judl.	Ex.	Judl.	
Madras	74	31	6	9	6
Bombay	57	35	5	6	7
Bengal	67	45	6	9	7
United Provinces	86	37	6	8	11
Punjab	62	28	6	7	5
Burma	72	26	9	7	4
Bihar and Orissa	50	17	5	3	5
Central Provinces	43	14	4	5	4
Assam	22	(a)	2	...	2
Totals	533	233	47	54	51

(a) There is no separate judicial cadre in Assam. Assam and Bengal have a common judicial cadre.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I ask what the reply is to No. 5?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: (4) and (5). I am making enquiries and will furnish the Honourable Member with the information in due course.

(1), (2) and (3). A statement is laid on the table.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: With regard to (5), may I ask the Honourable Member whether it is not a fact that there is no member of the Provincial Service who is acting as Secretary or Deputy Secretary?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I do not know, Sir.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I ask whether in making enquiries in regard to (4), Government will bear in mind that the Public Service Commission recommended that one post of Commissioner and one post of Member of the Board of Revenue, or of corresponding posts should be reserved for Provincial Service officers?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: That will not make any difference to the existing facts. What the Honourable Member asked for is in regard to existing facts

INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF LISTED INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE POSTS.

1247. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** If the number of superior posts thrown open to the Provincial Civil Service in any province is less than 20 per cent. recommended by the Lee Commission, in how many years do Government expect that the 20 per cent. will be reached and what orders have been issued for ensuring that it is reached as soon as possible?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I would refer the Honourable Member to part (c) of the answer that I gave to a question by Mr. K. C. Neogy on the 24th March 1926. Government are at present in consultation with the Public Service Commission on the question of issuing general orders.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I ask what the period is during which it is contemplated these people should occupy the posts to be listed: whether any decision has been reached in regard to the period?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: The Public Service Commission is taking up the whole question. It is a most difficult and complicated matter to adjust competing claims.

SENIORITY OF PROVINCIAL CIVIL SERVICE OFFICERS HOLDING LISTED INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE POSTS.

1248. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** 1. (a) Will Government be pleased to state whether it is a fact that under the existing orders of the Secretary of State, officers promoted from the Provincial Civil Services to 'listed' posts in the Indian Civil Service are graded in the Indian Civil Service cadre immediately below the Indian Civil Service officer last confirmed as Collector or Deputy Commissioner or District and Sessions Judge, as the case may be? If so, have these orders been given effect to in all the provinces?

(b) Have any representations been received from officers of the Indian Civil Service or from Associations of such officers, for the alteration of these orders to their own advantage and to the detriment of members of the Provincial Civil Services?

2. (a) If the answer to 1 (b) is in the affirmative, will Government be pleased to give particulars as to the alterations proposed and to state, what action, if any, they have taken or propose to take on such representations?

(b) If the answer to 1 (b) is in the negative, have Government themselves initiated any proposals for an alteration of the Secretary of State's orders referred to in 1 (a)?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: 1 (a). The Honourable Member correctly describes the established principle though I have not been able to find any explicit orders of the Secretary of State prescribing such a rule. It has been ascertained recently that in one province a different rule had been followed.

1 (b). Representations have been received to the effect that an alteration made in 1922 in the rules governing the system of listed posts has rendered inequitable orders which were passed with reference to previous conditions.

2 (a). These representations have been referred to the Public Service Commission for their advice.

2 (b). Does not arise.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know if Government will give an opportunity to Provincial Civil Service Associations or officers to make their representations before final orders are passed?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: If a representation is received within a reasonable time I will give it my careful consideration. But I will not postpone the orders indefinitely.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Having regard to the fact that a representation has already been received from one of the parties, will not an opportunity be given?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: An opportunity will be given so long as the representation is presented within a reasonable time. I cannot defer orders indefinitely.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Would Government be pleased to tell us what are the points raised in these representations that have been received?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I cannot within the scope of answering the question go into a complicated matter of that kind.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Would the Honourable Member enumerate one or two important points in these representations?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I regret the matter is not in my memory. If the Honourable Member will put down the question he will get an answer. I am quite prepared also to furnish him with the information if he will see one of my officers at my office.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know if these representations have been referred to the Public Service Commission?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Yes.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: Have the Government expressed any views to the Public Service Commission?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: No, we are awaiting their answer.

SUPERSESSION OF SENIOR TRAVELLING TICKET EXAMINERS OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1249. ***Mr. Chaman Lal:** (a) Is it a fact that 19 senior Travelling Ticket Examiners of the North Western Railway drawing Rs. 180, 150, 120, and 110 per month respectively have been superseded by their juniors drawing Rs. 180, 150, 110, respectively, without any rhyme or reason?

(b) Is it a fact that some of the superseded Travelling Ticket Examiners are on the eve of retirement?

(c) Is it a fact that the above-mentioned superseded men are serving this Railway since 16 to 32 years respectively and some of them were awarded special prizes and promotions in recognition of their good and faithful services, and many fraud cases of a serious nature were detected by them which are on the record and credit entries are on their service sheets?

(d) Is it a fact that these 19 aggrieved men are even now getting regularly their annual increments and eight of them are drawing the maximum pay of their class and grade?

(e) Will Government kindly state if there is any record against them which show that their work was not satisfactory?

(f) Is it known to the Government that there were articles in the *Tribune* of 22nd September, 24th October and 16th November, 1926, and in the *Nation*, dated 16th December, 1926, and 8th January, 1927, which clearly states that the test was merely a farce and mockery?

(g) Is it a fact that Messrs. Nazir Ahmed Khan and Mohanmed Hussain, newly appointed special Travelling Ticket Examiners, have never been appointed in headquarters outside Lahore since they have joined the Department while others have been shifted from one place to another many a time and will Government state whether transfers in the Travelling Ticket Examiners' Branch are made in the sole interest of the Railway or in the interests of the individual officers concerned?

TRAVELLING TICKET EXAMINERS OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1250. *Mr. Chaman Lall: (a) Will Government state the names of the Travelling Ticket Examiners who frequently accompany the sectional officer (K. S. Ghulam Zakria Khan) whenever he goes on the line, on tour, and the reason why he keeps the particular Travelling Ticket Examiners with him when on tour?

(b) Is it a fact that there is a graduate, L. Har Gopal, a senior Travelling Ticket Examiner in the department, who worked for 3 years as an Assistant Superintendent but was not given a chance to serve as a Superintendent, although he was appointed Assistant to succeed the Superintendent?

(c) Is it a fact that Mr. Mohamed Ali, the present Superintendent, was a Travelling Ticket Examiner on Rs. 150 per month and was employed in the office to distribute forms and stationery to the other Travelling Ticket Examiners and for that duty was given an average allowance which was nearly Rs. 200 per month in addition to his pay without working on the line as a Travelling Ticket Examiner which was condemned by the Deputy Accountant, Railways (Inspection) in his inspection, and that now he has been dealt with more favourably by his salary being fixed at Rs. 350 when the starting pay of the post is Rs. 270 per month? If the post was reserved for a Travelling Ticket Examiner why did not any other man get it in his stead?

TRAVELLING TICKET EXAMINERS OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1251. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Is it a fact that there is a rule in the Audit Department that the post of clerks can be given only to those who have passed the Matriculation Examination in the first Division?

(b) Will Government state the reasons for giving appointments to F. S. Zehir-ud-Din, Zahur-ul-Haq and Qamar Zaman, clerks of the Travelling Ticket Examiners' section of the North-Western Railway, who have passed no examination, while there are many educated men available for the job?

(c) Will Government state the names of the particular Travelling Ticket Examiners who are given special duty without any programme while other Travelling Ticket Examiners are ordered to work on fixed programme? Will the Government state the reasons for this anomaly?

(d) Will Government explain why the present sectional officer has never been transferred elsewhere as other railway officers, and why he has held charge of the Travelling Ticket Examiners' section since 1922?

(e) Is it a fact that the most senior Travelling Ticket Examiners have submitted their petitions against supersession by their juniors to the Chief Auditor, Agent and Accountant-General, Railways, requesting them for an enquiry, and is it a fact that no action has yet been taken?

COST OF AN *AT HOME* GIVEN TO KHAN SAHIB G. Z. KHAN, ASSISTANT AUDIT OFFICER, NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1252. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Are Government aware that when the title of Khan Sahib was awarded to Mr. G. Z. Khan, Assistant Audit Officer, North Western Railway, all the Travelling Ticket Examiners and other staff employed under him were called by official telegrams on State Service to Lahore and is it a fact that a subscription was collected to meet the expenses of an *at home* on 5th June 1925 and the most senior officials attended?

(b) Will Government state the following:—

- (i) What was the cost of the telegrams thus issued to staff?
- (ii) What was the total amount which was collected by the subordinates, and how much was spent?
- (iii) Who is responsible for the cost of telegrams and if the Government have borne the expenses, please state reasons?
- (iv) Can the Government place before the House the account of the expenditure incurred at the *at home* on 5th June, 1925, if it was a Government function at all? What are the names of the gentlemen who were photographed?

GRANT OF THREE DAYS' ALLOWANCES TO THE OUTDOOR STAFF ATTENDING THE *AT HOME* TO KHAN SAHIB G. Z. KHAN, ASSISTANT AUDIT OFFICER, NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY, ETC.

1253. ***Mr. Ohaman Lall:** (a) Are Government aware that allowances were drawn by the outdoor staff as for duty for 3 days when at Lahore, 5th, 6th, 7th June 1925 which was a private function and not official, and why was the allowance passed by the sectional officer for these dates including Sunday when the office was closed?

(b) Do the rules regarding the conduct of public servants permit such a practice?

(c) Is it known to Government that two real brothers, Mohammad Hussain and Muhammad Ishaq, Travelling Ticket Examiners, are working in one Division, and is this against the "Civil Service Regulations?" Is it a fact that the former is an Inspector and the latter is serving under him?

(d) Are Government aware that Khan Sahib G. Z. Khan sectional officer and his two brothers named Sheob Khan and Abdul Samad Khan are working together in the same Department and section and that the latter was transferred from the Civil Department of Peshawar to the North Western Railway? Will the Government please state whether the two brothers are graduates as required by the rules?

(e) Is it a fact that Lala Salig Ram now working as a Travelling Ticket Examiner worked for 7 years as a Local Auditor before the two brothers of the sectional officer were appointed but was never given the post of an Inspector, Coaching Goods?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I propose, Sir, to reply to questions Nos. 1249 to 1253 together.

Enquiries have been made and the information asked for will be supplied to the Honourable Member when received.

ADVANCE OF HOUSE BUILDING LOANS TO RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

1254. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** Is it a fact that the Railway Department advances loans to its employees for the purpose of house building and that such advances of money are made only when the sanctioning authority is satisfied that the employee has a legal title to the plot of land upon which the proposed building is to be erected, and that the plot of land as well as the proposed building are mortgaged to the Department for such period as the money advanced is not repaid by the employee?

ADVANCE OF A HOUSE BUILDING LOAN TO MR. G. ZAKRIA KHAN, AN OFFICER OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1255. ***Mr. Chaman Lall:** (a) Is it a fact that a loan for house building purposes was sanctioned to one Mr. G. Zakria Khan, an officer in the North Western Railway at Lahore, and Rs. 4,000 was paid to him in August 1923 and Rs. 4,040 in March 1924?

(b) Did not that officer build the house on the plot for which the loan was sanctioned and paid in full after making a statement as to the progress of the building?

(c) If the answers to (a) and (b) are in the affirmative, will the Government say what action has been taken against that officer for furnishing inaccurate statements for the purpose of obtaining the money?

(d) Will Government say if the money advanced has been repaid by the said officer? If not, why?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: With your permission, Sir, I propose to reply to questions Nos. 1254 and 1255 together.

Enquiries have been made and the information asked for will be supplied to the Honourable Member when received.

EXEMPTION OF SOCIETIES, INSTITUTIONS OR BANKS FROM PAYMENT OF POSTAL, INSURANCE AND REGISTRATION COMMISSIONS.

1256. ***Mr. T. Prakasam:** (a) Is any exemption made by the Government of India exempting any societies or institutions or banks from payment of postal, insurance and registration commissions?

(b) If so, what are they? For what reasons has any such exemption been made?

Sir Ganen Roy: (a) No.

(b) Does not arise.

UTILIZATION OF THE SALT SWAMPS ADJOINING THE VEDARANYAM FACTORY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF SALT.

1257. ***Mr. T. Prakasam:** Will the Government be pleased to state:

(a) the extent of salt swamps that can properly be utilised for the production of salt, adjoining the Vedaranyam Factory;

(b) the extent of land that has now been brought under factory control;

(c) whether any facilities have been given for the working of table salt by the Government; if not, why have such vast areas been left without an attempt at proper working;

(d) whether it is a fact that in the days of war when foreign table salt was not available to supply the province of Bengal some arrangements were made and proposals started for working the Vedaranyam salt factory for producing table salt; and why the proposals were abandoned as soon as the War was over; and

(e) whether the Government have any proposals to resurrect the same and work up the scheme?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: (a) The swamp round Vedaranyam Factory is 28 miles long and 5 miles broad. The greater part of it is flooded at high tides and is therefore unsuitable for salt production.

(b) 395 acres.

(c) The answer to the first part of this question is in the negative. The answer to the second part is that there is no shortage of salt in the Madras Presidency, nor is there a market for Madras salt outside the Presidency.

(d) The answer to the first part of this question is in the negative; the second part does not arise.

It follows therefore that (e) does not arise.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: May I know why Government have found it impossible to manufacture table salt in this area?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: If the Honourable Member would like a lecture on that subject, I would ask him to come round to me privately afterwards.

REFUSAL OF THE LEE COMMISSION PASSAGE CONCESSIONS TO OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE OF ASIATIC DOMICILE.

1258. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Will the Honourable Member be good enough to state if it is the final intention of the Government of India to refuse any passage concessions to England (as recommended to non-Asiatic officers by the Lee Commission) to officers of the Indian Medical Service of Asiatic domicile?

(b) Has any memorial been received by the Government from the Asiatic domiciled members of the Indian Medical Service asking for equal treatment regarding passage concessions with their European conferees? If so, will the Honourable Member be pleased to state what has been the result of this memorial?

(c) Are Government aware of the fact that if passage concessions are refused to Asiatic domiciled officers in the Indian Medical Service they are handicapped in regard to accelerated promotion in the Department?

(d) If this is so, do Government propose to remove this disadvantage?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) It has been finally decided not to grant the Lee Commission passage concessions to officers of the Indian Medical Service of Asiatic domicile

(b) Yes The Government of India have decided in consultation with the Secretary of State to grant certain passage concessions to Indian Medical Service officers of Asiatic domicile proceeding to the United Kingdom on study leave. Some details of the scheme have not yet been settled, but it is hoped to make an announcement shortly

(c) Yes, and

(d) that is why it has been decided to grant some concessions

REFUSAL OF THE LEE COMMISSION PASSAGE CONCESSIONS TO OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE OF ASIATIC DOMICILE.

1259 ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** Is it a fact that European passage concessions are given to Asiatic domiciled members of the Indian Civil Service including nominated members up to April 1925? If so, why has this concession been denied to Asiatic domiciled Indian Medical Service officers including those who have entered by open competition?

Mr. G. M. Young: The only Indian officers eligible for passage concessions are those Indian members of the I. C. S. who draw overseas pay. They were granted the concession on the special recommendation of the Lee Commission. The Commission did not recommend any such concession to Indian Medical Service officers with an Asiatic domicile.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Did the Lee Commission recommend, and does Government accept the principle that officers of the superior services who are drawing overseas allowance are entitled to passage concessions for themselves, their wives and children?

Mr. G. M. Young: I must ask for notice of that

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Will Government tell me why I.M.S. officers of Asiatic domicile, who answer to the requirements of the Lee Commission, so far as overseas allowances are concerned, are deprived of free passage concessions.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I think probably that is an answer for me to make, but I am not prepared to answer the question without notice.

GRANT OF PASSAGES TO ENGLAND BY TRANSPORT TO OFFICERS OF THE INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE OF ASIATIC DOMICILE.

1260. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Is it a fact that the Secretary of State for India has sanctioned one passage only to Asiatic domiciled officers of the Indian Medical Service and that only by a "transport"?

(b) If so, are Government aware of the fact:

- (i) that the transport season from October to March is a very unsuitable time as far as the opening of the sessions of various medical schools in England is concerned; and
- (ii) that extreme difficulty will be experienced in securing such a passage in view of other more urgent and pressing military requirements?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) and (b). I am afraid that I cannot divulge particulars of the scheme before it is settled. But the concession will be a real one, and will meet the object for which it is designed, namely, the provision of facilities for study in the United Kingdom.

ESTABLISHMENT OF INDIAN FAMILY HOSPITALS IN ALL MILITARY STATIONS CONTAINING INDIAN TROOPS.

1261. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Will Government be pleased to state what medical relief is obtainable for the women and children of Indian troops residing in Cantonments?

(b) Is it a fact that such medical relief as exists to-day is of a voluntary nature and at the expense of voluntary contributions from the public?

(c) Will Government be pleased to state whether they are prepared to establish Indian Family Hospitals at all military stations where Indian troops are stationed on similar lines as are to-day established for British troops?

Mr. G. M. Young: (a) Families of Indian troops residing in Cantonments are entitled to free medical attendance in their houses.

(b) No, Sir; this medical relief is provided by the State.

(c) Government do not propose at present to establish such hospitals, but efforts are being made to establish Child Welfare Centres in Cantonments.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Is it a fact or not that the medical relief given to the wives and families of Indian troops are really "nil" and that no provision whatever for this purpose is made for medicine and other accessories in Indian Military Hospital canteens?

Mr. G. M. Young: I am not aware of that.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: It is an absolute fact. Will the Honourable Member kindly make inquiries?

Mr. G. M. Young: Certainly.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask what provision is made in the New Delhi Cantonment for providing medical facilities for the wives and children of Indian soldiers?

Mr. G. M. Young: The same as for every one else; they are entitled to medical attendance in their houses.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Who are the medical practitioners in the Delhi Cantonment and what is their grade? What does the Honourable Member mean by providing facilities in their houses?

Mr. G. M. Young: They have the services of the medical staff, who draw upon the medical stores of the Cantonment.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask the Honourable Member what the medical staff of Delhi consists of?

Mr. G. M. Young: Yes, Sir, if my Honourable friend will give me notice of that question.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Is the Honourable Member aware that the medical staff is entirely inadequate as far as attendants are concerned?

Mr. G. M. Young: No, Sir, I am not aware of that.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Will the Honourable Member make inquiries and let the House know?

Mr. G. M. Young: Very well.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: I am sorry to trouble the Honourable Member, but will he kindly let me know how medical attendance such as is available to-day for Indian Sepoys can be given to purdah women in the Indian troops lines?

Mr. G. M. Young: I think my Honourable friend knows the answer to that question better than I do.

Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney: Oh!!

DELAY IN THE FORMATION OF PROVINCIAL MEDICAL SERVICES.

1262. ***Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J. Gidney:** (a) Are Government aware of the fact that the delay in announcing their intention with regard to that part of the Lee Commission Report dealing with the Indian Medical Service and the formation of Provincial Medical Services is causing not only great discontent, uneasiness and injury to recruitment to the Service but very seriously prejudicing and injuring the administration of this Department and the teaching of medicine throughout India?

(b) Are Government prepared to make a pronouncement on this subject?

Mr. J. W. Bhore: (a) No.

(b) The Government of India are still in communication with the Secretary of State on the subject but will make every endeavour as far as lies in their power to expedite a decision.

TRANSFER OF LOCOMOTIVES FROM THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY TO
OTHER STATE-WORKED RAILWAYS.

1263. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Will Government kindly state the number of locomotives transferred to date from the North Western Railway to other State-worked Railways as having been found in excess owing to improved methods of working and the number it is proposed to transfer during 1927-28?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: 102 locomotives have been transferred from the North-Western Railway to other State-worked Railways. There are not at the moment any proposals before the Railway Board for further transfers.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: How can the North-Western Railway be overstocked with so many locomotives?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: There has been an improvement in our traffic arrangements.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: May I ask whether it is a fact that the surplus was discovered before the improvement in methods took place?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I do not remember the exact date; it is certainly due to the improvement in methods that we have such a large surplus.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Will the Honourable Member inquire from the Agent, North-Western Railway, whether it is a fact or not?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No, Sir.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Is it to be inferred then that the Honourable Member already knows that there was a surplus?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I am only concerned with the fact that there was a surplus and as to the best method of getting rid of it. I am not very interested in what happened in the past.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask whether it is not a reflection on the Department that there should have been a surplus of this nature, and whether it is not the business of the Honourable Member to make inquiries and find out why there was a surplus?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The answer to both parts of the question is in the negative.

Mr. Chaman Lall: May I ask what reply there is to the second part of the question?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I said the reply to both parts was in the negative.

Mr. Chaman Lall: Does the Honourable Member realise that there was a suggestion that the cause of this surplus ought to be investigated with regard to the due efficiency of the department?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I am aware that there was a surplus; I do not think there would be any practical advantage in such an investigation.

Mr. Chaman Lall: How does the Honourable Member propose to prevent a surplus occurring in the future if he does not investigate the past surplus?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: We have got arrangements by which we can discover approximately the number of locomotives required for running the traffic on a railway.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Is there still a surplus to be disposed of?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I think the North-Western Railway is still overstocked.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Did the improvement in methods of working affect merely the North-Western Railway?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No, Sir.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Has there been a surplus of locomotives on other railway systems?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: If the Honourable Member wants this information, I shall have to ask for notice, because I do not remember whether we are at present overstocked with locomotives on any other lines. At various times of the year there is certainly a surplus of tractive power on a good many railways. It depends on the amount of traffic offering.

RAILWAY ROLLING STOCK.

1264. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Do Government propose to show separately in their annual Railway Administration Report the number and cost of rolling stock attributable to new commercial lines on the same basis as has been adopted in ascertaining the number and cost attributable to the non-commercial or strategic railways, like the Khyber Railway? If not, will Government kindly state what are the difficulties?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: It was necessary to calculate separately the share of capital expenditure on rolling stock attributable to strategic railways on account of the fact that the accounts are kept separately for commercial and strategic lines. The same necessity does not arise as regards rolling stock attributable to new extensions to commercial lines. In calculating the financial results of such lines, however, allowance is always made for rolling stock supplied by the main line. It has been found in practice that 5 per cent. of the gross earnings is approximately a reasonable annual figure as a charge on this account.

TECHNICAL SECTION OF THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.

1265. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Is it a fact that the Technical Section of the Railway Department which was established in 1887 was abolished in 1905 on the recommendation of the Railway Board?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: The Technical Section which consisted of 1 draftsman, 3 tracers, and 2 clerks was absorbed into the Drawing Branch in October, 1905.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Would Government mind stating the reasons which led to that decision in 1905?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: I am afraid I do not remember what they were.

DEBITING OF FREIGHT AND INCIDENTAL CHARGES ON STORES TO THE RAILWAY REVENUE ACCOUNT.

1266. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Is it a fact that when stores purchased are brought on to the Stores Account Ledgers, incidental charges,

such as those for railway carriage, handling, etc., are not debited to the Stores Account, but are charged off to the Railway Revenue Account; and if so, why?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The Honourable Member's attention is invited to the rule in State Railway Open Line Code, Volume III, para. 16, which prescribes the procedure to be followed on State-worked Railways, and a copy of which is placed on the table. This procedure was introduced to simplify accounting and it provides that when stores are issued for other than the working of the railway the revenue account of the railway receives a payment to cover the freight and incidental charges previously debited to the revenue account.

Copy of paragraph 16 of the State Railway Open Line Code, Volume III.

Freight charges on stores—The following rules will govern the incidence of freight charges on stores :—

- (i) *Sea freight on English stores.*—This includes the 4/5ths paid in England and the 1/5th paid in India. Both items are brought out in the tonnage accounts and connected documents. The entire sea freight of each invoice will be proportionately distributed among the items of the invoice weighing 10 tons or over or measuring five feet or over. Other items will bear no charge on account of sea freight.
- (ii) *Indian freight from port or source of supply to depots.*—Such freight will be charged to a new sub-head in Abstract E of the Revenue Account titled 'Indian freight charges on stores in all cases however, in which stores are issued for capital works or are sold, a charge of 6 per cent. on the North Western Railway and 5 per cent. on other railways will be added to the book value of stores to cover Indian freight and other miscellaneous charges. These percentages will be adopted from 1st April 1925. This procedure, however, is not intended to be applied in respect of coal and fuel or large despatches of permanent way material or girders, or to non-standard articles of stores which are purchased for immediate consumption on works and not passed through the stores books. Foreign Railway freight on coal should be charged direct to Abstract B, III. In the case of coal issued to Capital Works or sold to outsiders a percentage to cover the freight charges should be added to the value of the coal. In all other cases the freight charges will be debited to the work or purpose for which the stores are obtained. Any home line freight arising out of inter-depot transfers will be borne by Revenue.
- (iii) *Miscellaneous charges on stores, e.g., Insurance, Port Loading and Yard charges.*—All such expenditure will be debited to suitable heads in Abstract E of the Revenue Account.

Sir Walter Willson: May I ask the Honourable Member if he will kindly send me a copy of the statement also?

STARTING OF A PENSION FUND UNDER THE HEAD "RAILWAY
RESERVES" IN CONNECTION WITH THE STATE RAILWAY
REVENUE ESTABLISHMENT.

1267. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Do Government propose to start a Pension Fund under the head "Railway Reserves" in connection with the State Railway Revenue Establishment?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The revenue establishments on State-managed railways are non-pensionable, but I expect the Honourable Member's real concern is to discover whether we contemplate arrangements to fund our future liabilities on account of the provident fund to which these and other

railway establishments subscribe, and to which Government also contribute. If this is correct, the answer is that the question is now being examined.

**DEPRECIATION FUNDS OF THE POSTAL AND TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT
AND THE RAILWAY DEPARTMENT.**

1268. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Is it a fact that the Depreciation Fund in connection with the Postal and Telegraph Department is based on the "sinking fund" method, while that in connection with the Railway Department is based on the "straight line" method; and, if so, on what grounds is the differentiation made?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative.

As to the second part the Honourable Member will appreciate that there is a considerable difference between the conditions of the Railways and of the Postal and Telegraph Department. The latter, as the Honourable the Finance Member recently reminded the House, is not a profit making concern and its accounting system is designed mainly with a view to determining whether the rates charged for the services rendered to the public are on the whole inadequate or excessive as compared with the actual cost of the services. The ultimate effect of adopting either system may not appreciably differ from that of adopting the other, but the sinking fund has the special advantage in the circumstances of the Indian Postal and Telegraph Department that it distributes the provision for depreciation more uniformly over a series of years than the straight line system would do.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: With reference to that, may I ask the Honourable Member whether his attention has been drawn to the Report of the Public Accounts Committee for 1924-25 in which it is stated:

"Moreover in a State commercial undertaking there is not the same necessity for accumulating in the Depreciation Fund amounts that will at every stage of the life of the asset be equal to the accrued depreciation."

Does this not apply to the Railways? And, if I may add to it, the next sentence says:

"It is sufficient that the original cost is available in the Fund on the date replacement is expected."

Why should the Railways on this principle be treated differently from the Posts and Telegraphs?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The point is this, in the case of the Depreciation Fund for the Posts and Telegraphs the interest on the Depreciation Fund is credited to the Depreciation Fund. I believe on Railways that is not so: the interest is credited to the revenue account of Railways, and that is possible because the finances of Railways have been separated from general finance. As that separation has not taken place in the case of the Posts and Telegraphs Department, it is not possible to credit the interest on the Depreciation Fund to the Posts and Telegraphs Department.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Sir, do I take it that the Honourable Member has been appointed Member for Communications, including Railways, in view of the fact that he has given an answer which covers the Railway Department as well as the Postal Department?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: It is not unusual, Sir, for a single Member of the Executive Council to deal with a question which affects various Departments of the Government of India.

Mr. B. Das: That is all we ask!

AMOUNT OF THE DEPRECIATION RESERVE (RAILWAYS) THAT SHOULD HAVE BEEN BUILT UP FROM THE REVENUES OF PAST YEARS.

1269. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: With reference to paragraph 18 at page 94 of the Railway Administration Report for 1923-24, have Government taken any steps to ascertain the amount of the depreciation reserve that should have been built up from the revenues of past years; and, if so, what is the amount?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative; the second part of the question, therefore, does not arise.

COST OF LANDS PROVIDED FREE TO THE OLD DELHI-UMBALLA-KALKA RAILWAY COMPANY.

1270. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Will Government kindly state whether the cost of lands provided free to the old Delhi Umballa Kalka Railway Company, has been brought on to the capital account; and, if not, why not?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The answer to the first part of the question is in the negative; as to the second part, I would refer the Honourable Member to the reply given in the Assembly by Mr. Sim to unstarred question No. 94 by the late Dr. Lohokare on the 25th August 1925.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Have Government decided to continue the old practice?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Yes, Sir. They have accepted the advice of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways on this matter.

EXPENDITURE ON SURVEYS OF NEW LINES FORMING PART OF A STATE-WORKED RAILWAY.

1271. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Is it a fact that in respect of new lines forming part of a State-worked Railway the expenditure incurred on surveys undertaken in years previous to the year in which actual construction commences is not credited to the revenue account by debit to the capital account? If so, will Government kindly state their reasons for the procedure?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Yes. In view of the separation of railway from general finances the question whether the present procedure should be altered is under the consideration of Government.

ADJUSTMENT OF THE AMOUNT SHOWN AGAINST ABANDONED PROJECTS IN THE EXPLANATORY MEMORANDUM ON THE RAILWAY BUDGET FOR 1927-28.

1272. *Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: With reference to the amount of Rs. 32,86,816 shown against abandoned projects at page 88 of the Explanatory Memorandum on the Railway Budget for 1927-28, will Government kindly state how long the amount has been left unadjusted and why?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The amount of Rs. 82,86,816 comprises the expenditure on several projects which were abandoned at various periods; dating in some cases prior to 1898. The expenditure has remained at the debit of Capital in accordance with the rules regulating the incidence of expenditure in force at the time the projects were abandoned.

NAME OF THE OFFICER ENTRUSTED WITH THE INVESTIGATION OF THE
QUESTION OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES FOR CHILDREN OF
RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.

1273. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** With reference to the concluding portion of paragraph 37 of the Explanatory Memorandum on the Railway Budget for the year 1927-28, will Government kindly state the name of the senior officer of the Indian Educational Service entrusted with the investigation of the question of educational facilities for children of railway employees?

The Honourable Sir Charles Innes: Mr. C. E. W. Jones, C.I.E

TRANSFER OF ROLLING STOCK TO THE NORTH WESTERN AND GREAT
INDIA PENINSULA RAILWAYS.

1274. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** With reference to the transfer of the Delhi Umballa Kalka section to the North Western Railway, and of the Jubbulpore-Allahabad section to the Great Indian Peninsula Railway will Government kindly state the number of locomotives, carriages and wagons transferred to the two railways and the amounts debited to the capital account of the two Railways on that account?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: No rolling stock was transferred to the North Western and Great Indian Peninsula Railways when the Delhi-Umballa-Kalka and the Jubbulpore Allahabad sections respectively were taken over by them

OMISSION OF THE EXPENDITURE ON THE KARGALI COLLIERY FROM
THE GRANT FOR THE GREAT INDIAN PENINSULA RAILWAY.

1275. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** With reference to column 5, page 13 of the Budget Estimate for 1927-28 for the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, will Government kindly state why, in arriving at the 'Grand Total' the amount of Rs. 5.2 lakhs being the grant allotted on account of collieries to the Chief Mining Engineer has been omitted?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: The reason is that the Kargali Colliery which was formerly under the Great Indian Peninsula Railway has been transferred to the control of the Chief Mining Engineer, and it was considered desirable not to include in the grant for the Great Indian Peninsula Railway any portion of expenditure not under the control of that Administration. The figure against the head Collieries was put in for purposes of comparison with previous years.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: But should not this fact have been stated in the Budget?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: I do not think it is a fact of sufficient importance to mention in papers which are already very voluminous.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: But could not this sum have been shown separately after the Grand Total?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: It would be quite possible to show it separately or to put a footnote at the bottom, but I am not at all anxious to add to the length of the Budget Statements for Railways. I think Honourable Members of this House as a whole find them already too lengthy.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Is the Honourable Member anxious to see that his Budget should be understood easily without questions being put in this House?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Yes, Sir.

ACCRUAL OF THE CREDITS ON ACCOUNT OF THE SALE-PROCEEDS
OF ENGINES SOLD TO OTHER RAILWAYS TO THE REVENUE
ACCOUNT OF THE NORTH WESTERN RAILWAY.

1276. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** With reference to paragraph 2 at page 2 of the Budget Estimate for 1927-28 for the North Western Railway, will Government kindly state the circumstances in which the credits on account of the sale-proceeds of engines sold to other railways accrued to the Revenue Account instead of to the Capital Account?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: As the authorised stock of engines for the North Western Railway was reduced, the original cost of the engines was credited to Capital by *per contra* debit to the Depreciation Fund and the sale-proceeds were credited to Revenue. The procedure followed is in accordance with the rules approved by the Standing Finance Committee for Railways—*vide* Annexure B in Proceedings, Vol. 1, No. 1, of the Standing Finance Committee for Railways.

Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru: Do I understand that the depreciation against the engines continued even after they had been sold?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Yes

MAINTENANCE OF SEPARATE CAPITAL AND REVENUE ACCOUNTS FOR
BRANCH LINES BUILT ON THE GUARANTEE OF LOCAL
GOVERNMENTS.

1277. ***Pandit Hirday Nath Kunzru:** Will Government kindly state whether separate Capital and Revenue Accounts are not maintained for the branch lines built on the guarantee of Local Governments or local authorities in terms of Appendix E to the Railway Administration Report for 1925-26?

Mr. A. A. L. Parsons: Separate Capital and Revenue Accounts will be maintained for branch lines built on the guarantee of Local Governments in terms of Government of India Resolution No. 2131-F., dated 19th February 1925.

COMMITTEES APPOINTED IN 1922-24, COPIES OF THE REPORTS OF WHICH WERE SUPPLIED TO GOVERNMENT BUT NOT PLACED IN THE LIBRARY OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

1278. ***Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru**: With reference to pages 255—257 of the Council of State Debates, Volume VII, will Government kindly lay on the table a statement showing the Reports of Committees submitted to Government but not placed in the Library of the Legislative Assembly?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I have much pleasure in laying on the table the statement which the Honourable Member desires.

Statement showing the Committees appointed in 1922-24 copies of the reports of which were submitted to Government but not placed in the Library of the Legislative Assembly.

1. Committee on Public Petitions.
2. Staff Selection Board Committee.
3. Seamen's Recruitment Committee.
4. The Indianization Committee.
5. The Waziristan Committee.
6. Braithwaite Committee.
7. Machinery Committee.
8. Railway Depreciation Fund Committee.
9. Committee on Police Uniforms.
10. Select Committee on the Abolition of Transportation Bill.
11. Carriage and Wagon Standards Committee.
12. Locomotive Standards Committee.
13. Standing Emigration Committee.
14. Committee of Enquiry into the working of the London Timber Agency of the Government of India.

SHORT NOTICE QUESTION AND ANSWER.

Sir Walter Willson: Sir, may I have your permission to ask a question which is down for to-morrow? The Honourable Member may be willing to answer the question as a private notice question to-day, as we may not meet to-morrow.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I have no objection, Sir, if you are willing to permit me to answer that question.

(Mr. President signified assent.)

DRAFT RULES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF A SYSTEM OF RUPEE TENDER:

Sir Walter Willson: With reference to the statement of the Honourable Sir Charles Innes during the course of the debate on the voting of Demand for Grants on the 24th February, 1927 (motion of a cut of

Re. 1 to discuss the Indian stores policy) that the Government of India have decided as far as possible to introduce a system of rupee tender, will Government be pleased to state when the draft rules will be published?

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: The Government of India are not at present in a position to make a more definite pronouncement on the subject than that contained in the answer given by me in this House to a question by Mr. Jinnah on the 2nd March 1927.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: Sir, have I your permission to ask a question of which I gave short notice yesterday?

Mr. President: The Honourable Member's short notice question is not yet admitted.

MESSAGE FROM THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

Secretary of the Assembly: Sir, the following message has been received from the Secretary of the Council of State:

"I am directed to inform you that the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, which was passed by the Legislative Assembly at its meeting held on the 24th March, 1927, was passed by the Council of State at its meeting on the 26th March, 1927, with the following amendment:

In clause 2 for the words 'ten annas' the words 'one rupee and four annas' were substituted."

(Cries of "Shame, shame.")

"The Council of State requests the concurrence of the Legislative Assembly in the amendment."

Sir, I lay on the table the Bill as amended by the Council of State.

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I beg to move:

"That the amendment made by the Council of State in the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, be taken into consideration."

Sir, I do not think that it is necessary for me to-day to argue the question before us at any great length. I think it is a question which is well understood now on all sides of the House. The question is a simple one. Are we to tax the provinces through the provincial tax-payer in order to balance the Budget of the current year, or are we to tax the central tax-payer through the salt tax? The position at the time when I introduced the Budget was that we had a surplus of Rs. 364 lakhs and by having recourse to the realised surplus of the expiring year we were able to make a proposal for the complete remission, so far as the year 1927-28 was concerned, of the provincial contributions. The House by a small majority voted in

favour of a reduction of the salt duty from Rs. 1-4 to ten annas a maund. In a full year that reduction costs the Government about Rs. 812 lakhs. There has been some difficulty in ascertaining what its exact effect would be in the first year, owing to the fact that certain salt is issued on credit and will be paid for in the course of the ensuing year at the higher rate of duty. I found unexpected difficulty in ascertaining that figure, but I am inclined to think that it does not exceed Rs. 80 lakhs. That would mean that we should have a surplus of 864 plus 9, i.e., 378 minus 812, that is, 61 plus 80—i.e., Rs. 141 lakhs. It is quite impossible clearly with that surplus, of which Rs. 80 lakhs is non-recurring, to get rid of the provincial contributions altogether or indeed of any large portion of them; and the proposal therefore specially to apply the realised surplus of the current year falls to the ground. I think that those who are interested in seeing the Provincial Governments' finances placed in a better position will see that for the year before us there are very strong arguments in favour of maintaining the salt tax at its existing figure and getting rid of the provincial contributions. Even from the point of view of the Central Government, I would put it to the House that there are enormous advantages in making a clean sweep of these provincial contributions and saving the House from being confronted in any future year, unless we are very unlucky next year, with this dilemma of the reduction of central taxation or the reduction of provincial contributions. Once we have got rid of the provincial contributions, the House will no longer have this sword of Damocles, as it has been called, hanging over its head, and a wicked Finance Member will no longer be able to come forward and place before this House this dilemma of which so much has been made, which I assure the House is a dilemma which gives him all the year round a great deal of trouble, some of which alone is reflected in the annual Budget when it comes before this House. I think I could go further. We have as a Government—and it has been re-affirmed again and again by the House—stated that our financial policy should be directed towards the reduction and eventual extinction of the provincial contributions with the least possible delay. I think that we should be placing ourselves in a position of dubious good faith to the provinces if we were to reduce the salt tax at the expense of the provincial contributions this year. We have promised the provinces to do our best to get rid of these provincial contributions and to frame our financial policy accordingly. That we should, when we have the opportunity this year of getting rid of these provincial contributions, indulge ourselves in the luxury of reducing central taxation at the expense of the provinces would I think lay us open to a charge of breach of good faith from the provinces. The matter is before the House and the choice before them is perfectly clear. Either the salt tax is restored as proposed by the Council of State to Rs. 1-4 and the provincial contributions are extinguished for the year that is before us; or the salt tax is reduced to ten annas and only a small reduction is possible in the provincial contributions. I do not think that it is necessary for me to take the matter further than that. The Government are not prepared to adopt rash expedients such as a reduction of the sinking fund or other cheap ways to fame and popularity at the expense of the Indian people in order to be able to get rid of the provincial contributions as well as a portion of the salt tax this year. The reduction of the salt tax would not merely damage our position this year; but as I have pointed out it would mean a recurrent reduction of revenue of over Rs. 8 crores in the years to come. In such circumstances it is obvious that the future before those provinces who are still paying provincial contributions would

• [Sir Basil Blackett.]

not be a happy one. It would certainly be necessary in some provinces to proceed to additional taxation for the year ahead of us; clearly Bombay could not be left to run its finances on a large deficit without any prospect of relief. Next year, 1928-29, the question of Bengal's contribution would come up and if such a reduction of the salt tax as was passed in this House a week ago were to be made, I think it is fairly certain that Bengal would have to be asked to pay her contribution a year hence. The other provinces also, except that which is represented by my friend, Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh, and others, are equally interested; and if I may judge by the contrast between his smiling face and the somewhat doubtful expression on the faces of others, I do not think the House will again be misled by Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur *cum* Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): The Madras Members are laughing at you.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: . . . into treating the provinces in this scurvy way. I do strongly urge this House to take one last step to put our finances in order, so that we may be for the future free of any liability to the provinces for assistance from the provincial contributions in normal times. It is a state of affairs which has hampered the provinces, and has hampered the Central Government in every way, and this Assembly in the first Session of its life will, I think, have laid a very strong foundation for future successful financial action if it endorses the Government's recommendation to accept the amendment in the Bill proposed by the Council of State. Sir, I move.

Pandit Motilal Nehru (Cities of the United Provinces: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Sir, I beg to oppose the motion which has just been made with such a pathetic appeal by my Honourable friend the Finance Member. In doing so, Sir, I am conscious that I stand but a poor chance of success, but we on this side cannot allow this occasion to pass without putting on record once again the utter hollowness of the constitution which makes it possible for such an occasion as the present to arise.

Sir, what has happened is this. This House which is supposed to be, and to a certain extent is, the House of popular representatives succeeded in carrying an amendment to the Finance Bill reducing the duty on an indispensable article of food, indispensable alike to the rich and the poor. That Bill has now been considered by the Council of State, and that august House has in its wisdom restored the higher duty. (*An Honourable Member:* "Shame.") It has been brought back to us to-day, and we are invited by our friend the Finance Member to go back upon our previous decision and say ditto to the Council of State. In fact, we are asked submissively to register the decree that has been made by the Council of State. We maintain, Sir, that it was wrong to impose this tax at all at any time. We say that it was wicked to continue to levy it for a long succession of years. We say that it is criminal now to insist on the higher rate being realised from a famished people whose representatives in their helplessness felt themselves justified in acquiescing in the lower rate, although it was a case, and a strong case, for the total abolition of the tax. But, Sir, we are the crippled representatives of a paralysed people, and we have to move cautiously if we are anxious at least to mitigate the suffering that we cannot entirely remove. We knew that the Government was bent upon

its pound of flesh. We knew, Sir, that the argument that "the bond doth give no jot of blood" would not avail for the simple reason that there are other instruments in the hands of the Government which can draw blood as well as flesh. We therefore contented ourselves with pleading that half a pound of flesh may be accepted in full payment. That, Sir, was a counsel of despair. We abstained from voting down the whole tax, and we rejoiced when we succeeded in reducing it by half; but our rejoicing has been short lived. To-day under the glorious constitution which has been conferred upon us as a free gift by the British Government, it has been made possible for the same Bill and the same provision to come back to us to be reconsidered by us and to be modified according to the wishes of the Council of State if we would be good boys.

Now, Sir, this constitution has given us two Houses, one in which the representatives of the people are in a majority and their proportion is carefully defined by the Statute itself. The other is a House for which the law gives Government the liberty to pack it as it pleases, of course by rules made under the Act.

Mr. L. Graham (Secretary, Legislative Department): Will the Honourable Member give us the figures of the constitution of the Council?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: I will, at once. Sir, I am reminded by my friend of what I was about to do, and over which I spent a very pleasant few minutes in the morning. I set to myself a little exercise in arithmetic, and I think the House will be interested in following my calculation. Sir, the present constitution of the great House of Elders is, barring the President, 59 members in all, of whom 26 are nominated and 33 are elected, I hope I am right. Now, that ostensibly gives a majority to the elected Members, but that only to the unsuspecting. It requires a little more examination and scrutiny to arrive at the real truth. Now, Sir, of the 33 elected Members, we have three Europeans from special European constituencies, and of the remainder we have nine bedecked and bejewelled gentlemen from G. C. I. E. to Khan Bahadur and Rai Bahadur. That leaves us a balance of 21 plain ordinary men as against 38 nominated officials, non-officials, Europeans and titled gentlemen. Now, Sir, far be it from me to say that all these titled gentlemen are at the beck and call of Government. There are honourable exceptions of course. But at the same time among these 21 plain ordinary men, as I have described them, there may be some who, though they do not possess honours now, might be aspirants for those honours. I therefore cancel the one against the other, and therefore the proportion remains as 38 to 21.

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan (North Punjab: Muhammadan): What about the division list?

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta (Bombay City: Non-Muhammadan Urban): That is much worse.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: This is how that House is packed. It is in the power of that House to undo whatever we might do in this House, and, as in the present case, to require us to eat humble pie and say ditto to what it has decided. That is the beauty, Sir, of the constitution. I ask if in plain language it means anything but compulsion. Are we not now being compelled to undo what we did on the previous occasion? Compulsion when it is used for raising money is by common people called extortion. I, therefore, maintain, Sir, that this is a form of legalised extortion to which the people of this country are being subjected in spite of their representations.

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

It is quite clear from what I have stated on this particular point that the constitution only seeks to make us instruments of oppression and extortion in the hands of the Government. It pretends to give us new opportunities for service. May I express in my own words, Sir, what that means? It means new opportunities of showing to the Government that we can be willing to carry out its will and not the will of our constituents. Then it promises a further advance in the Reforms if and when it is shown that confidence can be reposed in our sense of responsibility. Those again, Sir, are very fine words, but if I may be permitted to translate them into my own simple language, I would put it in this way,—that the sense of responsibility there means a sense of abject servility to the Government. That is what we are being taught, that is what is being cultivated in this House by the procedure which is prescribed in our constitution. Now, Sir, we have recently had a pronouncement from the Secretary of State of which only a telegraphic summary is at present available. But this is what His Lordship says about these reforms, as to whether they have succeeded or not. He says:

“At the end of two years of assiduous study it was yet too early to pronounce definitely either upon the success or failure of the present constitution.”

We know that His Lordship is not a slave of dates, and therefore he takes his own time to assure himself as to whether these reforms have been or are likely to be a success or a failure. But I put it to Honourable Members in this House if any of them, with all the evidence that has been recorded, with their daily experience and particularly with the experience they have had since the commencement of this Session, can have any doubt as to whether these reforms are a success or a failure. But of one thing His Lordship is quite certain and that is that they are not real, because we find in the same pronouncement another passage which runs thus:

“Given an India in which those who count manifest good-will and give a promise of fruitful co-operation, there is much that might gladly be offered and loyally accepted which would afford a precious promise for a constitution which might last for long and might bring India really and perhaps permanently on equal terms as an honoured member into that free community of the British Dominions which men know as the Empire.”

So that, after all has been done, after all the fruitful co-operation that His Lordship demands has been given, what is it that we are promised. Simply this: We may perhaps get something which is real, something which is more permanent. So that, on his own showing we have nothing approaching reality at present. Then, Sir, this should come as an eye-opener to these Honourable Members who are looking forward to the early appointment of the Statutory Commission, as to what they may expect from that Commission. But, while I am on this subject, I would beg the indulgence of this House to permit me to read another passage which is also characteristic. It is this. Lord Birkenhead told:

“how he had frequently asked Indian deputations what would happen if the British left India to-morrow and he had not discovered one visitor, however critical, however acrimonious he might be to our methods, who had ever told him that he contemplated with indifference the withdrawal from India of the Viceroy, the English lawyers, English soldiers and English Civil Service.”

Now, Sir, if there can be a case of adding insult to injury, there can be no worse case than this. We have been emasculated as a nation.

affairs have been managed by others, in spite of our will, for over a century and a half. We have been tied hand and feet together and subjected to a kind of spoon-feeding at the hands of those who mount guard upon us, and now our guards say: What will happen if we leave you tied down as you are?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, on a point of order. I do not wish to interrupt the Honourable Member, but is not this getting rather far away from the question of the restoration of the salt duty to Rs. 1-4-0?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Sir, I was pointing out the cruel irony of the situation. Here we are, not responsible for our present plight, being asked by those who have reduced us to what we are: What will you do if we go away? What we are asking for is that the chains that tie us be broken and our hands and feet be left free and then you can please yourselves and go whenever you like. Now, Sir, as to the fruitful co-operation which the Secretary of State expects, we have only to see what has happened in the course of this Session. Not that things have not happened in the last Assembly. But it is no use repeating the old story. I shall confine myself to a few incidents of this Session. We began by asking for permission to one of the duly elected Members to attend this House. He was prevented from appearing, taking his oath of allegiance and showing that he was as honest a citizen as any of us here. Why? Because he was detained under suspicion. Then

Mr. K. Ahmed (Rajshahi Division: Muhammadan Rural): Last year you all walked out. What happened to the salt duty then?

Pandit Motilal Nehru: Then we were gagged when we complained that Indian soldiers had been sent to China without any reference to this House. We were allowed no say in that at all. I simply mention it to show how by executive action this gag was put upon us. Then we passed a Resolution about the detenus. We carried it, and after many promises and many negotiations between the Government of India and the Government of Bengal, what was the result? Finally, after holding out many hopes, it was declared that there would be no release at all, but only a change in the nature of imprisonment. Instead of internment in a jail, it was to be internment in a village or internment in one's home or elsewhere, but absolutely no inclination to allow these men an opportunity to clear themselves if there was anything against them. Then, Sir, there was our vote of censure on the Railway Board and on the Executive Council. They have been treated in a contemptuous way. Next we beheld the manner in which the Currency Bill was piloted in this House. It was no doubt a stiff fight which we put up, but there were forces at work which I need not detail and we lost. The crowning act of all is this return of the Finance Bill to us in order to compel us to go back upon our own decision. Now, Sir, my friend the Finance Member was pleased to interrupt me and ask what it had to do with the reduction of the duty on salt. What I have to do with is not merely the fact but the root cause of it. I say it is not the question to-day before us as to what would be the proper duty on salt or whether there should be any duty at all. I ask Honourable Members to bear clearly in mind what the real question that we have got to determine to-day is, and I specially appeal to those Honourable Members who may be against the reduction—the one issue before the House to-day is this. Are we to submit to the treatment which is being accorded to this House? It is to the interest of those who voted for the reduction as well as those

[Pandit Motilal Nehru.]

who did not vote for the reduction to uphold the honour of this House and the independence of this House. I say that that is the issue. Those who were in the minority, those who may be in the majority to-day, it is not for either of them to consider what is the real and the true duty which ought to be imposed upon salt but that the House of which they are Members having once decided—it may be against the opinion of certain Members—that a certain duty is to be levied and no more, ought they not to combine to honour that decision of the House and refuse to be dictated to by the other House? Sir, it will be said that that is the constitution. I have described the nature of this constitution. I do not say that technically it is not law. But what I have said and what I repeat again, Sir, is that there is such a thing as legalised extortion and legalised illegality. This, we must remember, is a money Bill and it is up to us, whatever the constitution may be, to establish a convention that the other House, whatever its composition may be, whatever its weight may be in other matters, shall have no voice in a money Bill. That is our opportunity. That is the opportunity we ought to seize.

Now, Sir, I am not aware what the grounds of Honourable Members of the other House were for restoring the duty. I was not there. But I have been informed that one brilliant argument was that an Honourable Member who was a *shikari* knew that the wild beast of the forest did not require any salt. They cannot get it and yet they lived. Why was it that we were asking for salt for our cattle? I think I ought to inform the Honourable Member—perhaps he does not know—that there are no veterinary hospitals in the jungles and the forests, that the beasts of the forests know where they can have the salt they want and they get it, as their movements are not restricted. But I should like to have asked the Honourable Member if he had gone into statistics of the Stone Age or some other pre-historic age, when the primitive man used to live and eat his meals, as to what those meals consisted of and what was the proportion of salt in them. He may well have argued from that that you do not want any salt because in those days salt mines were not discovered and other processes of making salt were not known. Arguments like this, Sir, show on what considerations this tax has been restored to its full amount, namely, its higher rate. I submit that this House will not take into any serious consideration the fiat of the other House, that those who voted for the reduction on the last occasion will adhere to their opinion and those who did not vote will, if for nothing else, at least to maintain the dignity and honour of this House, not accede to the motion that has been made by the Honourable the Finance Member. I do not propose, Sir, to go into any arguments on the merits because they have been sufficiently dealt with in the debate which took place when we carried the amendment. My friend the Honourable the Finance Member has only repeated what he said on the last occasion with the exception that he gave us somewhat nearer figures to-day than he gave on the last occasion. I take the whole of his argument to come to this. You have got these two ropes. Choose one to hang yourself with.—either it is the salt duty or it is the provincial contributions. That argument has been exposed over and over again on the floor of this House. We do maintain that it is possible to do away with the provincial contributions as well as with the salt duty. But I am not going to take the time of the House any longer and I would appeal once again to Honourable Members not to be misled in considering this question and not to weigh

what is the proper duty in golden scales and arrive at the exact duty to be levied. The point before the House is a very clear one. It is a constitutional point. It is a point which they must make a convention of, but if they continue to submit, well, there can be no hope for them in the future. I may remind the House that this is not the first occasion upon which this question has arisen. In the year 1925 we carried an amendment reducing the salt duty to one rupee by a far larger majority than the one by which we passed this amendment. It met with the same fate at the hands of the Council of State. The Council of State enhanced the duty, or rather restored the higher duty. It came back before us and some gentlemen for reasons best known to themselves voted differently to what they had voted on the first occasion. I hope that Honourable Members will not allow such an exhibition to take place again and I also trust that those who have not voted or who were absent will join with those who did vote in favour of the reduction, to maintain and uphold the honour and dignity of this House. Sir, I oppose the motion.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail (Madras: European): Sir, I did not have an opportunity of speaking on this question when it came before the House originally and I should like to make one or two remarks this morning in support of the Honourable Sir Basil Blackett's proposal. I am not enamoured of the salt tax, I do not like any tax. (*An Honourable Member*: "Then vote with us.") But there is such a thing in the world as necessity and one fact which I have learnt is that you cannot eat your cake and have it too. You cannot afford to indulge in a luxury and yet at the same time have the money to pay for another luxury, and, as the Honourable Pandit has truly said, you have the option of two ropes (*An Honourable Member*: "To hang oneself with.") to hang oneself with, and which do you prefer? I prefer the rope which gives the provinces the remission of their contributions. (*An Honourable Member*: "Is salt a luxury?") I shall come to that presently. The provincial contributions are, we have been told, if not a rope, a millstone round our necks. I remember in the year 1920 attending a meeting of the Legislative Council of Madras which was attended by nearly all the Members and which I think unanimously protested against the Meston award. We in Madras are accused nowadays of having obtained too much but what we found then was that we had been very unfairly treated and that we had got far too little. I think my Honourable friend, Mr. Srinivasa Iyengar, was present on that occasion and voted against the contributions. If I am wrong he will correct me . . .

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar (Madras City: Non-Muhammadian Urban): When was that? I do not remember that. I was not a Member. I was not in the Council at all except in 1921 and I do not think this matter came up.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail: This was in the unreformed Council days. A meeting was held in the Banqueting Hall and perhaps my Honourable friend may remember it now.

Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyengar: If it was in the unreformed Council I was in another Ashram.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail: I do not think that any other Members in this House were Members of the Legislative Council at that time and I know that the Honourable Members who represent Madras in this House, or a large number of them, do not seem to have taken that interest

[Dr. E. M. Macphail.]

in the remission of contributions during past years which some of us in Madras thought they ought to have taken. It is possible, as was suggested in Madras, that there were reasons for that,—that in their disapproval of the non-Brahmin Ministry they thought that it was not desirable that they should receive larger sums to expend, whether that was true or not. (*An Honourable Member*: "We deny it.") It may not have been true, but it was reported in Madras at all events that the support which was given to the remission of contributions was very half-hearted indeed. When I came to this House for the first time I came up with a certain amount of suspicion of the Honourable the Finance Member. I thought he was a dragon who prevented us from receiving back our contributions, from getting back our golden fleece, and I was glad when I learnt that he had the interests of the provinces at heart as well as the interests of the Central Government. The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett needs no certificate from me, but I should like to take this opportunity of saying that from my own experience of him on the Public Accounts Committee, I was tremendously impressed not merely by his grasp of principles and mastery of details, but also by the way in which he honestly was anxious to serve India in the very best possible way that occurred to him. With regard to these provincial contributions there is not the least doubt that the Ministries in the provinces have been very much handicapped from the want of funds and we in Madras have specially been so.

Mr. M. K. Acharya (South Arcot *cum* Chingleput: Non-Muhammadan Rural): How much will they get now?

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail: They will get about Rs. 1½ crores

Mr. M. K. Acharya: Not the Ministries.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore *cum* Trichinopoly: Non-Muhammadan Rural): And pay it over to the reserved services.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail: I am not going to allow myself to be interrupted any more. They get a crore and a half and I hope that all the Members of this House will recognise the magnanimity of the Madras Members. I do not know, I have not worked it out in detail, but as far as I see, I think that the amount that Madras will have to pay as salt tax if this remission is made, is only about Rs. 50 lakhs, assuming that Madras eats as much salt as my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy Aiyengar said. By the way I should like to tell my Honourable friend Mr. Duraiswamy that India is not surrounded on all sides by sea as he said the other day in the course of his speech. There is one side which is still occupied by land.

Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyengar (Madras ceded districts and Chittoor: Non-Muhammadan Rural): When I was in school I was taught that a peninsula is an island.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail: We in Madras have been anxiously looking forward to putting an end to these contributions and it cheered me very much when I found in the Budget that there was provision made this year for the complete abolition of these contributions. As I have said, I am not enamoured of the salt tax and I hope a time will come when it may eventually be dispensed with. But Honourable Members make a

great deal too much of the salt-tax. First of all, the burden of it is, after all, extremely small, although I know that for a poor man even a single anna is something. But my experience is that the poor man very often spends his anna in other ways. (*An Honourable Member*: "Why should not he?"). I do not blame him, I do not grudge his spending money, on luxuries. That I leave to the advocates of the 1s. 4d. ratio. I hope that in the future, the salt tax will be done away with because, after all, it is a relic of the old days—it is a relic of the administration which the British took over from the people who were ruling the country when they came there. I should like to suggest to my friend, Mr. Acharya, who is a great reactionary, that he ought to support it in consequence of that fact. But apart from that, it has been said that no civilised country has a salt tax. It is only a century since it was given up in Great Britain, and it is still the monopoly of the Italian Government. There is a salt tax in France, there is a salt tax in Germany, in fact almost the only countries in the world in which a salt tax is not levied are Great Britain and the United States. I say I have no love for it and I hope it will ultimately disappear, but until we have got some other method of raising revenue which can take its place it must go on and in any case it is extremely bad policy to reduce it to a very low figure so long as we have the expenses connected with the upkeep of the Salt Department. It will not be possible to my mind to do away with the salt tax until there comes really scientific revision of the whole system of taxation in India, and then perhaps we may have something done also about the permanent settlement in Bengal. It is quite easy for Honourable Members who come from Bengal to vote to-day for the reduction of the salt tax. They have been enjoying the remission of their contribution for the last two or three years. Their withers are unwrung; we in Madras have been feeling it most. We are the people who have been claiming that the first duty of the Government is to settle this matter. Once this matter is settled it will be possible to deal with the whole taxation system in an adequate and scientific manner. I have sometimes thought that Members on that side of the House remind me of a story which I remember being told by a well known Scottish comedian who gave an account of a conversation between two men. One man said "I am in favour of a Labour Government." The other man asked "Why?" He replied "If you have a Labour Government you will have long holidays and very little work and very good pay." The other man said to him, "But you know that is impossible". His friend replied "Yes, I know it is impossible but I am in favour of it". (Laughter). I support Sir Basil Blackett's proposal.

***Mr. M. S. Aney** (Berar Representative): Sir, my object in rising on this occasion is to insist that this House in considering the motion before it at present should be guided mainly by considerations of the prestige of this House in regard to money Bills. I believe that Honourable Members need not be told that it has been an established convention as well as constitutional practice in England that money Bills are not interfered with by the other House. Under our constitution we have not been given that right. It is up to us to see that an interference with the decision of this House in regard to money Bills by the other House is at least resented by the House in such a way that it will make that sort of thing impossible hereafter. It is in that spirit that we must deal with the motion before the House. The indignation which the House of Commons used to feel in former times when money Bills were interfered with by the House of

[Mr. M. S. Aney.]

Lords is graphically described in Mr. Anson's Law and Customs of the Constitution. I shall read a passage so that Honourable Members may know the proper way to deal with a motion of this kind :

"These are civil ways of rejecting a bill : but there are precedents for a bill being rejected, and torn in the House : and in 1772 a bill was rejected, thrown over the table by the Speaker and kicked out of the House by the members." The offence of this particular bill was that it had been returned from the Lords with an amendment to a money clause."

I do not want this House to imitate this uncivil way but let us establish a civil way by turning this amendment down in the manner suggested by the Honourable the Leader of the Congress Party. I believe all the Members of this House who are under instructions should vote this down.

***Mr. O. Duraiswamy Aiyangar:** If I rise to say what I feel, it is not in the hope that we will be able to contend against this torrent but only with this view that we want the poor man's food and the self-respect of India under this magnificent Taj of Delhi unwept, unhonoured and unsung. Therefore it is that I rise to say a few words on this question as this clause has been turned down against this House by the other House. If we want to reckon the friends of the poor in India in the other House we may reckon them on one's fingers and there will be one finger more because they are only 9 in number, while we have got 10 fingers. Sir, this has been miserably turned down by the other House. It is not that the Honourable Members of that House do not value even the smallest amount. It is only a week prior to this that the other House passed a Resolution that travelling allowance of the Members in that House must be increased to such an extent that even during days of travelling they must get Rs. 20 a day and they bargained eventually for Rs. 10 a day. The Honourable Members of that House are made up of zamindars, jagirdars, miraasdars, title holders, Maharajas and Nawabs. These people fought for Rs. 10 a day for the period of travel and yet they did not recognise the value of money in the hands of the poorest man who has to pay 3 annas per head for the sake of one item, namely, salt. They are honourable men. I do not want to say anything about them. If the Honourable Members of this House cried "Shame" when the message from that House was read in the solemn manner characteristic of Mr. Gupta, I resented it, not on the ground put by the Chair. It is to our own shame that we should cry "Shame". This House should not receive with tolerance a message like that and must maintain its self-respect. If we cannot do that, we must cry "Shame" on ourselves. Unfortunately in this country the destiny and the self-respect of the poor people is in the hands of those who will fiddle when the country is burning. That is the kind of people in whose hands our destiny is put. We have got Honourable Members on the official Benches who eat the salt of India and vote against the reduction of the salt duty. We have got others who have not come into contact with poor people and yet stand up here and say, "That is no difficulty for the poor man". We have got Anglo-Indian Journalists and their army of correspondents and reporters who will call this only an election cry. These are the ways in which any plea that is raised by this House is knocked out and yet we stand here to plead the cause of the poor man, whatever may be the opposition, the ridicule and

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

the scoffing. It is our duty to do it and our chief mourner, the revered leader, has led the procession and we are bound to follow and we will not leave him alone. What is it that we have done, if we could only take a total reckoning of our work in this Session? Have we done anything for the poor man? We abolished the export duty on tea. Why? Because it is an article of food in Great Britain, and, says the Statement of Objects and Reasons, it is bad in principle to levy an export duty on tea. And why? As I again say, it is a principal article of food for the Britisher. We have reduced the duty on motor cars. Why? Because the rich men of this country have to buy motor cars imported from Great Britain and they can do so more cheaply now. We have reduced the stamp duty on cheques and bills of exchange. Why? Because they are used for transactions carried on by the mercantile firms who are influential in this country. And on the other hand, Sir, what have we done for the poor man? We have refused to reduce third class railway fares. We have refused to introduce the pice postcard, and we have refused over and over again to reduce the duty on salt and thus make more salt available to them. Have we done our duty in this House, have we done our best for the poor man whom we represent here? Sir, a day will come when the reforms will be so changed that no man who is paying more than Rs. 50 a year in taxes will be entitled to sit in this House; only those will be Members who are paying less. This House will then be the poor man's House and then will come the time when the views of the poor man will be as warmly considered as they deserve to be. Till then, Sir, the poor have no voice in this House. It is an idle fraud that we are playing on them by saying that we are legislating here for democracy. The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett is not tired of trying to serve out that democracy stuff over and over again. Year after year he pleads, either we must have this or do without that. We must have the salt tax or do without remission of provincial contributions. For my part, Sir, I am not afraid, even if we cannot have both by any means. And I will show you what the net result really is. The remission of provincial contributions to Madras will amount to 1.47 crores. And what is it that you derive from Madras by way of salt duty? The amount of salt on which duty is assessed is 1,57,000 maunds, and at Rs. 1-4-0 the amount of duty is Rs. 1,67.97.227. Even if out of this you remit the Madras contribution of Rs. 1,65,00,000, there is still with you, Sir, Rs. 2,97,227. Then what does the benefit amount to? If you collect this tax in this manner and kindly remit it and still retain a portion of it, where is the benefit to Madras? Sir, if Sir Basil Blackett were to give that remission out of something that he collected for himself it would be something. I will not go into that aspect of the question, but I do maintain that the finance of the Central Government must be based not on the calculations of the salt duty but on other taxes which it collects entirely as its own, and then it should give back to Madras what it has promised and what it is bound to give back as early as possible. That, Sir, is my contention. You must reduce your military expenditure. Then you can raise money in other ways. But go back to the standard which the Inchcape Committee has fixed and you will be able to spare 4 crores and odd. There are many other sources also, but I will not go into those details on this question. There are many other methods by which this Government is bound to save money and relieve the provinces. But to say simply that you will give them a portion of what they themselves raise by way of salt duty is neither kind, nor fair nor just to the provinces. Sir, the

[Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar.]

Revd. Dr. Macphail rose once again—I am told that it will probably be his last speech in this Assembly because Sir Walter Willson said that he will not be a Member in September. For that I am no doubt sorry. (Laughter.) (*An Honourable Member*: ‘You don’t sound like it.’) Sir, the Revd. Dr. Macphail said that we, the Madras Members of this Assembly, have not been paying attention to this question of provincial contributions because we do not like the non-Brahmin Ministry.

The Revd. Dr. E. M. Macphail: May I rise to a point of personal explanation. What I said was that that was currently reported in Madras.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar: Sir, every statement of the learned Professor has always to be corrected. Sir, if it is reported in Madras, the question is, is it a correct report? Is it worthy of being repeated here? How many Madras Members in this Assembly are Madras Brahmins? Is Murtaza Sahib a Brahmin? Is Dr. Jilani a Brahmin? Is Mr. R. K. Chetty a Brahmin? Was Mr. Reddy a Brahmin? I am referring to Members of the last Assembly. Are these Members now all Brahmins? Or have they become Brahmins after coming to Delhi? What is the point then of saying that the Madras Members of this Assembly are not in favour of this reduction of provincial contributions because there is a non-Brahmin Ministry there? Sir, I repudiate the suggestion. If the Revd. Dr. Macphail will go into the proceedings of the previous Assembly he will find that both the Brahmin and the non-Brahmin Members voted for the reduction of the salt duty as well as the provincial contributions. Sir, from physiology I learn that a man changes once in 7 years. But I never thought that the Revd. Dr. Macphail would entirely change his views. Where is his Sermon on the Mount now, where is the preaching of his Sabbath? Now I am led to believe that the Sabbath is the one day set apart in the week for doing good to the people, but that day being a holiday there is no scope for doing good. Sir, it has also been said by the Revd. Dr. Macphail that the salt duty is an inheritance from our ancient kings. I would request him to read history properly. In India there were many transit duties levied on goods going from one province to another, including salt. Lord Clive obtained a monopoly of salt production and made use of it by selling it and making money as a reserve fund for paying the Company’s servants. And, Sir, it is only later that we find this taken up as a regular source of public revenue. And it is not a fact that previously a salt duty was imposed for the purpose of deriving public revenue. Then again, Sir, he said that it was only a century ago that salt duty was abolished in Great Britain—just at the time in fact when they introduced it in India. If that was done in England for the sake of civilization and out of good principle, why did not their emissaries in India adopt the same principle for India? Now I would ask him to point out—and he need not roam over the whole world—from the history of any country, for instance, England, Scotland or Ireland, any duty equivalent to this salt duty which stands on the principle of taxing a man’s food. (*Several Honourable Members*: “Tea, sugar and beer.”) Is sugar as much a necessity as salt? Does any man believe that the very poor can command sugar, sweetmeats and ice cream? I am surprised that sugar and ice cream should be put forward as necessary articles of food. (*An Honourable Member*: “Who put cream forward?”) Sir, I ask you, I ask the Honourable Members on the other side, to take both the aspects of the poverty of the people and the humiliation which accompanies a taxation which affects

the actual breakfast of the poorest man in the country, into consideration. Taking both these things into consideration, I ask the Honourable the Finance Member to make up his mind to give up any idea of distiguring his Budget by a salt tax, to give up altogether this item and source of his revenue and, Sir, the capacity of Sir Basil Blackett is unbounded as it is proclaimed on all hands, and I too acknowledge it. Let him discover some method by which he can make up, make good, what would be lost by the reduction of the salt duty. For the sake of the honour of this House, for the sake of the honour of a House in which he has more often to appear than in a House where he only occasionally goes, let him also maintain the honour of this House along with us, because he is a part and parcel of this House and he is only a non-votable guest there (Laughter) for the purpose of explaining matters to them. I ask him to join hands with us and maintain the dignity of this House by seeing that ten annas is again restored and sending this Bill back with that declaration, with that establishment of the self-respect and the honour of this House.

Sir George Paddison (Madras: Nominated Official): Sir, the learned Pandit...(*An Honourable Member*: "Poor man's representative?") (*Honourable Members*: "Order, order.") I am not a frequent speaker, and I have no experience of being interrupted before I have even said a word. I think you might allow me to say a couple of words before you find you can laugh at my speech. The Honourable and learned Pandit who again on the opposite side opposed this Bill stated that these proceedings in this House were not real and that this House was acting under compulsion. I can assure him as one who knows the Presidency of Madras, who have been overpaying to the central revenues all these years, that to us it is terribly real, and that our anxiety on this occasion is very very serious. Either we are to go ahead—for Madras is peculiarly proud of the way in which she has tried to work out this constitution—either Madras must go again into bankruptcy, or she and her Ministers will be enabled to continue the policy they have been trying to put into effect for some years of building sufficient schools, of introducing compulsory education, new schemes of medicine and sanitation, new roads and better roads: all these will be knocked on the head unless we carry this restoration. It is a very serious thing to us, I can assure you! Moreover, as regards the House itself, I am afraid that some people here may think "Well, we have voted in one way, we must in fact stick to that"—I think it was stated that we should be humiliated if we voted the other way again. If now we realize, as some I believe honestly did not realize before that it is a real choice between these contributions being remitted and this reduction of the salt tax, then I hope that no one in this House will object to voting according as he really thinks, merely because he may have registered a different vote a week ago. It is not weakness but it is strength to acknowledge that you have made a mistake, and I ask everyone here who really wants the good of the reforms, the good of India, to vote that this money shall be given back to the provinces which is admitted by everyone to be due to them. This money is due to the provinces, and therefore if we as a House reduce the salt tax now, we shall be paying with money which is not our money. We ask that before you are generous, you should be just that you should give back the money that is really, honestly due to us in the provinces before you bargain to make these large reductions which can come later and I hope the whole question as has been promised, will be reconsidered later on. There is one other point, I was

[Sir George Paddison.]

jeered at at the start because I was supposed to speak on behalf of the labourer. I am not speaking on behalf of the labourer, but I will read to you what the representative of the Madras depressed classes said in the Legislative Council in Madras last time this came up. (*An Honourable Member*: "Who is he?") Mr. R. Srinivasan, who is now the leader of the depressed classes in Madras in the absence of my friend, Rao Bahadur M. C. Rajah. (*An Honourable Member*: "Was he a Government nominated Member?") All members for the depressed classes undoubtedly are and must be given nomination (Hear, hear) as otherwise it is impossible for them to have any chance at an election. (Applause.) (*An Honourable Member*: "Why impossible?") Because it is quite impossible that any should be elected in the present state of feeling in Madras. (*An Honourable Member*: "Give them special representation.") They have not got a sufficient number of voters amongst them. "I will now, with your permission, Sir, read this passage:

"With regard to the salt tax, I may say that one anna per head per annum is not so much felt by our people. We are willing to pay any tax provided it is guaranteed that a fair proportion of it will be given to our people who contribute it to ameliorate their condition in the ways of education, sanitation and acquiring of land."

(*Mr. Chaman Lall*: "Who wrote that speech for him?") If you suggest that I wrote it for him, I can tell you that that is absolutely untrue. I did not. Now that is what they want. These people in Madras—and I am sure Mr. Rajah, if he is here, will confirm it—their only chance of coming forward is to get education, scholarships, wells, schools, and roads, pathways and burial grounds and things of that sort which now they cannot get, and which they will not be able to get if you take this away from them. Sir, there are places in Madras where men have to go a mile and a half to get water; there are places where they have to pay for getting water, and if this remission of contributions is given, we shall be able to do something substantial this year to remove these things. I do beg the House that they will not take away this money from Madras and from Bombay and from other places, that they will really give the Ministers a chance, where they are trying to work hard. (*Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar*: "What did you do with the money given previously?") I was away last year, but I built wells and schools and during that short time we did the very best we could. Sir, I support the motion of Sir Basil Blackett.

Mr. M. K. Acharya: Sir, I was described a few minutes ago as a "reactionary". When, however, Sir, actionaries are going wrong, one will try and enjoy being a reactionary,—for what, after all, are the meanings of these words. I hope I have learnt enough from my own old school. (*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett*: "What is an "actionary"?") Sir, "actionary" and "reactionary" are after all relative words, and I am coining the word "actionary". An "actionary", I would suggest, is one who is trying to act for various purposes. Whatever it is, Sir, after all there are right actions and wrong actions, and therefore correspondingly wrong reactions and very right reactions also. I do not believe that there is any man under the sun who does not often make wrong actions, and is not forced to make a right reaction. But referring to my old college days, I was taught many things in my old college days, particularly the beautiful

things about Jesus, whom, by the way, I regard as an Indian. The culture of Jesus was Indian, and the religion of Christ was an echo of the beautiful Indian path of Bhakti. But that is by the way. I will come now to the point.

It has been said that we must choose between two ropes, but it is not a very great sin to say that possibly we may escape both ropes. That is the way of prudence. Much has been said about Madras, both by some non-officials and officials who claimed to speak on behalf of Madras and said that they were speaking on behalf of the people of Madras. We were very anxious to know how much of the provincial contributions will really go to next year's Madras Budget, into the hands of Ministers, for education, sanitation, etc. . . .

Sir George Paddison: Practically the whole lot was given last year.

Mr. M. K. Acharya: It is better for some people to know before they speak. They should not speak on things they do not know.

Sir George Paddison: I rise to a personal explanation, Sir. Does the Honourable Member think I said that I did not know? I said practically the whole lot.

Mr. M. K. Acharya: That is very much open to question. It is very much open to question whether all this that is going to be remitted will go to the Ministers. Again the charge was made that we were not keen on provincial contributions. For myself I wish that Madras should get as much benefit as possible, and indeed, if possible, more benefits than other provinces, but not at the cost of other provinces.

Again it was said that after all it comes to a few annas only for the poor man, even if the salt tax is reduced, and that the poor man will spend his money elsewhere. The poor man may spend his money elsewhere, therefore, shall we say: "Don't give him any annas?" We do not want him to spend any annas elsewhere, for that matter, but that should not prevent us from doing what we think is right. I was taught to regard that our duty was to do what we think is right: "And because right is right, to follow right" were wisdom in scorn of consequence." If it is right that these poor men should get their salt as cheaply as possible, then it is right that they should get that benefit. The fear that they may, in other respects misbehave should not in any way retard us from doing the right by them in this respect. Similarly, Sir, the official speaker from Madras said that without this provincial contribution being remitted Madras will be reduced to bankruptcy. That would be a very serious vicissitude indeed for Madras, but Madras has passed through many vicissitudes. Long before non-official Europeans came to Madras that province had suffered and survived many vicissitudes. We are not going to be over-terrified by threats of bankruptcy if this contribution is not at once remitted. There was also a quotation from a good man from Madras who was once nominated to the Madras Council. I do not believe that it is proper on an occasion like this to make any reflections on his nomination. If any member of the depressed classes does not get elected to the Council in Madras, the fault lies at the door of the constitution which the benign British people have given to us. I have not made the constitution, nor other wicked Brahmins of Madras, nor have we placed any obstacle in the way of anybody's election to the Madras Council. I do not think it "

[Mr. M. K. Acharya.]

right for anyone to take us to task that no member of the depressed classes has been elected to the Madras Council. All that takes us away from the real issue. The real issue is not the fancy picture of provincial paradise that has been painted for us, but the problem of the wrong that this House will be doing to itself if it went back on the vote given the other day. I was sorry, Sir, to hear the view expressed that some who voted for a reduction the other day did so without a full knowledge of what they were doing and without seeing and weighing the consequences. It is very uncharitable for any official gentlemen to say that those who voted against him had not full knowledge and were not probably doing the right thing. It may be said on the other hand with equal or greater truth that many of those who voted with the Government on that and on many other occasions had done so with far less knowledge of the realities and far less sense of their responsibilities than perhaps most of those who voted against the Government on the salt question. Sir, therefore I maintain that I am not behind anybody in wishing Madras should have as much progress in the matter of sanitation, education and other things as it can. I do maintain that every effort should be made to give to the people of Madras, and indeed to the people of every province, as much money as is possible to lead them to go onward steadily on the path of progress. But the whole question is simply this: whether the Finance Member can find enough money to remit the contributions and at the same time to reduce the salt tax. That question must be carefully scrutinised, having before us the whole Budget so to speak; and I maintain, Sir, that it should be possible to have the strictest economy practicable in every branch of the administration in order to realise a much larger surplus than is now budgeted for. I believe, Sir, in a budget the revenue is always put, to be on the safe side, at the minimum and the expenditure is always shown at a certain maximum rate, and therefore there is a small surplus. The surplus, to be on the safe side, is put lower than what it is sure to be when realised; and in this way we have budgeted for a surplus of 5 crores. It must be possible to realise more money from other departments, and when they are driven to the necessity of it, the Executive must make it possible to find out some three crores more of surplus and they will be able to do it. On the other hand, if we now give them the full amount of money on the salt-tax that they want, they will be easily led to be lavish and they will not practise that strict economy which would enable us to have a larger surplus. Therefore I strongly feel that, taking the whole Budget together, it must be possible to find a large enough surplus to remit at least one half of the salt-tax, which is really what is proposed. And on one more point I will just say a word before I sit down. It is very essential that we should in this transitional stage set up precedents and conventions of constitutional progress of the right kind, and I do strongly feel that it is not very proper on the part of the Council of State to come and interfere in financial matters relating to taxation in a way so as to upset the decision of this House. It is far more necessary for future generations of India that the power to impose taxes should be more and more vested in this House and not in any other House than to dig wells from which men may draw water. There-

fore, Sir, when this is the more important question the question of establishing a right precedent and right constitutional principles, the minor question of a few more lakhs in any one province will have to be ignored. Not that I do not want the lakhs by any means.

I P.M.

Not that I do not want provincial contributions remitted to Madras by any means. I am not the Finance Member; but if any one of us were the Finance Member we should certainly lay up enough money to remit the provincial contributions and at the same time to reduce the salt tax. As I say, you do not give us the chance to do it. We could do it, but we have not the opportunity of doing it; and I will therefore appeal to the Honourable the Finance Member to make it possible for him to leave his name in golden letters on the annals of this kind, by remitting the provincial contributions and also by reducing the salt tax. And this, Sir, is the thing which weighs with me—that the salt tax reduction goes to every man in the country, while the remission of provincial contributions, even the opening of schools and the laying of good roads and all those things, do not benefit every man. On that principle we ought to utilise the surplus for that purpose which will bring benefit to every man in the country, and not only to certain classes of people. On that principle the reduction of the salt tax appeals to me very much more forcibly than even the remission of provincial contributions, then enabling the Ministers to get a few more lakhs for the opening of a few schools or the digging of a few more wells. The largest good of the largest number was the maxim I was taught in the old days; and I hope Honourable Members will not forget the old maxim when they come to these legislative bodies. On that score I hope, both on the merits and on the question of principle, they will reaffirm the decision they gave the other day. Let it not be said that they were practically misled to do the wrong thing by the very plausible arguments adduced by the official Benches and unfortunately by certain non-officials who probably find it the best thing to support the official view. With these few words, Sir, I strongly oppose the motion brought forward by the Honourable the Finance Member and beg of every Member, every non-official Member, to see that out of this surplus this year something goes to every man who lives in this country so that he may say that this is the first thing the new Assembly has done, something from which he derives some little benefit. In the name therefore of the millions on whose behalf I speak—and I claim to have more authority to speak for them than my Honourable friend the Revd. Dr. Macphail—in the name of the millions I appeal to my fellow-members here to join in opposing the motion brought forward by the Honourable the Finance Member.

***Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz** (Punjab: Nominated Official): Sir, I do not know if it redounds to the credit of this House to belittle what has been done elsewhere; nor do I know if any Members of this House are really serious in the desire to throw mud at others; but I do believe that all of us here are anxious to appreciate at its full worth the view of the man in the village. The view of the man in the village, as I know it in the Punjab, is simply this, that we can afford to buy salt at the rate at which we are buying it now but if possible our *abiana*, which is technically known as the occupier's rate, might be a little less, because that was raised to meet the extortion known as the provincial contributions. You have heard from the representatives of all the other provinces about these provincial contributions, I have never said anything; but the whole surplus belongs to the Punjab and not to anybody else, and we should have had it. So all we beg of this House is that in the Punjab we have a very large scheme of progressive development, on the

**Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.*

[Mian Abdul Aziz.]

one hand, and another well thought out plan for development in other directions and the Honourable the Minister for Agriculture has already to a certain extent given out the details of that. The whole of that scheme will be absolutely ruined if the provincial contribution is not abolished altogether. That is one point.

The second point is this. I assure this House of this fact—I do not want to say that anybody in this House is not entitled to take a contrary view—that in sixteen winters spent continuously in the field in more than 4,000 villages, where all sorts of subjects were discussed, that not once did any villager, rich or poor, ever speak to me about the price of salt. People certainly objected to the price of cloth, to the high prices of grain and gram; they certainly objected to the increase in railway fares; but I assure you that not even once was the subject of salt mentioned as being high in price

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Because you are an official.

Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz: Sir, they have taken a leaf out of Mr. Jamnadas' book and even in villages we hear unpleasant things.

The only other argument advanced was that because the Council of State has interfered therefore we should certainly say "No". Most respectfully I beg to say that merely to spite the Council of State we should not cut off our own nose. That is a kind of playfulness to which I hope every Member here objects. With these words I support the motion.

Raja Gharanfar Ali Khan: Sir, fortunately, I am one of those people who were not present on the last occasion, and so am not committed to either Rs. 1-4-0 or 10 annas. I listened with great attention to the speech of the Honourable the Finance Member and with still greater attention to the speech of the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru, who rightly commands the highest respect of every Member of this House. I look at this question merely from this point of view: is it possible for the Honourable the Finance Member to remit the provincial contributions as well as to get the salt duty reduced to ten annas? (*Cries of "Certainly."*) and I think the strongest argument which the opposition could have used was to prove and establish definitely, by facts and figures, how it was possible for the Finance Member to remit provincial contributions even at the reduced rate of ten annas duty on salt. I am very sorry to find that so far not a single practical argument has fallen from the lips of any Member of the opposition to establish or prove that it is really possible for the Finance Member to do both. I heard some sentimental appeals made to the Finance Member, that his name will be written in golden letters if he could do that. But that alone is not quite sufficient unless this thing is proved by real facts and figures. Obviously it is very difficult to believe that it is possible for the Finance Member to have both these things done at the same time. If that is so, Sir, if the Honourable the Finance Member has got some hidden surplus in the Budget, I do not know whether he has got it or not, because I am not a financial expert—Mr. Jamnadas Mehta knows it better—but if he has got that, I would strongly appeal to him that after we pass Rs. 1-4-0, which I am sure we will do to-day, he should still find his way to reduce the salt duty to ten annas, because, after all, he knows that the general feeling of this House is that the salt duty should be reduced to ten annas.

It is really very unpleasant for any non-official Member to vote against the reduction of any sort of taxation; and if I propose now to vote against this reduction, it is because I feel that I shall be voting, by doing that, for the reduction of another taxation. As was remarked by my Honourable friend, Khan Bahadur Mian Abdul Aziz, with whom I generally do not agree, the water rate was increased in the Punjab and this hardship is very much felt by all the zamindars in the Province. I want the increase in the water rate to be immediately abolished, and I trust that the Punjab Government will find its way to reduce this tax when they get the remission, because last year when they got about 28 lakhs on account of remission of provincial contributions, they reduced the water rates by 9 lakhs and also the registration fees by 7 lakhs. I know only about the 16 lakhs which they spent last year, and I do not know how they spent the other 12 lakhs. This time, I submit my friends from the Punjab are going to vote for Rs. 1-4-0 on the definite understanding that all this money which will go to the Punjab Government will either be spent for a reduction in taxation in water rates, or other such taxes levied on the poor zamindars, or on some constructive programme. I know during the last budget discussion in the Punjab Council they had about 6 or 7 proposals before them. A cut was proposed by some of the Members there for want of compulsory primary education. I would certainly be very glad if this money could be spent on compulsory primary education which everybody would welcome in the province.

Now, with regard to the arguments advanced by the Honourable Pandit Motilal Nehru, he mentioned only two things; one was about the grievances. I entirely agree, Sir with all that he said, but I am doubtful whether this was the proper occasion to raise this question that we should throw out the Rs. 1-4-0 rate on account of certain grievances. The second thing which Panditji said was with regard to the Council of State. I am in entire agreement with him, that whatever comes from the Council of State should be looked upon with suspicion, and I certainly do not trust what the Council of State Members do on many occasions. During the last five years at least, I know, that it was only twice that I felt obliged to them—one was in 1925 when they restored the salt duty from 0-10-0 to Rs. 1-4-0, and again this year in 1927 they have done the same thing and given us an opportunity of seeing that the provincial contributions are remitted. (*An Honourable Member*: "They are true to their salt.") Anyhow, of all the arguments advanced on this side of the House, there is only one argument, which requires serious consideration, and it is this. On money matters it seems to me, Sir, that we should establish a convention that the interference of the Council of State will not be tolerated. I entirely agree with that suggestion, and if I could vote for this principle at a smaller sacrifice, I should certainly vote for it, but I think that the sacrifice which we are now required to make on this particular occasion is too much. Therefore, I would request all those Members, specially my friends from Punjab, who want to see the water rate reduced, who want to see an expansion in compulsory primary education, who want to give medical relief to the poor villagers, to vote for Rs. 1-4-0, and, as the Honourable the Finance Member stated, this would be the last occasion when we would be confronted with this dilemma. I have got a complaint against the Finance Member, that during the last three years a sort of undue advantage has always been taken of these provincial contributions. Whenever the question of the reduction of the salt duty came up, or whenever any question for the

[Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan.]

reduction of any other tax came up, the bogey of provincial contributions was trotted out, and this is the chief reason why I am going to vote for Rs. 1-4-0, because I think that by our voting for Rs. 1-4-0 on this occasion we shall for ever get rid of the argument of the Finance Member about the provincial contributions. Sir, I will conclude by quoting a small passage from the speech of the Honourable the Revenue Member of the Punjab Government made when discussing this water-rate increase and the use of surplus money :

"I expected the Members to say : 'You have only 50 lakhs or a crore of surplus, our needs are much greater. We want you to push agricultural advancement, we want you to push educational advancement, we want you further to strengthen the excise staff of the province so as to detect illicit distillation and to improve the morals of the people, we want you to bring medical relief to the door of the poor, we want you to take steps to save the lives of lakhs of poor infants who die because they are not properly looked after.'"

If this amount will be spent by the Punjab Government in this spirit and on such methods, I certainly vote for it.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions : Muhammadan Rural) : Sir, like my friend Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan, I am also one of those fortunate or unfortunate Members of the House who were absent when this question was taken up on the former occasion and therefore, in order to avoid being misunderstood, I was anxious to get an opportunity to say a few words on the question. Sir, I am very glad that the esteemed leader of the Swaraj Party this morning recognised the representative character of this House, which one of his ardent followers, my friend the Honourable Mr. Ranga Iyer, denied us the other day. But, Sir, I really regret very much that a highly-cultured gentleman like the Honourable the Leader of the Swaraj Party should impute motives and attack the sincerity of the other House who were not present here to defend themselves. Certainly, Sir, it is not right, and I do not agree with my friend Raja Ghanzanfar Ali Khan also when he says that every measure that comes from the Upper House should be looked upon by us with suspicion. Certainly, Sir, in the Upper House there are some gentlemen who may be called the fathers of the constitutional agitation in India.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyangar : May I know what is meant by the Upper House?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : Well, probably you know what I mean : I mean the Council of State.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Iyengar : That is the other House.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub : There are certain gentlemen, Sir, in that House who started the work for getting constitutional reforms for India before the time when many of the Honourable Members in this House were born. They were the gentlemen who started making the road towards Swaraj when it was all uneven and stony, and now it is not right for us when we have got a clear road to run to condemn those who have facilitated the way for us.

Mr. Chaman Lal : Name them.

Mr. C. Duraiswamy Aiyengar : How many?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: It may be one, or two or three or four, that is not the question. In any case, Sir, leaders were not so numerous in those days. And whatever may be the case, certainly it is not right that we should condemn a portion of our own community, a portion of our own people and say we look upon what they say with suspicion. How can we say we are capable of governing our own affairs, we are fit for Swaraj in the country? If we ourselves say that certain members of our own community work against their own conscience, this is certainly not right.

Now, Sir, coming to the question of the salt duty, I entirely agree that on principle salt is a commodity which should not be taxed. But at present the question is not whether it ought to be taxed or not. We are not taxing salt for the first time, Sir. There has been a duty on salt for many years. The only question is whether the duty which was put on salt some years ago should be retained or not. On this question, Sir, I may tell you very frankly that I find myself between two evils, the evil of the salt tax and the evil of the provincial contributions, and I have got to choose the lesser evil. Now, Sir, let us examine which of the two is the lesser evil. I do not say that I question those Honourable Members of the House who say that the Finance Member can find other means to reduce the provincial contributions, but, Sir, placed as we are in the present circumstances, we have not got the power to coerce the Finance Member to-day according to our wishes and therefore, unless we get more power and more control of the purse, we have got to put up with the circumstances in which we are placed. Now, the fact remains that the Honourable the Finance Member has clearly said to-day, and even on the first day when this question came up for debate, that he will not be able to reduce or abolish the provincial contributions if the salt duty is reduced to 10 annas. That fact remains as it is. We have therefore to choose between the old duty on salt and the reduction of financial contributions. Let us see which of them is more to the benefit of the people of this country. I cannot claim to know the conditions about the other provinces, but what are the conditions in my own province? In the villages we have not got sufficient wells to give even pure water, which is more necessary than even salt for the poor villager. During the rainy season malaria is intolerable in these villages and hundreds and thousands of poor people die because they cannot get even pure water to drink. Then, Sir, there is the horrible rate of infant mortality. We know that the rate of infant mortality in India is appalling and we have got no institutions for baby welfare in the country. We know, Sir, that there are no institutions to produce a sufficient number of midwives for the poor ladies of this country and hundreds and thousands of poor ladies in the villages die for want of having good midwives and sufficient aid. Now, leaving aside compulsory primary education, good roads and good bridges, the very fact that you cannot get pure drinking water, that you cannot improve the condition of your families, that you cannot do anything for the welfare of the infants and for the decrease of infant mortality is sufficient to establish that the reduction of provincial contributions is more necessary than the reduction of the salt duty.

Mr. C. S. Ranga Iyer (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions: N. N. Muhammadan Rural): Where is the guarantee that the provincial contributions that are remitted will go to the relief of the poor?

An Honourable Member: Will it be given to the Ministers?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: That is the point which I made plain in the House on the last occasion and I want to make it clear on this occasion. I urge upon the Honourable the Finance Member with all the strength that I can command that he would urge upon the Provincial Governments that the bulk of the reductions of the provincial contributions will go for the improvement of nation-building departments in the provinces and it is on this very clear understanding, Sir, that we want to substitute (*Mr. Chaman Lal*: "Where is the understanding?") the tax by the reduction of provincial contributions.

An Honourable Member: Does the Finance Member give any guarantee?

Pandit Nilakantha Das (Orissa Division: Non-Muhammadan): Ask the Honourable Member to earmark this money for the relief of the poor.

Mr. President: Does the Honourable Member wish to give way?

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: I will not give way to any Honourable gentleman who wants to interrupt me.

Mr. M. Keane (United Provinces: Nominated Official): If the Honourable Member will give way for a moment I can answer that point.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member is not prepared to give way to any Member.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: From the way in which the Ministers, at least in my province, have told me to try and get a reduction of provincial contributions and the anxiety they have shown in the matter of these contributions. I feel very satisfied that the Ministers of my province will try their best to spend the bulk of the money which will be saved by the remission of the contributions upon the nation-building departments.

Pandit Motilal Nehru: They have absolutely no power.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: They have power to spend the money which is allotted to their department in any way they like more than we in this House have got. In fact, the provincial Councils have got more power to do good to the people of the country than we have in the Legislative Assembly, because we have got no transferred subjects and nearly all the nation-building departments belong to the transferred subjects. We would be helping the transferred departments if we were to see that provincial contributions are abolished or reduced. We would be enabling the Ministers in the provinces to do what they like. In fact, the Ministers say, "You condemn us. You condemn diarchy, but you do not give us sufficient money to carry out our schemes." They say, "We want to introduce so many schemes for the welfare of the people, for the villagers and for the poor people, but we have not got the money to carry out those schemes, and unless the provincial contributions are abolished we do not know whether we shall be able to carry out those schemes." So it is necessary that we should at least give a trial to our Ministers, to our representatives in the provinces, to whom we are very anxious to give provincial autonomy. The first step towards the reforms we want is the grant of provincial autonomy, and unless we can prove that the Ministers in the Provinces

have succeeded, how can we claim provincial autonomy for the country? We cannot say that our Ministers have been a success unless we give them sufficient money to introduce and carry out schemes for the benefit of the people. So, the only question is: which will be more beneficial to the country, a reduction of the salt duty to ten annas a maund or the development of the nation-building departments? It is quite clear that the saving on account of a reduction in the salt duty will be so insignificant that it will not in any way improve the financial condition of the poor villagers of the country for whom we are pleading. On the other hand, if the provincial contributions are abolished and if the money is spent on nation-building departments, for instance, good wells, hospitals or what are called travelling dispensaries,—we have got centres for the upkeep of babies, and such other nation-building departments—I think that the poor villager would like that much more than a reduction of the salt duty. I think my Honourable friend—I will not call him a friend, he is my elder, he is my father's friend, and I look upon him as my elder—Pandit Motilal Nehru said that Government insist upon having a pound of flesh from the poor man (*An Honourable Member*: "Half a pound.") or even half a pound of flesh. Let us admit for the sake of argument that the salt tax is half a pound of flesh. Will not a man sacrifice half a pound of his flesh for the upkeep of his soul? After all, the soul is more valuable than a pound of flesh and the departments which we want to institute as a result of the reduction of the provincial contributions give benefit to our soul. For instance, primary education and other nation-building activities (*An Honourable Member*: "The benefit is after death.")

(At this stage several Honourable Members interrupted the speaker.)

Mr. President: Order, order. Maulvi Muhammad Yakub.

Maulvi Muhammad Yakub: There is one thing more to which I should like to refer and that is about the changing of one's opinion. The Leader of the Swaraj Party said that Honourable Members should not change their opinion on this occasion. I would only remind him of what he is reported to have said on one occasion, that consistency in politics is the virtue of asses. There was a time when the Honourable Pandit believed that it was no good going into the Councils. He did not come to the Council. He did not allow others to come to the Councils but after a few years' time he changed his views. He is now a believer in coming into the Councils. If you change your view for good reasons, if you are satisfied that the opinion which you held first was wrong, it is a virtue to admit your faults and change your view and there is no harm in it. For these reasons I support the proposal put forward by the Honourable the Finance Member.

The House then adjourned for Lunch till Twenty-Five Minutes to Three of the Clock.

The Assembly re-assembled after Lunch at Twenty-Five Minutes to Three of the Clock, Mr. President in the Chair.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I would have assured my Honourable friend Mr. Yakub, had he been here now, that I had no intention to indulge in any fling at the other House, because if we have deliberately taken a decision it is quite up to us to

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stick to it. If we fail to endorse the decision that we took on the last occasion, certainly that will be due to our own remissness. In this view, I do not also quite like the note of pessimism in the speech of my Honourable friend Pandit Motilal Nehru. Sir, I do not find here to-day some of the Honourable gentlemen who described themselves as friends of the poor not very many days ago. When we were considering the two rival ratios in connection with the Currency Bill, claims were put forward by advocates of both ratios on behalf of the poor man, and I really miss some of those Honourable Members who said that by adopting the lower ratio we would be helping the poor to the extent of 12½ per cent. which they would gain on the price of their produce. Sir, whatever the merits of either ratio might be, the facts on which those claims were based were at best speculative. But, Sir, in the present instance we can definitely say that by reducing the salt duty by 50 per cent. we will be reducing the price of salt by exactly 12½ per cent., a reduction which would be felt from to-morrow in every village and by every consumer of salt. It is therefore very much to be regretted that those Honourable gentlemen who described themselves as friends of the poor are away from the floor of this House on the present occasion. I do not propose to say anything more on this point. I will at once come to Sir Basil Blackett's threat to Bengal that if we were to pass the reduced rate, Bengal's contribution would have to be revived with effect from the next year. I never thought Sir Basil Blackett was suffering from so short a memory. I want to remind him of the circumstances in which the remission of Bengal's contribution was effected. It was effected in pursuance of the Resolution brought forward by the Government in the autumn of 1921, in pursuance of the very definite recommendation made by the Joint Parliamentary Committee to the Government of India. That was a year in which the Government of India itself was faced with a very heavy deficit, and yet my Honourable friend's predecessor did not hesitate to bring forward a proposal for relieving Bengal altogether of the contribution of 63 lakhs a year. It is a pity, Sir, that the remission was not made permanent on that occasion. Perhaps it was due to the fact that the Government of India's finances were in such an unsatisfactory position at that time that any remission for more than three years was rather beyond the range of practical politics in the year 1921. Again, when it fell to the lot of my Honourable friend the Finance Member to bring forward another proposal to continue that remission, he pointed out in very clear terms the difference between the conditions of the other provinces and of Bengal. I have no intention of giving any long extracts on this occasion from the speeches of the Honourable Member, but I am sure he will not deny that he stated that Bengal's case stood on quite a different footing from that of the other provinces, and that the main justification for the remission of Bengal's contribution was to be found in that recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. And now, after the Government of India have produced several balanced and surplus Budgets in succession, he comes along and gives this threat to Bengal, that "unless you support this enhanced taxation, we are going to take off the remission". (The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: "There is no question of enhanced taxation.") Well, "enhanced" in so far as we are concerned. I do not suppose my Honourable friend would dispute that proposition. So far as this House is concerned, it has taken its decision, its deliberate decision, and to agree to the higher rate now will be enhanced

taxation so far as we are concerned. Sir, it is not fair, therefore, I say for the Honourable Member to come forward with that threat. I do not know whether I need read out to him once again the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Sir, if I had no necessity for doing it for his benefit, I would have had to do it for the benefit of my Honourable friend, Dr. Macphail, whom I am sorry not to find in his seat just now. Sir, I would not have taken up the task of instructing a veteran teacher like the reverend Doctor, but, Sir, when he says that Bengal must not be allowed to be a charity province, when he says that Bengal must revise her permanent settlement, I am very much afraid that he has got to take his instruction even from a man like myself. Sir, the Joint Parliamentary Committee made the following observations in their Report. They said :

"They desire to add their recognition of the peculiar financial difficulties of the Presidency of Bengal, which they accordingly commend to the special consideration of the Government of India."

Sir, upon that, the Honourable Sir Malcolm Hailey said in 1921 :

"Bengal has behind it in making a claim for assistance an argument which no other province can put forward, namely, the specific recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Bengal now demands that we should implement that recommendation. Nor is it for this Government, nor indeed, Sir, for this House, which owes its statutory existence to that Committee, to disregard this claim."

(*The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett*: "Hear, hear.") Then, again, I will refer to another point. I am rather anxious about the soul of the Honourable the Finance Member, which as my Honourable friend, Mr. Yakub, remarked, has got to be saved even at the expense of half a pound of flesh. Sir, I am rather anxious about my Honourable friend the Finance Member's soul because I find him deliberately going back upon the position taken up by the Government of India in the past with regard to Bengal. About two years back I brought forward a motion in the course of which I drew the attention of the Government to the defective working of Devolution Rule 15 under which, as is admitted even by the Honourable the Finance Member, it was expected that the Governments of Bombay and Bengal would get some share of the income-tax revenue. On that occasion the Honourable the Finance Member admitted that the Devolution Rule had failed of its purpose, that the Devolution Rule 15, which was intended for the benefit of the two industrial Provinces, was not benefiting them at all, and that contrary to all expectations, it was yielding some more benefit to the other provinces which had already gained under the new financial arrangements. Sir, on that occasion, my Honourable friend gave this House an assurance that he would go into this question and find some solution that will be satisfactory to these two provinces.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I am prepared to look into the matter as soon as the provincial contributions have gone.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: I am very glad that my Honourable friend gives me that assurance. But what do we find in his budget speech of this year? So far as the case of Bombay is concerned, he said that apart from her remission of provincial contribution, under the new scheme of reduction as laid down in the Devolution Rules, Bombay had a special claim on the assistance of the Government of India, because Devolution Rule 15 had not been working in the manner expected. But in the case of Bengal the Honourable Member observes, she has already had her relief. Bengal got the remission of her contribution from the year 1922, and certainly

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the defective working of Devolution Rule 15 had not been brought to the attention of the Finance Member in that year. When I moved that motion in 1925, the Finance Member had the candour to admit that that was the first time when his attention was drawn to the defective working of the rule. And now the Finance Member comes forward and says that Bengal has had her remission already and cannot look forward to any assistance on account of the defective working of the Devolution Rule. I am surprised that my friend can take up such an attitude. Then again we come to the case of the abolition of the stamp duty on cheques; there again he said that only two provinces were going to be materially affected, Bengal and Bombay; but Bengal had no claim to be compensated for loss of revenue. I must ask my Honourable friend once again why was it, and on what considerations was it that the remission of Bengal's contribution was decided upon in 1921; was it on account of the defective working of Devolution Rule 15? Could any one anticipate the defective working of that Devolution Rule when we were just beginning to work the new constitution? And now the Honourable the Finance Member says that Bengal has no claim to compensation. Sir, we expect a better standard of justice and fairness even from Finance Members.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: If the Honourable Member will vote for the increased tax he will get all he wants.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: What I intend to point out is that Bengal's claim for remission of contribution, her claim for a share of the income-tax revenue, her claim for a share of the customs duty on jute, stands on a higher footing, and you have got to do something for Bengal in these directions, whether your salt duty remain at 10 annas or Rs. 1-4.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: All that has been said has to be reconsidered in the light of the position created by the Assembly.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Subject to the recommendation of the Joint Parliamentary Committee quoted by me. I do not suppose my Honourable friend has the authority to go behind that recommendation.

Sir George Paddison was talking of new schools, new roads, new hospitals, new wells, which the Ministry in Madras propose to bring about if this remission is made. Then again I heard the Punjab official representative talking of development schemes in different directions. Does my Honourable friend care to know what the present financial position of Bengal is? In spite of this remission of 63 lakhs, Bengal is unable to balance her budget.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Is that not all the more reason for not obstructing the remission of her contribution next year?

Mr. K. C. Neogy: It is all the more reason for considering Bengal's case quite apart from the reduction of the salt duty.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: The Honourable Member has to take the finance of the Government of Bengal into consideration.

Mr. K. C. Neogy: Certainly. Under the new federal system of finance, separation of the financial burden as between the provinces and the Central Exchequer has been brought about in a complete and rigid manner unexampled in the history of federal finance.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Why do not the Honourable Members help me to get rid of that situation?

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Exactly, that is what I want. What I intended to say was that prior to the introduction of the new constitution the Government of India was solely responsible for the financial welfare of the provinces and the Provincial Governments were no better and no more than the Government of India working in the Provinces, and it is not proper on the part of the Honourable the Finance Member now to deny all at once his responsibility for the financial position of the Provinces.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I have asserted my responsibility and asked the House to recollect it in voting on this motion.

Mr. K. O. Neogy: I do hope the Honourable Member will remember the case of Bengal, which, as I say, stands on a different footing. I was going to say, when I was interrupted by my Honourable friend, that the financial position of Bengal as it appears to-day shows that her normal expenditure exceeds her normal income by no less than 64½ lakhs even in spite of the fact that she has not got to pay a contribution of 68 lakhs a year. I do hope my Honourable friend will condescend to look into these figures, although Bengal is not represented by those stalwarts who represent Bombay's interests in this House. Sir, we find too much of special pleading for Bombay in the Honourable Member's budget speech. I think, Sir, at that time, on the 28th February, when he made that speech, he had some hope that that would enable him to catch some votes on the ratio question; but now that the ratio is out of the way altogether, would he kindly condescend to bestow a little more attention on the financial position of Bengal?

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I do not wish to be continually interrupting the Honourable Member but I would like to understand what he means. How on earth is the Government of India to consider the financial position of Bengal or any other province if its revenue is taken away by the Central Legislature?

Mr. K. O. Neogy: Certainly you can, by making certain other readjustments, by reconsidering your policy about the sinking fund, your policy about the redemption of debt. Sir it is not the occasion just now to go into any details about that; but if my Honourable friend is really anxious to know a little more about these things, he might sit round a table along with some of us, and we shall be quite happy to assist him with what little advice we can offer. But, Sir, I had no intention of making such a long speech, and I will just conclude by saying that in spite of the threat of the Honourable the Finance Member, I do support the reduction that we made on the last occasion.

***Mr. H. G. Cocke (Bombay: European):** Sir, the invitation issued by the last speaker for a round table conference to discuss the debt position is not very alluring. We had such a conference two or three years ago and arrived at a certain scheme of debt redemption which was generally accepted at that time, and I think it would be a great mistake to interfere with that now. That, however, is by the way.

[Mr. H. G. Cocke.]

Sir, I am very anxious to say a few words in the interests of Bombay on this subject, particularly as there are so many of my Bombay friends who have melted away. Sir, after the division the other day when certain Bombay Members came to know that they had defeated the Government narrowly, some of them were really alarmed as they had rather hoped that Government would carry the day. I am quite sure that not only certain Bombay Members in this House, but Bombay generally is very anxious to see the Rs. 1-4-0 rate restored with a view to asking for further remission of her provincial contribution. Sir, there are many reasons for that. In the first place the necessity for hospitals and wells which has been referred to to-day is really no laughing matter. I do not profess to know the districts myself, but I have heard accounts during this Session of various important schemes which are required in provinces which have been allowed to lapse in the course of the last two or three years owing to the retrenchment policy which had been adopted. We have heard about the state of finances in Bengal; the state of finances in Bombay is very much in the same position, and the remission of provincial contributions is a very urgent matter.

There is another important point to be remembered, as the Honourable the Finance Member pointed out. Unless the provincial contributions are totally remitted, we shall not be able to get rid of the Meston Settlement which the House so uniformly, I think, is anxious to have superseded. That Settlement will remain and it will be liable to come before us again in future years in the event of financial embarrassment. Our anxiety in Bombay, and I think in other provinces, is to have the Meston Settlement reviewed so that when, if ever, the provinces are called upon to contribute to the Central Government, it will not be on the basis of the Meston Settlement, but on a basis which is more in conformity with the recent finances of the provinces.

Sir, as regards the practical effects of the salt tax, very little opposition has been made to the Rs. 1-4-0 salt tax on that basis. But I should like to read to the House a paragraph from the Report of the Indian Taxation Enquiry Committee which no doubt Members have already read. It is not a paragraph written by any of the members of the Committee, but it is written by a distinguished American writer, Professor Jensen. This is what he says:

"From ancient times salt has frequently been selected for special taxation. Almost every country has taxed it at one time or another. An alternative method of exacting revenue from the salt industry has been to make it a fiscal monopoly. Such has been the case in Japan, China, France, Austria and Italy. Elsewhere it is usually the object of a high excise duty. From every point of view salt is admirably adapted to be a tax-bearer. It is universally used, but the amount that is used by any one tax-payer is small."

Now, Sir, that comes from an independent authority, and therefore from the point of view of the practical effect of the salt tax which has so often been opposed in this House, I think these few lines will repay study. (*An Honourable Member*: "Please read the further paragraphs.") I do not profess to do so through the Committee's report and read every

paragraph which some Honourable Members of this House might like me to do as they have no doubt been supplied with copies of this Report, and they are at full liberty to read it.

The other day, Sir, I said that we had a good deal of sentiment in this House in connection with the salt tax and the so-called 1s. 4d. natural ratio, and so on, and I feel, Sir, that we are having the same sentiment displayed in a greater degree to-day; it would be very much better if we got down to more practical business. The Honourable Sir Purshotamdas Thakurdas turned on me for what I said on that occasion, and said that I did not know India and I had no sympathy for the poor man, and so on. Sir, I yield neither to Sir Purshotamdas nor to any Member of this House in my sympathy for the poor man of India. I do not profess to know him so well as possibly some Members of this House do, but if I thought that this 10 as. salt tax was going to give him any benefit, I would even go so far as to defer provincial contributions by all means. When I first came to this House in March 1921, I knew very little about this subject or politics at all. But I put a question to the Finance Member at that time on the result of the raising of the salt tax from Rs. 1-4-0 to Rs. 2-8-0. I asked:

"Will Government be pleased to state whether they have made any inquiries in various parts of the country as to the difference which the enhanced salt tax has made to the working man's expenses, and, if so, the result of those inquiries?"

The Finance Member in his reply said:

"No specific or formal inquiry was undertaken. But the Government took steps to watch the movements of retail prices throughout India week by week, and to gather all the information they could to the effect of the increase in the price. The general tenor of the information received was that the increase was practically unnoticed by the bulk of the population. As stated a year ago, during the budget debates (that is, in 1923) the statistics show that the average cost to the consumer of the increase in the tax from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 2-8 could not exceed 3 annas per head, or less than a rupee per family per annum. Judging by the average prices of retail salt during the past year, this was on the whole an over-estimate."

And we have been told this morning by a gentleman who is familiar with 4,000 villages of this country that he has never heard a complaint about the price of salt, but only complaints about the price of cloth and grain, and so on. Therefore for all practical purposes there is no opposition to the Rs. 1-4 salt duty. We may object to the principle of a salt tax at all, although as I pointed out an independent American writer does not share that view; but as regards the amount of duty there can be no possible objection to Rs. 1-4. If the increase from Rs. 1-4 to Rs. 2-8 only makes a difference of a rupee per family per annum, then obviously the difference between ten annas and Rs. 1-4 makes a smaller difference per family per annum. I therefore appeal to this House not only on behalf of Bombay, but on behalf of all provinces, not to be led away by this appeal which has been made this morning either on the constitutional basis or on any other basis, but to face facts and accept this salt duty at Rs. 1-4.

Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadian Urban): Sir, I do not want to make a speech. All that I want is to give two stories for the Revd. E. M. Macphail's one story. There were two working women, one of them old and paralytic, just going to the workhouse

[Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder.]

and this was the conversation which passed between the two. The younger girl was a labourer herself of the weaver class, and though there may not be as much of economics in it as there was in Dr. Macphail's story, I can assure you that there is Christianity in every line of it.

The old woman said: "A never was a saving sort."

The young woman said: "There is nowt against thee for that. Theer's some as can be careful o' their brass an' some as can't. It's not a virtue, it's a gift. That's what my moother allays says."

Then the old woman says: "She's reecht an' all. We never 'ad the gift of savin' my man and me. An' when Tom Ormerod took an' died the club money as A drew all went on 'is funeral an' 'is gravestone. A warn't going to 'ave it said as 'e warn't buried proper."

The girl said: "May be A'm young but A know 'ow 'tis. We works cruel 'ard in th' mill an' when us plays us plays as 'ard too. 'An' small blame to us either. It's our *own* we're spendin'."

That, Sir, is one story. The other is: when Mark Twain was once asked to speak on charity, he got up and simply said "Whosoever giveth unto the poor lendeth unto the Lord. Gentlemen, if you are satisfied with the security, invest your money." Sir, I did not expect the Honourable the Finance Member to be satisfied with this security; but I certainly should have expected the Reverend the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University to be satisfied with the security.

(Several Honourable Members moved that the question be put.)

Mr. President: The question is that the question be now put.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Sir, I do not wish to speak at any great length. The question is before the House and I think that my friend Maulvi Muhammad Yakub put it quite clearly. The only question is, which of the two alternatives before the House is most for the benefit of the country. We have heard a good deal on both sides as to the effect of this tax on the poor man. I maintain, Sir, that when we have an opportunity of spending a sum of approximately three crores for the good of the nation-building departments, for primary education, sanitation and the bringing forward of those people in order to make them better citizens, we are doing more good for them than we are if we relieve them of something over one anna a year in taxation. Secondly, the choice is before the House between the one and the other. There is no good my friend Mr. Acharya saying: "Oh, the Finance Member is such a brilliant Finance Member that he could bring another rabbit out of his hat." The question is perfectly simple and the final decision lies with this House. Do they want the provincial contributions reduced or do they want the salt tax reduced this year? They cannot have both. The choice is absolutely before them. And it is not for this year only. Mr. Neogy, whose speech was the strongest speech in favour of the maintenance of the salt tax at Rs. 1/4 that I have heard to-day, came down with a complete *non sequitur* in favour of voting for ten annas. He pointed out that all the provinces, and in particular Bengal, had a great claim on the Government of India for consideration in view of their financial difficulties. Sir, the Government

of India has associated with it in considering this question the Central Legislature, and we ask the Central Legislature to join with us in considering the requirements of the provinces and not play fast and loose with our promises by depriving them of what they have every reason to expect, by a vote in favour of the reduction of a tax which—I do not quite like using the word—which may be said to have been at the natural rate of Rs. 1/4. It was at Rs. 1/4 at the time when the reforms were brought into existence. It was raised specially to Rs. 2/8 for the period of one year in order to help the Government of India in a period of deficit, but it was immediately reduced to its old natural rate of Rs. 1/4, and, though we may all desire possibly to see the salt tax lowered, I claim that the time for reducing the rate below Rs. 1/4 has not come until we have first dealt with the provincial contributions. If I were a superstitious person, 1/4 has been so unlucky this Session that I should feel some doubt as to the result. Therefore, I make one special appeal. Do help the Government and help the provinces to get rid of the provincial contributions this year and thereby start a new era as we hope next year when Finance Members will cease from worrying you with dilemmas and the provinces will be at rest.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That the amendment made by the Council of State in the Bill to fix the duty on salt manufactured in, or imported by land into, certain parts of British India, to fix maximum rates of postage under the Indian Post Office Act, 1898, further to amend the Indian Tariff Act, 1894, the Indian Stamp Act, 1899, and the Indian Paper Currency Act, 1923, and to fix rates of income-tax, be taken into consideration.”

The Assembly divided:

AYES—52.

Abdul Aziz, Khan Bahadur Mian.
Abdul Qayyum, Nawab Sir Sahibzada.
Akram Hussain Bahadur, Prince
A. M. M.
Allison, Mr. F. W.
Anwar-ul-Azim, Mr.
Ariff, Mr. Yacoob C.
Ashrafuddin Ahmad, Khan Bahadur
Nawabzada Sayid.
Ayyangar, Mr. V. K. Aravamudha.
Ayyangar, Rao Bahadur Narasimha
Gopalaswami.
Bhore, Mr. J. W.
Blackett, The Honourable Sir Basil.
Coatman, Mr. J.
Cocke, Mr. H. G.
Dalal, Sir Bomanji.
Donovan, Mr. J. T.
Dunnett, Mr. J. M.
Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Raja.
Ghulam Kadir Khan Dakhan, Mr.
W. M. P.
Ghuznavi, Mr. A. H.
Gidney, Lieut.-Colonel H. A. J.
Graham, Mr. L.
Greenfield, Mr. H. C.
Haigh, Mr. P. B.
Hezlett, Mr. J.
Howell, Mr. E. B.
Hussain Shah, Sayyid.
Innes, The Honourable Sir Charles.

Jowahir Singh, Sardar Bahadur
Sardar.
Kabul Singh Bahadur, Risaldar-Major
and Honorary Captain.
Keane, Mr. M.
Khin Maung, U.
Lamb, Mr. W. S.
Macphail, The Revd. Dr. E. M.
Mitra, The Honourable Sir Bhupendra
Nath.
Moore, Mr. Arthur.
Muddiman, The Honourable Sir
Alexander.
Nasir-ud-din Ahmad, Khan Bahadur.
Paddison, Sir George.
Parsons, Mr. A. A. L.
Rajah, Rao Bahadur M. C.
Rajan Bakhsh Shah, Khan Bahadur
Makhdum Syed.
Rau, Mr. H. Shankar.
Roy, Mr. K. C.
Roy, Sir Ganen.
Shah Nawaz, Mian Mohammad.
Singh, Rai Bahadur S. N.
Sykes, Mr. E. F.
Tonkinson, Mr. H.
Willson, Sir Walter.
Yakub, Maulvi Muhammad.
Young, Mr. C. M.
Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Nawab Sir.

NOES—41.

Abdul Latif Saheb Farookhi, Mr.
 Abdul Motin Chaudhury, Maulvi.
 Aobarya, Mr. M. K.
 Aiyangar, Mr. C. Duraiswamy.
 Aney, Mr. M. S.
 Ayyangar, Mr. K. V. Rangaswami.
 Bhargava, Pandit Thakur Das.
 Chaman Lall, Mr.
 Chunder, Mr. Nirmal Chunder.
 Das, Mr. B.
 Das, Pandit Nilakantha.
 Dutt, Mr. Amar Nath.
 Dutta, Mr. Srish Chandra.
 Gulab Singh, Sardar.
 Haji, Mr. Sarabhai Nemchand.
 Ismail Khan, Mr.
 Iyengar, Mr. A. Rangaswami.
 Jogiah, Mr. Varahagiri Venkata.
 Joshi, Mr. N. M.
 Kartar Singh, Sardar.
 Kelkar, Mr. N. C.
 Kidwai, Mr. Rafi Ahmad.

Kunzra, Pandit Hirday Nath.
 Lahiri, Chaudhury, Mr. Dharendra
 Kanta.
 Mehta, Mr. Jamnadas M.
 Misra, Mr. Dwarka Prasad.
 Moonje, Dr. B. S.
 Mukhtar Singh, Mr.
 Murtuza Saheb Bahadur, Maulvi
 Sayyid.
 Naidu, Mr. B. P.
 Nehru, Pandit Motilal.
 Neogy, Mr. K. C.
 Prakasam, Mr. T.
 Ranga Iyer, Mr. C. S.
 Rao, Mr. G. Sarvotham.
 Roy, Mr. Bhabendra Chandra.
 Sarfaraz Hussain Khan, Khan
 Bahadur.
 Singh, Mr. Gaya Prasad,
 Singh, Mr. Narayan Prasad.
 Singh, Mr. Ram Narayan.
 Sinha, Mr. Ambika Prasad.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I move that the amendment made by the Council of State be concurred in.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I rise to oppose this motion. I purposely delayed speaking on the motion for consideration; my Honourable friend, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan told us that if we could get sufficient money both for the remission of the provincial contributions and for the reduction of the salt duty from Re. 1-4-0 to ten annas he would certainly vote for the reduction of the duty to ten annas . . .

Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan: On a point of personal explanation. I did not say that. I said if there is money available, then the duty on salt may be reduced to ten annas and the provincial contributions may also be remitted.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I quite agree. If there was money available he wishes that the provincial contributions should be remitted and the salt duty reduced to ten annas. I propose to show that the money is available and is being purposely frittered away on an unnecessarily cautious policy of debt redemption, which if properly applied would reduce our debt in a very sound manner and yet give a substantial relief to the tax-payer. I want to confine my observations only to this point and to show that there is a surplus bigger than is necessary for the reduction of the salt tax by ten annas and the remission of provincial contributions. The Finance Member said that if the salt duty was reduced to ten annas there would be a deficit of 141 lakhs in the matter of the reduction of provincial contributions this year and that in the next year perhaps the deficit would be larger. Confining my observations to this year I shall prove that we have more than a crore and 41 lakhs if we will only turn our eyes to the sum of Rs. 5 crores and odd provided for debt redemption as will be seen from the Budget Book.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: On a point of order. The provision for debt redemption has been passed by this House. I would submit

to you, Sir, that the question of re-opening it is not germane now and that it is a repetition of exactly the same argument that we have had before. I submit to you, Sir, that the Honourable Member is not in order in going into detail about debt redemption which has already been passed by this House.

Mr. President: It is true that the provision for debt redemption has been passed by the House. It means that the House has permitted the expenditure of the amount sanctioned. It does not mean that the Government are bound to spend that money and it is open to the Honourable Member to point out that Government need not do so in deference to the opinion of the House to reduce the salt duty. I would like however to point out to the Honourable Member that the principle of this particular amendment has been first accepted by the House and the Honourable Member is now asking the House to go back on that principle.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I submit that the principle has been accepted under the misapprehension, if I may so put it, that there is no money available. The House

Mr. President: I do not see how the Honourable Member can ask the House to go back on the principle which it has just accepted.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: If you take the view that I am not in order, I shall not persist. I submit that what the House has accepted is that there is a case for reconsideration but it is still open to the House to decide that as money is available the reduction ought, on reconsideration, to be confirmed.

Mr. President: That was quite germane at the consideration stage.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: I submit that the House has certainly not accepted the restoration of Rs. 1-4-0. All that the House has agreed to is to reconsider its previous decision. At present we have simply agreed to consider the amendment made by the Council of State, and I want to show to the House that in considering that amendment we are not obliged on financial grounds to accept Re. 1-4-0. That is my submission.

Mr. President: The House has accepted the principle that the duty should not be ten annas but something more. The House has reversed its previous decision that the salt tax be reduced to ten annas. The next question is whether it should be 12 annas, or one rupee or Re. 1-4-0. That is open to discussion. The Honourable Member has not put down any such amendment; and that is his difficulty.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: If the House has accepted that, there will be no meaning in putting this motion. The House has certainly not accepted the rejection of ten annas. The House has agreed to the reconsideration of the matter. They have not agreed to Re. 1-4-0.

Mr. President: I do not say that the House has agreed to Re. 1-4-0. The House has accepted this at any rate, that its previous decision requires reconsideration and that the duty should not be ten annas now.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: We are reconsidering it.

Mr. President: I am afraid I cannot agree with the Honourable Member.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: Then do you rule me out of order, Sir . . .

Mr. President: I am sure the Honourable Member does not want me to give a definite ruling on this point. If he, however, insists I shall have no hesitation in doing so.

***Mr. T. Prakasam** (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): We can bring forward new arguments in opposing this measure; we have got a right to oppose it at this final stage and my submission is that we can put forward new arguments or those that we have put forward already.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member knows very well that Honourable Members had an opportunity of putting forward their views against the amendment by the Council of State at the consideration stage. To raise the same debate over again at this stage is not a desirable thing. If Honourable Members, however, insist the Chair will not prevent them. But I would ask them to consider whether it is worthwhile doing so at this stage. I certainly think that the scheme which Mr. Jamnadas Mehta desires to propound can usefully form the subject matter of a separate Resolution.

Mr. T. Prakasam: If any argument requires supplementing we shall have to do that now.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: May I submit, Sir, that we have as a matter of fact fully exhausted this debate. There is no real possibility of anything except repetition at this stage. Therefore the only thing to do is to put the matter to the vote.

Mr. T. Prakasam: I certainly protest against this.

Mr. President: What does the Honourable Member protest against?

Mr. T. Prakasam: Against the Honourable Member's request to put it to the vote.

Mr. President: Just as the Honourable Member has the right to state that it should not be put to the vote now, so the Honourable the Finance Member has the right to ask that it should be put to the vote.

Mr. Ohaman Lall: We are now at the second stage, and I think that under the circumstances those Members who were unable to catch the President's eye at the first stage have every right now to express their views.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member knows the House has passed the closure.

Mr. Jamnadas M. Mehta: When the Chair ruled that although the House had passed the amount for debt redemption the Government were not obliged to spend the whole amount, then, Sir, the Chair really conceded that it was still open to this House to show to Government that, though we had sanctioned the amount necessary, it was desirable in the interests of the finances of the country and in the interests of the taxpayer that the whole amount should not be spent but should be utilized for the reduction of the salt duty.

Mr. President: I am afraid no useful purpose will be served by prolonging this discussion. I propose to put the question unless any Member seriously objects.

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

The question is:

"That in clause 2 for the words 'ten annas' the words 'one rupee and four annas' be substituted."

The motion was adopted.

DEMANDS FOR SUPPLEMENTARY GRANTS.

MISCELLANEOUS EXPENDITURE.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I move:

"That a supplementary sum not exceeding Rs. 2,82,04,000 be granted to the Governor General in Council to defray the charges that will come in course of payment during the year ending the 31st day of March, 1927, in respect of 'Miscellaneous Expenditure'."

This motion is for the formal regularisation of the position which the Government desire to create by appropriating the realized surplus of the year 1926-27 towards a special reserve fund in order to enable the provincial contributions to be extinguished in their entirety in the year 1927-28. (Applause.) I do not think that any question of principle arises on this. The purpose of the motion is to regularise a decision which I believe has the unanimous support of the whole House, namely, that the Government should apply a portion of the realized surplus of the current year towards enabling provincial contributions to be extinguished next year. I think therefore, Sir, that as the House is desirous of proceeding with other questions of greater importance after dealing with this motion, I will confine myself to moving it.

The motion was adopted.

THE BENGAL TENANCY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, I move that the Bill further to amend the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration.

Sir, this is a small Bill which gives effect to one of the recommendations of the Civil Justice Committee in connection with the Bengal Tenancy Act. As the law stands at present, appeals to the High Court in rent suits decided by Munsifs and Subordinate and District Judges are restricted to decrees of above the value of Rs. 50 and Rs. 100 respectively. The effect of the Bill is to raise that limit to Rs. 100 and Rs. 200, that is, Rs. 100 in the case of Munsifs and Rs. 200 in the case of Subordinate Judges and District Judges. The recommendation has been approved by the Government of Bengal and the Calcutta High Court. The only reason why it is brought in to this Legislature is that it affects the appellate jurisdiction of the High Court. Sir, I move.

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt (Burdwan Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I beg to move the amendment which stands in my name, namely:

"That the consideration of the Bill be postponed *sine die*."

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: What is the motion?

Mr. Amar Nath Dutt: That the consideration of the Bill be postponed *sine die*.

No doubt, this is a short and simple Bill, as has been said by the Honourable the Home Member, but it restricts the valued right of appeal, and the only reason for introducing this Bill is based upon a certain casual recommendation of the Civil Justice Committee which dealt with the congestion of work in our law courts. Sir, at the outset I may point out that it is one thing to have speedy disposals of cases and it is another thing to do justice. Every one knows that in India, the subordinate courts have often to decide cases, so as to show a large number of disposals upon which depend their promotions in the service. Hence adjournments for production of evidence have to be denied, and evidence curtailed to reduce as far as possible the congested files. The remedy suggested by the Civil Justice Committee is this, that if we restrict the right of appeal and raise the limits to Rs. 100 and Rs. 200, that will to some extent reduce the work. But I beg to submit that it will not reduce work much, and that therefore this remedy, even if it is considered from that standpoint, is not sufficient. Then, Sir, you will see that this Bill deals with a very important right both of the landlord and of the tenant. It has been said that when there is any question of title involved or any question of rate of rent involved, this section does not apply. Yes, but it applies where the relationship of landlord and tenant is found to exist. Now, Sir, this phrase "the relationship of landlord and tenant existing" is a very ambiguous phrase, because you know that once a tenant, always a tenant. At least in Bengal I know that people who do not actually possess any holding but merely because they happen to be the heirs of a certain original tenant, are proceeded against, and it is said that they are liable for the rent as the relationship of landlord and tenant existed between their ancestors and the ancestors or the predecessors in interest of the landlords and that it had continued up till then. It may be said, why did not the tenant relinquish it if he had not any holding, but many of the Members may not know that relinquishment is only possible in the case of occupancy holdings but not in the case of intermediate tenures, and so the worse sufferers will be those intermediate tenure holders whose lands or estates have been washed away by flood or lost through other causes, and who have practically no land from which to derive any rent, but will have to continue to pay rent. These are questions which also come within the purview of the words. I would have been very glad if the Honourable Member had seen his way to take away this small restriction of Rs. 50 rather than extend it, because as it is known, these holdings in Bengal often bear rentals of Rs. 8 or Rs. 10 or Rs. 25 or Rs. 30. In that case if the landlord chooses to bring a rent suit every year, there is no appeal, and it will be found that the relationship of landlord and tenant exists and he has no right of appeal. Instead of restricting the rights in order to do away with congestion in the lower courts, other remedies should have been found. Of course in all those contested cases generally there are no appeals in every case, but I should think that the Honourable the Home Member should not have been so eager to curtail the rights of appeal because it is a salutary check on the vagaries of the subordinate judiciary. There need not be appeals always, but the existence of the right of appeal compels the subordinate judiciary to be more careful in deciding cases, and in taking evidence and recording evidence.

Further I have another reason. It has been said that this Bill has been brought here because it affects the rights of the High Courts, but I beg to submit that appeals lie from Munsiff's Courts which generally have jurisdiction up to Rs. 50 to try cases for which no appeal lies, and I beg to submit that these appeals lie before the District Judges, so the Central Legislature should not have taken the trouble to bring this Bill here.

Then again I may remind the House that a special committee has been formed with an ex-Chief Justice of Bengal as President, to arrive at a comprehensive revision of the whole rent law of Bengal, and it will naturally come before them for consideration, and it is not necessary that we should hurry up with this legislation until we hear what this special committee have to say on the point. Also I beg to remind the House that this provision has been in operation in Bengal for the last 40 years or so, and there has been no complaint against it either by the landlords or tenants, and so without consulting them this legislation ought not to have been brought. It has been said that the Government of Bengal and the High Courts were consulted in this matter, but, Sir, such important bodies as the British Indian Association, the Bengal Landholders' Association, the Indian Association, and the Vakils' Association have not been consulted at all. In fact the members of the British Indian Association and the Bengal Landholders Association are vitally interested in legislation of this kind. Therefore I would request the Honourable the Home Member not to press this legislation. It may be brought forward when the special committee reports on the Rent Act of Bengal. And I beg also to remind Honourable Members of this House that undoubtedly this is legislation of a provincial character, but at the same time I hope Bengal will not be dealt with as the Cinderella of the Empire by the Central Legislature because we have very few representatives here to support both the cause of the tenants and the cause of the landlords. We know how shabbily they have been treated in the case of the Reserve Bank. I am not going to deal with it but we have felt this always here, beginning from the release of detenus up to the Reserve Bank in which only one Honourable Member from Bengal has found a place. I beg to submit that Honourable Members will consider the case of Bengal and will support me wholeheartedly by at least postponing the consideration of this Bill *sine die*.

Mr. K. C. Neogy (Dacca Division: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I do not propose to discuss the merits of the proposed amending Bill. My Honourable friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt has already pointed out certain defects in the case of the Honourable the Home Member. I want to remind the House of the circumstances in which this Bill comes up. The Bengal tenancy law is certainly a matter of provincial interest; and but for certain technical difficulties, this particular Bill could have been taken up by the local Legislature in Calcutta. (*The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman*: "No".) But for a technical defect, I say. Sir, it must be remembered that although the name of this Act is the Bengal Tenancy Act, it applies to a considerable part of Bihar, and I do not find any mention in the Statement of Objects and Reasons of the fact that either the Bihar Government or the Bihar High Court were consulted in regard to the merits of this proposal. Apart from that, Sir, as I said, the local Legislature of the province of Bengal is not competent to deal with this question only because of a technical difficulty. I do not know whether that position holds good in regard to the Bihar Council also. I should have thought that the Bihar Legislative Council is competent to deal with a

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measure of this character so far as they were concerned. I do not know whether I am correct in that contention. If I am, then certainly this House should consider very seriously as to whether it should legislate in a matter with which at least one local Legislature was competent to deal. Apart from that, Sir, I wish the Honourable the Home Member to consider the desirability of establishing a convention by which, when this House is called upon to consider proposals of this nature, where the local Legislature cannot undertake legislation simply on account of some technical difficulty, the local Legislature could not be given an opportunity of expressing their opinion on the merits of the question. Because it is not quite fair to this House to ask it to undertake to legislate in a matter which might perhaps not pass muster with the local Legislature concerned. In this view, I would request the Honourable the Home Member to consider as to whether it is not possible to ask the Governments of Bengal and Bihar to put forward the substance of this amendment in the shape of a Resolution before the Bengal Legislative Council, and the Bihar Legislative Council, respectively, and get their criticisms on it, and then ask this House to consider the measure in the light of those criticisms. Sir, I do not share the fears of my Honourable friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt about Government doing anything to prejudice the interests of Bengal, so far at least as this matter is concerned. My Honourable friend the Home Member, I know, has got a soft corner in his heart for my province, and I am sure the interests of my province are quite safe in his hands so far as these small matters are concerned. I do hope he will see his way to accede to this modest request of ours.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh (Muzaffarpur *cum* Champaran: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I have got an amendment. Will it be convenient to take it now or should this motion be disposed of before I move my amendment.

Mr. President: What is the amendment? Will the Honourable Member say what it is?

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: That the Bill as passed by the Council of State be circulated to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, the High Court at Patna, and the public concerned, for the purpose of eliciting opinions thereon.

Mr. President: The Honourable Member has not satisfied me that the amendment is in order. The Bill has come from the Council of State; and the only amendment permissible, so far as I can see from the Rules and Standing Orders, is that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. A motion for circulating the Bill for opinions is, I think, not in order.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I should certainly take that view; it was taken yesterday in this House by the Chair.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Then, Sir, I want to speak on the Bill, if you will permit me. This legislation affects not only Bengal but a considerable portion of the Province of Bihar and Orissa as well. From the Statement of Objects and Reasons it appears that my Honourable friend the Home Member has consulted the Government of Bengal and

the Calcutta High Court; but strangely enough it does not appear that he has consulted either the Patna High Court or the Government of Bihar and Orissa who are also interested in this legislation. Then again it appears that the public concerned, I mean to say, the public of Bengal as well as the public of Bihar—either landlords and tenants—who are affected by this measure have not been consulted at all. It appears, Sir, that, although not consulted, such important bodies as the British Indian Association, the Bengal Landholders Association, the Indian Association, and the Vakils' Association of Calcutta have protested against this measure. Moreover, as has been pointed out by my Honourable friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt, a special Committee appointed by Government of Bengal is already sitting to consider the question of a comprehensive revision of the Bengal Tenancy Act; and it is presided over by Sir Nalini Ranjan Chatterjee, a retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court. This is an important measure; it restricts the right of appeal in rent suits. I would therefore support my Honourable friend Mr. Amar Nath Dutt that the consideration of this Bill be postponed. Again Sir, the Bihar Legislative Council is presumably competent to deal with this question as it applies to a portion of that province. That Legislative Council has not been given an opportunity of considering the matter, and in the circumstances the only course open to me is to support the motion that the consideration of the Bill be postponed.

Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Hussain Khan (Patna and Chota Nagpur *cum* Orissa: Muhammadan): Sir, I want to rise to support my friend, Mr. Amar Nath Dutt. I come from Bihar and that is a place which is also affected by the Bill. It is therefore only proper that this Bill should be sent to that Government and to the Council for their opinion; and besides, Sir, the public and the Associations in that province have not been consulted. There is also a committee sitting presided over by a retired High Court Judge of Calcutta; and in these circumstances I do not think there is any necessity for taking up this matter here now. Indeed I think it is premature to do so, and I would request the Honourable the Home Member to consult the Government of Bihar and Orissa and others and postpone the consideration of this Bill at present.

Mr. Nirmal Chunder Chunder (Calcutta: Non-Muhammadan Urban): Mr. President, I speak so seldom that I am almost feeling ashamed to get up twice on the same day to speak. This is a Bill to amend the Bengal Tenancy Act, and if I get up to speak my only justification is that I served on the Select Committee on the Bengal Tenancy Act Amendment Bill which was before the Bengal Legislative Council and which took the Select Committee about four months or more, when almost every important section of that Bill was discussed. Unfortunately the Bill emerged from the Select Committee in a shape in which it was not liked by either the landlords, or the ryots or the under-ryots or the Government; and the Bill had to be withdrawn. This time, Sir, the Government has appointed a Committee to go into this question, and the Committee is to take as the basis of their discussion, I trust, the Bill as it emerged from the Select Committee I referred to. I do not think, Sir, that I shall be betraying a secret if I tell the Honourable the Home Member that the President of the present Committee which has been appointed by the Government of Bengal was kept posted up almost from

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day to day as to what was passing in the Select Committee, as it was to him that I turned for advice and help in connection with my labours in the Select Committee. Therefore, Sir, when that Bill is being considered by a Committee, I should request the Honourable the Home Member not to press this Bill but to agree to Mr. Amar Nath Dutt's motion. I should be very sorry indeed to have to vote against this Bill for the simple reason that I am not yet clear whether this Bill will be harmful or beneficial to the ryots at large, and I believe that most of the Members from Bengal are of the same opinion. It will be a pity, therefore, if this Bill is rushed through and we are forced to vote against it. I can assure the Honourable the Home Member that if the Committee recommends that the amendment proposed here should be made and if the Bengal Legislative Council also takes that view, there will be little or no difficulty for him to get the Bill passed. Nothing will be lost if we adjourn this motion *sine die*.

Mr. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar (Madras: Landholders): Sir, I think on the whole this Bill is a wholesome measure to check unnecessary litigation in the province concerned. Sir, I cannot speak with authority for Bengal, but I may say that as one who is interested in seeing that litigation is not on the increase, I am in sympathy with the principles embodied in this Bill. I think both the landlords and tenants will gain immensely by the provisions of this measure. The District Munsiffs and the Subordinate Judges dispense justice very fairly, and I have got very great regard for them, and in my opinion appeals should lie only in big cases. I do not know why my Bengal friends oppose this measure. As a landholder and as one who sympathises with the ryots, I am in agreement with the principles embodied in this Bill.

***Mr. T. Prakasam** (East Godavari and West Godavari *cum* Kistna: Non-Muhammadan Rural): Sir, I rise to associate myself with the Mover of the amendment, that this Bill should be adjourned *sine die*. It is a very simple request made to the Honourable the Home Member and the circumstances have been enumerated by the mover in order. All those circumstances show that this is a premature measure, and, that it is better that it should be adjourned until the Committee which is sitting on this Bill decides and advises the Government. Of course, on the merits much could be said with regard to the right of appeal, but I do not wish to go into those details now. But I certainly consider, Sir, that this measure should not be passed into law now.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, in so far as the Mover proposes that the Bill should be adjourned *sine die* on the ground of his objection to the Bill, I shall naturally oppose him. He put forward two pleas, one that it should be opposed because he does not like the measure and the other to postpone the further consideration of the Bill, and I shall meet these two points. In so far as he speaks on the merits and says that he opposes the consideration of the Bill, we heard the other day the attitude of the other side, of the House, on the question of anything that may have to be taken up for improved justice and we know and discount opposition to all attempts to curtail appeals. But on the question of postponement many Members in various parts of the

House have made an appeal to me that it should be postponed. Not I hope, however, *sine die*; that I could not agree to. I am quite prepared to agree that it should be postponed till the next Session and will take an opportunity of consulting certain bodies that have not been consulted. It is not true, as a matter of fact, that the Bihar High Court was not consulted. It was consulted: it gave an opinion in favour of the Bill.

Mr. Gaya Prasad Singh: Why is there no mention of it in the Statement of Objects and Reasons?

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: It was not mentioned in the Statement of Objects and Reasons because they were consulted after the Statement was drafted. It was entirely due to my Honourable friend, who delayed the item coming on the paper, that I was not able to state that the Bihar High Court and the Bihar and Orissa Government had been consulted and were in favour of the Bill. But if the House would like this motion to stand over till the next Simla Session, during which time I will consult further opinion in Bihar and Orissa and Bengal, then I am quite prepared to meet the wishes of the House.

I move, Sir, that in the motion moved by my Honourable friend for the words "*sine die*" the words "till the next Simla Session" be inserted.

Mr. President: I do not know whether it would be proper for the mover of the original motion to move any amendment.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I submit, Sir, yes, entirely.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: Shall I do it?

Mr. President: I do not know whether after the reply of the Honourable the Home Member, any amendment could be moved. I will, however, permit it as the House wants it.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): Sir, I desire to move that the consideration of this Bill be adjourned till the Simla Session.

Mr. President: The original question was:

"That the Bill further to amend the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration."

Since which the following amendment has been moved:

"That the consideration of this Bill be postponed till the Simla Session."

The question I have to put is that that amendment be made.

The motion was adopted.

THE INSOLVENCY (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, I move that the Bill further to amend the Presidency-towns Insolvency Act, 1909, and the Provincial Insolvency Act, 1920, for certain purposes, be taken into consideration.

Sir, I explained this Bill in detail when I moved for introduction. The motion has been on the paper for many weeks and no amendment has been put down and no one has come to me and made any criticisms of the provisions of the Bill. I therefore take it that everybody in the House accepts the Bill and I move that it be taken into consideration.

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2, 3, 4 and 5 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and Preamble were added to the Bill.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I move that the Bill be passed.

The motion was adopted.

THE CODE OF CIVIL PROCEDURE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend section 96 of the Code of Civil Procedure, 1908, for a certain purpose.

That certain purpose, Sir, is described in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and the Bill is, as many other small Bills of this kind brought before the House recently, based on a recommendation in paragraph 2 of Chapter 30 of the Civil Justice Committee's Report. This also is a Bill limiting appeals. The purpose for which the appeals are limited is stated in the Statement of Objects and Reasons and I need not detain the House further.

Sir, I move.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN DIVORCE (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Divorce Act for a certain purpose.

That purpose arises out of the new Act which has been passed by Parliament and which is entitled the Indian and Colonial Divorce Jurisdiction Act, 1926. That Act of Parliament cured a doubt which has arisen for a long period in regard to the jurisdiction of the High Courts in India in respect of the divorce of those persons to whom that Act relates. Under Rules made under that Act it was provided that there might be officers within the jurisdiction of each High Court concerned who should have the right of showing cause why a decree *nisi* should not be made absolute in the same way as the King's Proctor in the English Courts has that right. The provisions of the Act and these provisions relating to the King's Proctor only refer to persons who are British subjects domiciled in England or Scotland. It enables an official to be appointed who would perform those functions. The functions of the King's Proctor in England are that at any time during the progress of a petition for dissolution or nullage of marriage, before a decree *nisi* is made absolute, the King's Proctor, upon the information of any person on suspicion that any of the parties are or have been in collusion to obtain relief, may, under the direction of the Attorney General and by leave of the Court, intervene in the suit. He is liable, if he does not successfully intervene to be cast in damages and if he does successfully intervene, the

opposite parties are liable to be cast in damages. The Bill is an empowering Bill. If its provisions are given effect to it will leave the particular class of persons who seek divorce under the provisions of the English Act in the same position as regards intervention as they would be if they tried to obtain divorce in the English Courts and it enables proceedings to be taken to prevent collusive divorce. Whether this provision is or is not desirable will no doubt be discussed by the House when the Bill goes to a further stage. At present, I confine myself to asking for leave to introduce the Bill. Sir, I move.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

THE INDIAN BAR COUNCILS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home' Member): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to amend the Indian Bar Councils Act, 1926, for certain purposes.

Sir, it will be within the recollection of a great many Members of this House who were Members of the last Assembly that the Select Committee on the Indian Bar Councils Bill which became Act XXXVIII of 1926, inserted certain provisions regulating seniority and pre-audience among Advocates. Now that was a matter which when the Bill came before the House to be considered and passed excited a considerable amount of criticism. In the end an agreement was reached with that House that these provisions should be circulated for the purpose of obtaining opinions. They were not part of the original recommendations of the Bar Committee and they were inserted in the Bill by the Select Committee and they had never been considered either by the High Courts or by the professional men or by the public. We carried out the promise that these provisions should be circulated and the opinions we have received disclose a considerable lack of unanimity. On the whole, however, the majority of the High Courts prefer that, subject to the preservation of vested rights, seniority and pre-audience should be regulated in accordance with the original recommendations of the Indian Bar Committee. To that opinion the Bill I seek leave to introduce gives effect. Sir, I move.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: I introduce the Bill.

THE SEA CUSTOMS (AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett (Finance Member): I move that the Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration.

This is a small Bill the purpose of which is to remove a hardship on the public which the existing state of the law tends to impose. The aim of the Bill is explained in the Statement of Objects and Reasons. A partial rebate of duty is allowed by the Sea Customs Act on goods which have deteriorated or have been damaged prior to entry provided the duty is leviable *ad valorem* but there is no provision for such a rebate in the case of goods where duty is leviable on quantity and not on value. We have been introducing specific duties in place of *ad valorem* duties in various cases of recent years, and with regard to such articles as sugar and paper, which

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are liable to deterioration, the absence of this power to allow a partial rebate when goods have been damaged is a hardship on the public which this Bill is designed to remove. This Bill was introduced and passed in another place and I have heard no criticism or objection to it from any quarter. I think therefore that it will not be necessary for me to give any further explanation or argumentation as to the reasons in favour of the Bill. Sir, I move.

The motion was adopted.

Clauses 2 and 8 were added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and Preamble were added to the Bill.

The Honourable Sir Basil Blackett: I move that the Bill further to amend the Sea Customs Act, 1878, for a certain purpose, as passed by the Council of State, be passed.

The motion was adopted.

THE INDIAN LIMITATION (SECOND AMENDMENT) BILL.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): I move that the amendments made by the Council of State in the Bill further to amend the Indian Limitation Act, 1908, for a certain purpose, be taken into consideration.

It will be in the recollection of this House that when this Bill was passed in this Chamber the Honourable the Law Member, speaking on an amendment moved by some other Member, gave a promise that he would look into the matter, and that if on looking into it he found that an amendment in the law was required he would bring it on an amendment in the Council of State. On that assurance the Member who moved the original amendment withdrew his amendment. The Honourable the Law Member, as he always does, carried out his promise. He did look into the matter and he did move an amendment in the Council of State and that amendment is the amendment that I now ask you to take into consideration. That amendment has been on the paper for a long time. It is a very obvious amendment. It clearly meets the point which was in dispute and I ask the House to take it into consideration.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That the amendments made by the Council of State in the Bill further to amend the Indian Limitation Act, 1908, for a certain purpose, be taken into consideration."

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: Amendment made by the Council of State:

"In sub-clause (1) of clause 1, for the word 'Amendment' the words 'Second Amendment' be substituted."

The question I have to put is that this Assembly do agree with the Council of State in that amendment

The motion was adopted.

Mr. President: Further amendment made by the Council of State:

"In clause 2—

(i) after the figures '182', the letter and brackets '(a)' be inserted; and

(ii) after the words 'shall be substituted' the following be added, namely:

- and
 b) for clause 6 of the same entry the following shall be substituted, namely—
 (in respect of any amount, recovered by execution of the decree or order, which the decree-holder has been directed to refund by a decree passed in a suit for such refund) the date of such last-mentioned decree or, in the case of an appeal therefrom, the date of the final decree of the Appellate Court or of the withdrawal of the appeal."

The question I have to put is that this Assembly do agree with the Council of State in that amendment.

The motion was adopted.

THE REPEALING AND AMENDING BILL.

Mr. L. Graham (Secretary, Legislative Department): Sir, I move that the Bill to amend certain enactments and to repeal certain other enactments, as passed by the Council of State, be taken into consideration.

This is a small Bill which might be described as our annual spring-cleaning Bill. In this we have got to clear up small points which require clearing up in our Statute-book for the benefit of the public generally. The object of the Bill is merely to make necessary amendments of a formal nature in certain enactments and to repeal certain unnecessary enactments. Sir, I move.

The motion was adopted.

Clause 2, 3 and 4 were added to the Bill.

Schedules I and II were added to the Bill.

Clause 1 was added to the Bill.

The Title and the Preamble were added to the Bill.

Mr. L. Graham: I move that the Bill, as passed by the Council of State, be passed.

The motion was adopted.

THE VOLUNTEER POLICE BILL.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): Sir, I move for leave to introduce a Bill to make provision to enable volunteer police forces to be constituted temporarily and employed locally for the purpose of preserving the public peace and protecting persons and property, and to define the powers and duties of such police.

Sir, Honourable Members will find annexed to this Bill a fairly lengthy Statement of Objects and Reasons, but notwithstanding the late hour and the state of the Session I would ask the indulgence of the House for two or three minutes to make one or two observations on the Bill. I shall be exceedingly brief. Sir, it has often been suggested to me by non-officials in the course of my long service in India that we do not do enough to enable them to assist the cause of law and order, because they suggest we are inclined to think they are indifferent to this cause. On that point I will not express an opinion. It has been my lot frequently to bring forward measures regarding law and order which have not met with that support which I myself have wished. But I do believe that there are occasions when all men of good-will, all men of whatever political party, all men of whatever school of thought, are prepared to combine together to defeat the forces of anarchy and disorder. There must have been occasions of that kind in the knowledge of all persons who live in this country. But, Sir, unfortunately it has frequently happened that though the mobilisation of the

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forces of disorder is not unknown in this country, the mobilisation of the forces of law and order, in so far as that is the wish of the community, is sometimes neglected. And indeed, Sir, it is often the case that while there are many individuals of good-will, they are individuals and it is not always easy—and I think most Members of this House will recognize that fact—to manifest one's good intentions in the midst of persons who have very different intentions. In other words, it is necessary to enable individuals to make their good influence felt by giving them some kind of corporate capacity. Individuals alone, though there may be many of them, if they are not associated in some corporate capacity, may be unable to make their weight felt as they would if they were given that association. Now, Sir, I saw a criticism some months ago by some one who apparently had information that I was likely to bring in a Bill of this kind, that it was an idea which had struck me when I was at Home last year during the general strike. I do not wish to disguise from the House that the wonderful manifestation of civic duty which I saw with my own eyes during the general strike at home had a very powerful influence on my mind. I do not know whether it made me bring in this Bill, but it did make me see that if citizens are determined that law and order shall be preserved they can preserve it themselves far better than any other agency. I am also charged with being one of those who imagine that English traditions are always applicable to this country. Sir, in a service of 28 years I have lost many of my illusions, but I have not lost my faith in human nature, and I do not believe that men act, whatever the part of the world in which they move, from motives very different. The manifestation of their action may be influenced by upbringing, training and many other things, but human nature to my mind is very much the same in whatever part of the world you may encounter it. And if you can show to men that their self-interest lies in the preservation of law and order, and you can enable them to act in that direction, you obtain a very powerful motive power in effecting your object. Nothing, as I have said, could have been more striking than that manifestation of civic duty I saw in England last year, but it is not the only reason that moved me to bring in this Bill. I do not expect and I am not so hopeful as to suppose that this Bill is going to bring in the millenium, or that we shall find my Honourable friends rushing to enlist in my volunteer police force. That, Sir, would be to ask too much, but I do say this that on occasion, in places and at certain times it may be a very valuable adjunct; at any rate it is a proposition which I desire to bring before this House. I have no doubt, when we come to a later stage on this Bill, it will be criticized, not only on that side of the House but also on this, for anything in the shape of a somewhat novel provision in this country is always regarded with suspicion, and the way of the moderate reformer is hard. Even I have been charged with being a reformer, but I am at any rate a moderate one, and this Bill is a moderate measure of what I regard as reform. I ask leave, Sir, to introduce it.

The motion was adopted.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

Sir, I make the next motion with the object of inviting the inevitable criticism I referred to in my previous speech. I move that the Bill be circulated for the purpose of eliciting opinions thereon.

The motion was adopted.

ELECTION OF A PANEL FOR THE STANDING COMMITTEE TO ADVISE ON SUBJECTS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRIES AND LABOUR.

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra (Member for Industries and Labour): Sir, I have moved my motion* and the question now before the House is its further consideration.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar (Tanjore cum Trichinopoly: Non-Munam-madan Rural): May I move, Sir, that this motion as well as the other three motions that follow

Mr. President: The Honourable Member cannot deal with all motions simultaneously.

Mr. A. Rangaswami Iyengar: I move, Sir:

“That the further consideration of this motion be adjourned,”

because, even if this motion is carried to-day, you, Sir, will have to fix a day for the nomination of candidates and another day for the election, and, as we are at the close of the Session, it is hardly possible to take any further steps with regard to this matter. I move, Sir, that the further consideration of this motion be adjourned.

Mr. President: I think Government might as well agree to the suggestion made by Mr. Rangaswami Iyengar with regard to all the motions on the paper.

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman (Home Member): I am inclined to agree to the suggestion. Sir Charles Innes, Mr. Bhore and myself will not move our motions.†

The Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra: I accept the motion for adjournment of the discussion.

Mr. President: The question is:

“That the motion* in the name of the Honourable Sir Bhupendra Nath Mitra be adjourned.”

The motion was adopted

*“That this Assembly do proceed to elect in the manner described in the rules published in the Home Department notification No. F-49, dated the 22nd August, 1922, as amended by the Home Department notification No. D-794-C., dated the 30th January, 1924, a panel consisting of 9 members from which the members of the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Industries and Labour will be nominated.”

†*The Honourable Sir Charles Innes—*

“That this Assembly do proceed to elect in the manner described in the rules published in the Home Department notification No. F-49, dated the 22nd August, 1922, as amended by the Home Department notification No. D-794-C., dated the 30th January, 1924, a panel consisting of 9 members from which 3 will be nominated to serve on the Standing Committee to advise on subjects in the Department of Commerce.”

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman—

“That this Assembly do proceed to the election, in such method as may be approved by the Honourable the President, of a panel of 14 members from which 7 members of the Advisory Publicity Committee will be nominated.”

Mr. J. W. Bhore—

“That this Assembly do proceed to elect, in the manner prescribed in the rules published in the Home Department notification No. F-49, dated the 22nd August, 1922, as amended by the Home Department notification No. D-794-C., dated the 30th January, 1924, a panel consisting of 9 members from which the members of the Standing Advisory Committee to advise on subjects, other than emigration, dealt with in the Department of Education, Health and Lands, will be nominated.”

Mr. President: The non-official business on the paper is included, I take with the consent of the Government? "

The Honourable Sir Alexander Muddiman: Yes.

Mr. President: I hope the Honourable Member is not going to make a speech. (Laughter)

THE CHILDREN'S PROTECTION BILL.

***Sir Hari Singh Gour** (Central Provinces Hindi Divisions: Non-Muhammadan): Sir, I shall make just a short speech which is necessary. (*Honourable Members:* "No, no.")

Mr. President: The object of the Honourable Member is to have an opportunity of introducing this Bill in this Session, and the convention has been established that a motion for leave to introduce a Bill is not to be opposed. That being so, is not the Honourable Member satisfied that an opportunity has been given to him to introduce this Bill?

Sir Hari Singh Gour: That is what I wanted to do, Sir. I just wanted to thank the Honourable the Home Member for his courtesy in allotting me a short space in his very crowded agenda to enable me to introduce this Bill to day, and to point out that this is not a new Bill but a very old one. It has been receiving a series of resurrections, and this is I think the fourth or the fifth one in which it has now received support, as I find from this interesting book of the All-India Women's Conference who have unanimously supported it; and I only wish, Sir, that the Honourable Members who have been given a copy of this book will read it, and that when it comes up for further consideration, there will be the same unanimity in favour of its passing as I observe to-day at the stage of introduction. Sir, I move.

Mr. President: The question is:

"That leave be given to Sir Hari Singh Gour to introduce a Bill further to amend the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898."

The motion was adopted.

Sir Hari Singh Gour: Sir, I introduce the Bill.

The Assembly then adjourned *sine die*.

*Speech not corrected by the Honourable Member.

